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AMELIA.

AMELIA.

BOOK XI.

CHAP. I.

Containing a very polite ſcene.

WE will now look back to ſome perſonages, who, though not the principal characters in this hiſtory, have yet made too conſiderable a figure in it to be abruptly dropt. And theſe are, Colonel James and his lady.

This fond couple never met till dinner the day after the maſquerade, when they happened to be alone together in an antichamber before the arrival of the reſt of the company.

The converſation began with the colonel's ſaying, 'I hope, Madam, you got no cold laſt night at the 'maſquerade.' To which the lady anſwered by much the ſame kind of queſtion.

They then ſat together near five minutes without opening their mouths to each other. At laſt Mrs. James ſaid, 'Pray, ſir, who was that maſque with 'you in the dreſs of a ſhepherdeſs? How could 'you expoſe yourſelf by walking with ſuch a trol-'lop in public; for certainly no woman of any 'figure would appear there in ſuch a dreſs? You 'know, Mr. James, I never interfere with your 'affairs; but I would, methinks, for my own ſake,

'if I was you, preſerve a little decency in the face 'of the world.'

'Upon my word,' ſaid James, 'I do not know 'whom you mean. A woman in ſuch a dreſs 'might ſpeak to me for ought I know——A thou-'ſand people ſpeak to me at a maſquerade. But, 'I promiſe you, I ſpoke to no woman acquaintance 'there that I know of——Indeed, I now recollect 'there was a woman in a dreſs of a ſhepherdeſs; 'and there was another aukward thing in a blue 'domino that plagued me a little, but I ſoon got 'rid of them.'

'And I ſuppoſe you do not know the lady in the 'blue domino neither?'———

'Not I, I aſſure you,' ſaid James. 'But pray, 'why do you aſk me theſe queſtions? It looks ſo 'like jealouſy.'

'Jealouſy,' cries ſhe, 'I jealous! no, Mr. James, 'I ſhall never be jealous, I promiſe you, eſpecially 'of the lady in the blue domino; for, to my know-'ledge, ſhe deſpiſes you of all human race.'

'I am heartily glad of it,' ſaid James; 'for I never 'ſaw ſuch a tall aukward monſter in my life.'

'That is a very cruel way of telling me you 'knew me.'———

'You, Madam,' ſaid James——'you was in a 'black domino.'

'It is not ſo unuſual a thing, I believe, you 'yourſelf know, to change dreſſes.—I own I did it 'to diſcover ſome of your tricks. I did not think 'you could have diſtinguiſhed the tall aukward 'monſter ſo well.'

'Upon my ſoul,' ſaid James, 'if it was you, I 'did not even ſuſpect it; ſo you ought not to be 'offended at what I have ſaid ignorantly.'

'Indeed, Sir,' cries ſhe, 'you cannot offend me 'by any thing you can ſay to my face—no, by my 'ſoul, I deſpiſe you too much. But I wiſh, Mr. 'James, you would not make me the ſubject of

'your

'your converſation amongſt your wenches. I de-
'ſire I may not be afraid of meeting them for fear
'of their inſults; that I may not be told by a
'dirty trollop, you make me the ſubject of your
'wit amongſt them, of which, it ſeems, I am the
'favourite topic. Though you have married a tall
'aukward monſter, Mr. James, I think ſhe hath a
'right to be treated as your wife, with reſpect at
'leaſt——Indeed, I ſhall never require any more;
'indeed, Mr. James, I never ſhall.—I think a wife
'hath a title to that.'

'Who told you this, Madam,' ſaid James.

'Your ſlut,' ſaid ſhe, 'your wench, your ſhep-
'herdeſs.'

'By all that's ſacred!' cries James, 'I do not
'know who the ſhepherdeſs was.'

'By all that's ſacred then!' ſays ſhe—'ſhe told
'me ſo—and I am convinced ſhe told me truth.—
'But I do not wonder at your denying it; for that
'is equally conſiſtent with honour as to behave in
'ſuch a manner to a wife who is a gentlewoman.—
'I hope you will allow me that, Sir.——Becauſe I
'had not quite ſo great a fortune, I hope you do
'not think me beneath you, or that you did me
'any honour in marrying me. I am come of as
'good a family as yourſelf, Mr. James; and if my
'brother knew how you treated me, he would not
'bear it.'

'Do you threaten me with your brother, Ma-
'dam?' ſaid James.

'I will not be ill treated, Sir,' anſwered ſhe.

'Nor I neither, Madam,' cries he; 'and there-
'fore I deſire you will prepare to go into the coun-
'try to-morrow morning.'

'Indeed, Sir,' ſaid ſhe, 'I ſhall not.'

'By Heavens! Madam, but you ſhall,' anſwered
he: 'I will have my coach at the door to-morrow
'morning by ſeven; and you ſhall either go into it
'or be carried.'

'I hope, Sir, you are not in earneſt,' ſaid ſhe.

'Indeed, Madam,' anſwered he, 'but I am in 'earneſt, and reſolved; and into the country you 'go to-morrow.'

'But why into the country,' ſaid ſhe, 'Mr. 'James? Why will you be ſo barbarous to deny 'me the pleaſures of the town?'

'Becauſe you interfere with my pleaſures,' cried James; 'which I have told you long ago I would 'not ſubmit to. It is enough for fond couples to 'have theſe ſcenes together. I thought we had 'been upon a better footing, and had cared too 'little for each other to become mutual plagues. 'I thought you had been ſatisfied with the full li-'berty of doing what you pleaſed.'

'So I am; I defy you to ſay I have ever given 'you any uneaſineſs.'

'How!' cries he, 'have you not juſt now up-'braided me with what you heard at the maſ-'querade?'

'I own,' ſaid ſhe, 'to be inſulted by ſuch a crea-'ture to my face, ſtung me to the ſoul. I muſt 'have had no ſpirit to bear the inſults of ſuch an 'animal. Nay, ſhe ſpoke of you with equal con-'tempt. Whoever ſhe is, I promiſe you, Mr. 'Booth is her favourite. But, indeed, ſhe is un-'worthy any one's regard; for ſhe behaved like 'an arrant dragoon.'

'Hang her,' cries the colonel, 'I know nothing 'of her.'

'Well, but, Mr. James——I am ſure you will 'not ſend me into the country. Indeed, I will not 'go into the country.'

'If you was a reaſonable woman,' cries James, 'perhaps I ſhould not deſire it.——And on one 'conſideration———

'Come, name your conſideration,' ſaid ſhe.

'Let me firſt experience your diſcernment,' ſaid he.——'Come, Molly, let me try your judgment.

'Can

'Can you gueſs at any woman of your acquaintance 'that I like?'

'Sure,' ſaid ſhe, 'it cannot be Mrs. Booth!'

'And why not Mrs. Booth,' anſwered he? 'Is 'ſhe not the fineſt woman in the world?'

'Very far from it,' replied ſhe, 'in my opinion.'

'Pray what faults,' ſaid he, 'can you find in 'her?'

'In the firſt place,' cries Mrs. James, 'her eyes 'are too large; and ſhe hath a look with them that 'I don't know how to deſcribe; but I know I 'don't like it. Then her eyebrows are too large; 'therefore, indeed, ſhe doth all in her power to 'remedy this with her pincers; for if it was not 'for thoſe, her eyebrows would be prepoſterous. '——Then her noſe, as well proportioned as it is, 'has a viſible ſcar on one ſide.—Her neck like-'wiſe is too protuberant for the genteel ſize, eſpe-'cially as ſhe laces herſelf; for no woman, in my 'opinion, can be genteel who is not entirely flat 'before. And laſtly, ſhe is both too ſhort and 'too tall.——Well, you may laugh, Mr. James, 'I know what I mean, though I cannot well ex-'preſs it.——I mean, that ſhe is too tall for a 'pretty woman, and too ſhort for a fine woman.— 'There is ſuch a thing as a kind of inſipid me-'dium—a kind of ſomething that is neither one 'thing or another. I know not how to expreſs 'it more clearly; but when I ſay ſuch a one is a 'pretty woman, a pretty thing, a pretty creature, 'you know very well I mean a little woman; and 'when I ſay ſuch a one is a very fine woman, a 'very fine perſon of a woman, to be ſure I muſt 'mean a tall woman. Now a woman that is be-'tween both, is certainly neither the one nor the 'other.'

'Well, I own,' ſaid he, 'you have explained 'yourſelf with great dexterity; but with all theſe 'imperfections, I cannot help liking her.'

'That you need not tell me, Mr. James,' anſwered the lady; 'for that I knew before you deſired me to invite her to your houſe. And nevertheleſs, did not I, like an obedient wife, comply with your deſires? did I make any objection to the party you propoſed for the maſquerade, though I knew very well your motive? what can the beſt of wives do more? to procure you ſucceſs, is not in my power; and if I may give you my opinion, I believe you never will ſucceed with her.'

'Is her virtue ſo very impregnable,' ſaid he, with a ſneer?

'Her virtue,' anſwered Mrs. James, 'hath the beſt guard in the world, which is a moſt violent love for her huſband.'

'All pretence and affectation,' cries the colonel. 'It is impoſſible ſhe ſhould have ſo little taſte, or, indeed, ſo little delicacy, as to like ſuch a fellow.'

'Nay, I do not much like him myſelf,' ſaid ſhe.—'He is not indeed at all ſuch a ſort of man as I ſhould like; but I thought he had been generally allowed to be handſome.'

'He handſome,' cries James? 'What, with a noſe like the proboſcis of an elephant, with the ſhoulders of a porter, and the legs of a chairman? The fellow had not in the leaſt the look of a gentleman; and one would rather think he had followed the plough than the camp all his life.'

'Nay, now I proteſt,' ſaid ſhe, 'I think you do him injuſtice. He is genteel enough, in my opinion. It is true, indeed, he is not quite of the moſt delicate make; but whatever he is, I am convinced ſhe thinks him the fineſt man in the world.'

'I cannot believe it,' anſwered he, peeviſhly——'But will you invite her to dinner here to-morrow?'

'With

'With all my heart, and as often as you pleaſe,' anſwered ſhe.——'But I have ſome favours to aſk 'of you.——Firſt, I muſt hear no more of going 'out of town till I pleaſe.'

'Very well,' cried he.

'In the next place,' ſaid ſhe, 'I muſt have two 'hundred guineas within theſe two or three days.'

'Well—I agree to that too,' anſwered he.

'And when I do go out of town, I go to Tun-'bridge——I inſiſt upon that; and from Tunbridge 'I go to Bath——poſitively to Bath. And I pro-'miſe you faithfully I will do all in my power to 'carry Mrs. Booth with me.'

'On that condition,' anſwered he, 'I promiſe you 'you ſhall go wherever you pleaſe.—And to ſhew 'you, I will even prevent your wiſhes by my gene-'roſity, as ſoon as I receive the five thouſand 'pounds, which I am going to take up on one of 'my eſtates, you ſhall have two hundred more.'

She thanked him with a low curteſie; and he was in ſuch good humour, that he offered to kiſs her. To this kiſs ſhe coldly turned her cheek—and then flirting her fan, ſaid——'Mr. James, 'there is one thing I forgot to mention to you—'I think you intended to get a commiſſion in ſome 'regiment abroad for this young man.——Now, if 'you would take my advice, I know this will not 'oblige his wife; and beſides, I am poſitive ſhe re-'ſolves to go with him.—But if you can provide 'for him in ſome regiment at home, I know ſhe 'will dearly love you for it; and when he is or-'dered to quarters, ſhe will be left behind—and 'Yorkſhire or Scotland, I think, is as good a diſtance 'as either of the Indies.'

'Well, I will do what I can,' anſwered James; 'but I cannot aſk any thing yet; for I got two 'places of a hundred a year each for two of my 'footmen, within this fortnight.'

At this inſtant, a violent knock at the door ſignified the arrival of their company; upon which, both huſband and wife put on their beſt looks to receive their gueſts; and, from their behaviour to each other during the reſt of the day, a ſtranger might have concluded he had been in company with the fondeſt couple in the univerſe.

CHAP. II.

Matters political.

BEFORE we return to Booth, we will relate a ſcene in which doctor Harriſon was concerned.

This good man, whilſt in the country, happened to be in the neighbourhood of a nobleman of his acquaintance, and whom he knew to have very conſiderable intereſt with the miniſters at that time.

The doctor, who was very well known to this nobleman, took this opportunity of paying him a viſit, in order to recommend poor Booth to his favour. Nor did he much doubt of his ſucceſs, the favour he was to aſk being a very ſmall one, and to which he thought the ſervice of Booth gave him ſo juſt a title.

The doctor's name ſoon gained him an admiſſion to the preſence of this great man, who, indeed, received him with much courteſy and politeneſs; not ſo much perhaps from any particular regard to the ſacred function, nor from any reſpect to the doctor's perſonal merit, as from ſome conſiderations which the reader will perhaps gueſs anon. After many ceremonials, and ſome previous diſcourſe on different ſubjects, the doctor opened his buſineſs, and told the great man, that he was come to him to ſolicit a favour for a young gentleman who had been an officer in the army, and was now on half-pay. 'All the favour I aſk, my lord,' ſaid, he, 'is,

'that

'that this gentleman may be again admitted *ad* 'eundem. I am convinced your lordſhip will do 'me the juſtice to think I would not aſk for a worth-'leſs perſon; but, indeed, the young man I mean, 'hath very extraordinary merit. He was at the 'ſiege of Gibraltar, in which he behaved with diſ-'tinguiſhed bravery; and was dangerouſly wounded 'at two ſeveral times in the ſervice of his country. 'I will add, that he is at preſent in great neceſſity, 'and hath a wife and ſeveral children, for whom he 'hath no other means of providing; and if it will 'recommend him further to your lordſhip's favour, 'his wife, I believe, is one of the beſt and worthieſt 'of all her ſex.'

'As to that, my dear doctor,' cries the noble-man, 'I ſhall make no doubt. Indeed, any ſer-'vice I ſhall do the gentleman, will be upon your 'account. As to neceſſity, it is the plea of ſo 'many, that it is impoſſible to ſerve them all.—— 'And with regard to the perſonal merit of theſe in-'ferior officers, I believe, I need not tell you that 'it is very little regarded. But if you recommend 'him, let the perſon be what he will, I am con-'vinced it will be done; for I know it is in your 'power at preſent to aſk for a greater matter than 'this.'

'I depend entirely upon your lordſhip,' anſwered the doctor.

'Indeed, my worthy friend,' replied the lord, 'I 'will not take a merit to myſelf, which will ſo little 'belong to me. You are to depend on yourſelf. 'It falls out very luckily too at this time, when you 'have it in your power ſo greatly to oblige us.'

'What, my lord, is in my power?' cries the doctor.

'You certainly know,' anſwered his lordſhip, 'how hard Colonel Trompington is run at your 'town, in the election of a mayor; they tell me it 'will be a very near thing, unleſs you join us. But

'we

'we know it is in your power to do the buſineſs, 'and turn the ſcale. I heard your name mention-'ed the other day on that account; and I know you 'may have any thing in reaſon, if you will give 'us your intereſt.'

'Sure, my lord,' cries the doctor, 'you are not in 'earneſt in aſking my intereſt for the colonel?'

'Indeed, I am,' anſwered the peer; 'why ſhould 'you doubt it?'

'For many reaſons,' anſwered the doctor. 'Firſt, 'I am an old friend and acquaintance of Mr. Fair-'field, as your lordſhip, I believe, very well knows. 'The little intereſt, therefore, that I have, you may 'be aſſured, will go in his favour. Indeed, I do 'not concern myſelf deeply in theſe affairs; for I 'do not think it becomes my cloth ſo to do. But 'as far as I think it decent to intereſt myſelf, it will 'certainly be on the ſide of Mr. Fairfield. Indeed, 'I ſhould do ſo, if I was acquainted with both the 'gentlemen, only by reputation; the one being a 'neighbouring gentleman, of a very large eſtate, a 'very ſober and ſenſible man, of known probity 'and attachment to the true intereſt of his country. 'The other is a mere ſtranger, a boy, a ſoldier of 'fortune, and as far as I can diſcern from the little 'converſation I have had with him, of a very ſhal-'low capacity, and no education.'

'No education! my dear friend,' cries the noble-man. 'Why he hath been educated in half the 'courts of Europe.'

'Perhaps ſo, my lord,' anſwered the doctor; 'but 'I ſhall always be ſo great a pedant as to call a man 'of no learning, a man of no education.——And 'from my own knowledge, I can aver, that I am 'perſuaded there is ſcarce a foot ſoldier in the army 'who is more illiterate than the colonel.'

'Why, as to Latin and Greek, you know,' re-plied the lord, 'they are not much required in the 'army.'

'It

'It may be ſo,' ſaid the doctor. 'Then let ſuch 'perſons keep to their own profeſſion. It is a very 'low civil capacity indeed for which an illiterate 'man can be qualified. And to ſpeak a plain truth, 'if your lordſhip is a friend to the colonel, you 'would do well to adviſe him to decline an attempt, 'in which I am certain he hath no probability of 'ſucceſs.'

'Well, Sir,' ſaid the lord, 'if you are reſolved 'againſt us, I muſt deal as freely with you, and 'tell you plainly I cannot ſerve you in your affair. 'Nay, it will be the beſt thing I can do, to hold 'my tongue; for if I ſhould mention his name 'with your recommendation after what you have 'ſaid, he would perhaps never get provided for as 'long as he lives.'

'Is his own merit then, my lord, no recommen-'dation?' cries the doctor.

'My dear, dear Sir,' cries the other—'what is the 'merit of a ſubaltern officer?'

'Surely, my lord,' cries the doctor, 'it is the 'merit which ſhould recommend him to the poſt of 'a ſubaltern officer. And it is a merit which will 'hereafter qualify him to ſerve his country in a 'higher capacity. And I do aſſure you of this 'young man, that he hath not only a good heart, 'but a good head too. And I have been told by 'thoſe who are judges, that he is for his age an ex-'cellent officer.'

'Very probably!' cries my lord——'And there 'are abundance with the ſame merit, and the ſame 'qualifications, who want a morſel of bread for 'themſelves and their families.'

'It is an infamous ſcandal on the nation,' cries the doctor; 'and I am heartily ſorry it can be ſaid 'even with a colour of truth.'

'How can it be otherwiſe?' ſays the peer. 'Do 'you think it is poſſible to provide for all men of 'merit?'

'Yes,

'Yes, ſurely, do I,' ſaid the doctor. 'And very 'eaſily too.'

'How, pray?'——cries the lord——'Upon my 'word I ſhall be glad to know.'

'Only by not providing for thoſe who have none '——The men of merit in any capacity are not, 'I am afraid, ſo extremely numerous, that we need 'ſtarve any of them, unleſs we wickedly ſuffer a ſet 'of worthleſs fellows to eat their bread.'

'This is all mere Utopia', cries his lordſhip. 'The chimerical ſyſtem of Plato's commonwealth 'with which we amuſed ourſelves at the univerſi-'ty; politics which are inconſiſtent with the ſtate 'of human affairs.'

'Sure, my lord,' cries the doctor, 'we have read 'of ſtates where ſuch doctrines have been put in 'practice. What is your lordſhip's opinion of 'Rome in the earlier ages of the commonwealth, 'of Sparta, and even of Athens itſelf, in ſome peri-'ods of its hiſtory?'

'Indeed, doctor,' cries the lord, 'all theſe notions 'are obſolete and long ſince exploded. To apply 'maxims of government drawn from the Greek 'and Roman hiſtories to this nation, is abſurd and 'impoſſible. But if you will have Roman exam-'ples, fetch them from thoſe times of the republic 'that were moſt like our own. Do you not know, 'doctor, that this is as corrupt a nation as ever 'exiſted under the ſun? And would you think of 'governing ſuch a people by the ſtrict principles 'of honeſty and morality?'

'If it be ſo corrupt,' ſaid the doctor, 'I think it 'is high time to amend it; or elſe it is eaſy to 'foreſee that Roman and Britiſh liberty will have 'the ſame fate; for corruption in the body politic, 'as naturally tends to diſſolution as in the natural 'body.'

'I thank you for your ſimile,' cries my lord; 'for 'in the natural body, I believe, you will allow 'there

'there is the ſeaſon of youth, the ſeaſon of manhood, and the ſeaſon of old age; and that, when the laſt of theſe arrives, it will be an impoſſible attempt by all the means of art to reſtore the body again to its youth, or to the vigour of its middle age. The ſame periods happen to every great kingdom. In its youth, it riſes by arts and arms to power and proſperity. This it enjoys and flouriſhes with a while; and then it may be ſaid to be in the vigour of its age, enriched at home with all the emoluments and bleſſings of peace, and formidable abroad with all the terrors of war. At length, this very proſperity introduces corruption; and then comes on its old age. Virtue and learning, art and induſtry, decay by degrees. The people ſink into ſloth and luxury, and proſtitution. It is enervated at home, becomes contemptible abroad; and ſuch indeed is its miſery and wretchedneſs, that it reſembles a man in the laſt decrepid ſtage of life, who looks with unconcern at his approaching diſſolution.'

'This is a melancholy picture indeed,' cries the doctor; 'and if the latter part of it can be applied to our caſe, I ſee nothing but religion, which would have prevented this decrepid ſtate of the conſtitution, ſhould prevent a man of ſpirit from hanging himſelf out of the way of ſo wretched a contemplation.'

'Why ſo?' ſaid the peer; 'Why hang myſelf, doctor? Would it not be wiſer, think you, to make the beſt of your time, and the moſt you can, in ſuch a nation?'

'And is religion then to be really laid out of the queſtion?' cries the doctor.

'If I am to ſpeak my own opinion, Sir,' anſwered the peer, 'you know I ſhall anſwer in the negative. —But you are too well acquainted with the world to be told, that the conduct of politicians is not formed upon the principles of religion.'

'I am

'I am very ſorry for it,' cries the doctor; 'but 'I will talk to them then of honour and honeſty; 'this is a language which I hope they will at leaſt 'pretend to underſtand. Now to deny a man the 'preferment which he merits, and to give it to ano-'ther man who doth not merit it, is a manifeſt act 'of injuſtice; and is conſequently inconſiſtent with 'both honour and honeſty. Nor is it only an act 'of injuſtice to the man himſelf, but to the public, 'for whoſe good principally all public offices are, 'or ought to be, inſtituted. Now this good can ne-'ver be completed, nor obtained, but by employ-'ing all perſons according to their capacities. 'Wherever true merit is liable to be ſuperſeded by 'favour and partiality, and men are intruſted with 'offices, without any regard to capacity or inte-'grity, the affairs of that ſtate will always be in a 'deplorable ſituation. Such, as Livy tells us, was 'the ſtate of Capua, a little before its final de-'ſtruction; and the conſequence your lordſhip well 'knows. But, my lord, there is another miſchief 'which attends this kind of injuſtice, and that is, 'it hath a manifeſt tendency to deſtroy all virtue 'and all ability among the people, by taking away 'all that encouragement and incentive which 'ſhould promote emulation, and raiſe men to aim 'at excelling in any art, ſcience, or profeſſion. Nor 'can any thing, my lord, contribute more to ren-'der a nation contemptible among its neighbours; 'for what opinion can other countries have of the 'councils, or what terror can they conceive of the 'arms of ſuch a people? and it was chiefly owing 'to the avoiding this error, that Oliver Cromwell 'carried the reputation of England higher than it 'ever was at any other time. I will add only one 'argument more, and that is founded on the moſt 'narrow and ſelfiſh ſyſtem of politics; and this 'is, that ſuch a conduct is ſure to create univerſal 'diſcontent and grumbling at home; for nothing

'can

'can bring men to reſt ſatisfied, when they ſee 'others preferred to them, but an opinion that they 'deſerve that elevation; for as one of the greateſt 'men this country ever produced, obſerves,

"One worthleſs man that gains what he pretends,
"Diſguſts a thouſand unpretending friends."

'With what heartburnings then muſt any nation 'ſee themſelves obliged to contribute to the ſupport 'of a ſet of men, of whoſe incapacity to ſerve them 'they are well appriſed, and who do their country 'a double diſkindneſs, by being themſelves em-'ployed in poſts to which they are unequal, and 'by keeping others out of thoſe employments for 'which they are qualified!'

'And do you really think, doctor,' cries the no-bleman, 'that any miniſter could ſupport himſelf 'in this country upon ſuch principles as you recom-'mend? Do you think he would be able to baffle 'an oppoſition, unleſs he ſhould oblige his friends 'by conferring places often, contrary to his own in-'clinations, and his own opinion?'

'Yes, really do I,' cries the doctor. 'Indeed, if 'a miniſter is reſolved to make good his confeſſion 'in the liturgy, *by leaving undone all thoſe things 'which he ought to have done, and by doing all thoſe 'things which he ought not to have done*; ſuch a mini-'ſter, I grant, will be obliged to baffle oppoſition, 'as you are pleaſed to term it, by theſe arts; for, 'as Shakeſpeare ſomewhere ſays,

"Things ill begun ſtrengthen themſelves by ill."

'But if, on the contrary, he will pleaſe to con-'ſider the true intereſt of his country, and that 'only in great and national points; if he will en-'gage his country in neither alliances or quarrels, 'but where it is really intereſted; if he will raiſe

'no money but what is wanted, nor employ any 'civil or military officers but what are uſeful, and 'place in theſe employments men of the higheſt 'integrity, and of the greateſt abilities; if he will 'employ ſome few of his hours to advance our 'trade, and ſome few more to regulate our do-'meſtic government; if he would do this, my 'lord, I will anſwer for it, he ſhall either have no 'oppoſition to baffle, or he ſhall baffle it by a fair 'appeal to his conduct. Such a miniſter may, in 'the language of the law, put himſelf on his coun-'try when he pleaſes, and he ſhall come off with 'honour and applauſe.'

'And do you really believe, doctor,' cries the peer, 'there ever was ſuch a miniſter, or ever will 'be?'

'Why not, my lord?' anſwered the doctor. 'It 'requires no very extraordinary parts, nor any ex-'traordinary degree of virtue. He need practiſe no 'great inſtances of ſelf-denial. He ſhall have power, 'and honour, and riches, and, perhaps, all in a 'much greater degree than he can ever acquire by 'purſuing a contrary ſyſtem. He ſhall have more 'of each, and much more of ſafety.'

'Pray, doctor,' ſaid my lord, 'let me aſk you one 'ſimple queſtion. Do you really believe any man 'upon earth was ever a rogue out of choice?'

'Really, my lord,' ſays the doctor, 'I am 'aſhamed to anſwer in the affirmative; and yet I 'am afraid experience would almoſt juſtify me if I 'ſhould. Perhaps the opinion of the world may 'ſometimes miſlead men to think thoſe meaſures 'neceſſary, which in reality are not ſo. Or the 'truth may be, that a man of good inclinations 'finds his office filled with ſuch corruption by the 'iniquity of his predeceſſors, that he may deſpair 'of being capable of purging it; and ſo ſits down 'contented, as Augeas did with the filth of his 'ſtables, not becauſe he thought them the better,

'or

'or that ſuch filth was really neceſſary to a ſtable; 'but that he deſpaired of ſufficient force to cleanſe 'them.'

'I will aſk you one queſtion more, and I have 'done,' ſaid the nobleman. 'Do you imagine, that 'if any miniſter was really as good as you would 'have him, that the people in general would be-'lieve that he was ſo?'

'Truly, my lord,' ſaid the doctor, 'I think they 'may be juſtified in not believing too haſtily. But 'I beg leave to anſwer your lordſhip's queſtion by 'another. Doth your lordſhip believe that the 'people of Greenland, when they ſee the light of 'the ſun, and feel his warmth, after ſo long a ſea-'ſon of cold and darkneſs, will really be perſuaded 'that he ſhines upon them?'

My lord ſmiled at the conceit; and then the doctor took an opportunity to renew his ſuit, to which his lordſhip anſwered, 'He would promiſe nothing, 'and could give him no hopes of ſucceſs; but you 'may be aſſured,' ſaid he, with a leering counte-nance, 'I ſhall do him all the ſervice in my power.' A language which the doctor well underſtood, and ſoon after took a civil, but not a very ceremonious leave.

CHAP. III.

The hiſtory of Mr. Trent.

WE will now return to Mr. Booth and his wife. The former had ſpent his time very uneaſily, ever ſince he had diſcovered what ſort of man he was indebted to; but leſt he ſhould forget it, Mr. Trent thought now proper to remind him, in the following letter, which he read the next morning, after he had put off the appointment.

'SIR,

'I AM ſorry the neceſſity of my affairs obliges 'me to mention that ſmall ſum which I had 'the honour to lend you the other night at play; 'and which I ſhall be much obliged to you, if you 'will let me have ſome time either to-day, or to-'morrow.

'I am, Sir,
'Your moſt obedient,
'moſt humble ſervant,
'George Trent.'

This letter a little ſurprized Booth, after the genteel, and, indeed, as it appeared, generous behaviour of Trent. But leſt it ſhould have the ſame effect upon the reader, we will now proceed to account for this, as well as for ſome other phænomena that have appeared in this hiſtory, and which, perhaps, we ſhall be forgiven, for not having opened more largely before.

Mr. Trent then was a gentleman, poſſibly of a good family; for it was not certain whence he ſprung on the father's ſide. His mother, who was the only parent he ever knew or heard of, was a ſingle gentlewoman, and for ſome time carried on the trade of a milliner in Covent Garden. She ſent her ſon, at the age of eight years old, to a charity-ſchool, where he remained till he was of the age of fourteen, without making any great proficiency in learning. Indeed, it is not very probable he ſhould; for the maſter, who, in preference to a very learned and proper man, was choſen by a party into this ſchool, the ſalary of which was upwards of a hundred pounds a year, had himſelf never travelled through the Latin Grammar, and was, in truth, a moſt conſummate blockhead.

At

At the age of fifteen, Mr. Trent was put clerk to an attorney, where he remained a very ſhort time before he took leave of his maſter; rather, indeed, departed without taking leave; and having broke open his mother's eſcrutoire, and carried off with him all the valuable effects he there found, to the amount of about fifty pounds, he marched off to ſea, and went on board a merchantman, whence he was afterwards preſſed into a man of war.

In this ſervice he continued above three years; during which time, he behaved ſo ill in his moral character, that he twice underwent a very ſevere diſcipline for thefts in which he was detected; but at the ſame time, he behaved ſo well as a ſailor in an engagement with ſome pirates, that he wiped off all former ſcores, and greatly recommended himſelf to his captain.

At his return home, he being then about twenty years of age, he found that the attorney had in his abſence married his mother, had buried her, and ſecured all her effects, to the amount, as he was informed, of about fifteen hundred pounds. Trent applied to his ſtepfather, but to no purpoſe; the attorney utterly diſowned him, nor would he ſuffer him to come a ſecond time within his doors.

It happened that the attorney had, by a former wife, an only daughter, a great favourite, who was about the ſame age with Trent himſelf; and had, during his reſidence at her father's houſe, taken a very great liking to this young fellow, who was extremely handſome, and perfectly well made. This, her liking was not, during his abſence, ſo far extinguiſhed, but that it immediately revived on his return. Of this, ſhe took care to give Mr. Trent proper intimation; for ſhe was not one of thoſe backward and delicate ladies, who can die rather than make the firſt overture. Trent was overjoyed at this, and with reaſon; for ſhe was a very lovely girl in her perſon, the only child of a rich father;

and the proſpect of ſo complete a revenge on the attorney charmed him above all the reſt. To be as ſhort in the matter as the parties, a marriage was ſoon conſummated between them.

The attorney at firſt raged and was implacable; but at laſt, fondneſs for his daughter ſo far overcame reſentment, that he advanced a ſum of money to buy his ſon-in-law (for now he acknowledged him as ſuch) an enſign's commiſſion in a marching regiment, then ordered to Gibraltar; at which place, the attorney heartily hoped that Trent might be knocked on the head; for in that caſe he thought he might marry his daughter more agreeably to his own ambition, and to her advantage.

The regiment into which Trent purchaſed, was the ſame with that in which Booth likewiſe ſerved; the one being an enſign, and the other a lieutenant in the two additional companies.

Trent had no blemiſh in his military capacity. Though he had had but an indifferent education, he was naturally ſenſible and genteel, and nature, as we have ſaid, had given him a very agreeable perſon. He was likewiſe a very bold fellow, and as he really behaved himſelf every way well enough while he was at Gibraltar, there was ſome degree of intimacy between him and Booth.

When the ſiege was over, and the additional companies were again reduced, Trent returned to his wife, who received him with great joy and affection. Soon after this an accident happened, which proved the utter ruin of his father-in-law, and ended in breaking his heart. This was nothing but making a miſtake pretty common at this day, of writing another man's name to a deed inſtead of his own. In truth, this matter was no leſs than what the law calls forgery, and was juſt then made capital, by an act of parliament. From this offence, indeed, the attorney was acquitted, by not admitting the proof of the party, who was to avoid his own deed,

deed, by his evidence; and therefore no witneſs, according to thoſe excellent rules, called the law of evidence; a law very excellently calculated for the preſervation of the lives of his Majeſty's roguiſh ſubjects, and moſt notably uſed for that purpoſe.

But though by common law the attorney was honourably acquitted; yet, as common ſenſe manifeſted to every one that he was guilty, he unhappily loſt his reputation, and of conſequence his buſineſs; the chagrin of which latter ſoon put an end to his life.

This proſecution had been attended with a very great expence; for, beſides the ordinary coſts of avoiding the gallows, by the help of the law, there was a very high article, of no leſs than a thouſand pounds, paid down to remove out of the way a witneſs, againſt whom there was no legal exception. The poor gentleman had beſides ſuffered ſome loſſes in buſineſs; ſo that, to the ſurprize of all his acquaintance, when his debts were paid, there remained no more than a ſmall eſtate of fourſcore pounds a year, which he ſettled upon his daughter, far out of the reach of her huſband, and about two hundred pounds in money.

The old gentleman had not long been in his grave, before Trent ſet himſelf to conſider ſeriouſly of the ſtate of his affairs. He had lately begun to look on his wife with a much leſs degree of liking and deſire than formerly; for he was one of thoſe who think too much of one thing is good for nothing. Indeed, he had indulged theſe ſpeculations ſo far, that, I believe, his wife, though one of the prettieſt women in town, was the laſt ſubject that he would have choſe for any amorous dalliance.

Many other perſons, however, greatly differed from him in this opinion. Amongſt the reſt, was the illuſtrious peer of amorous memory. This noble peer having therefore got a view of Mrs. Trent one day in the ſtreet, did, by means of an

emiſſary then with him, make himſelf acquainted with her lodging, to which he immediately laid ſiege in form, ſetting himſelf down in a lodging directly oppoſite to her, from whence the battery of ogles began to play the very next morning.

This ſiege had not continued long before the governor of the garriſon became ſufficiently appriſed of all the works which were carrying on, and having well reconnoitred the enemy, and diſcovered who he was, notwithſtanding a falſe name, and ſome diſguiſe of his perſon, he called a council of war within his own breaſt. In fact, to drop all allegory, he began to conſider whether his wife was not really a more valuable poſſeſſion than he had lately thought her. In ſhort, as he had been diſappointed in her fortune, he now conceived ſome hopes of turning her beauty itſelf into a fortune.

Without communicating theſe views to her, he ſoon ſcraped an acquaintance with his oppoſite neighbour, by the name which he there uſurped, and counterfeited an entire ignorance of his real name and title. On this occaſion, Trent had his diſguiſe likewiſe, for he affected the utmoſt ſimplicity; of which affectation, as he was a very artful fellow, he was extremely capable.

The peer fell plumb into this ſnare; and when, by the ſimplicity, as he imagined, of the huſband, he became acquainted with the wife, he was ſo extravagantly charmed with her perſon, that he reſolved, whatever was the coſt or the conſequence, he would poſſeſs her.

His lordſhip, however, preſerved ſome caution in his management of this affair; more, perhaps, than was neceſſary. As for the huſband, none was requiſite, for he knew all he could; and with regard to the wife herſelf, as ſhe had, for ſome time, perceived the decreaſe of her huſband's affection, (for few women are, I believe, to be impoſed upon in that matter) ſhe was not diſpleaſed to find the return

return of all that complaiſance and endearment, of thoſe looks and languiſhments from another agreeable perſon, which ſhe had formerly received from Trent, and which ſhe now found ſhe ſhould receive from him no longer.

My lord, therefore, having been indulged with as much opportunity as he could wiſh from Trent, and having received rather more encouragement than he could well have hoped from the lady, began to prepare all matters for a ſtorm, when luckily Mr. Trent declaring he muſt go out of town for two days, he fixed on the firſt day of his departure, as the time of carrying his deſign into execution.

And now, after ſome debate with himſelf in what manner he ſhould approach his love, he at laſt determined to do it in his own perſon; for he conceived, and perhaps very rightly, that the lady, like Semele, was not void of ambition, and would have preferred Jupiter, in all his glory, to the ſame deity in the diſguiſe of an humble ſhepherd. He dreſſed himſelf therefore, in the richeſt embroidery of which he was maſter, and appeared before his miſtreſs arrayed in all the brightneſs of peerage. A ſight, whoſe charms ſhe had not the power to reſiſt, and the conſequences are only to be imagined. In ſhort, the ſame ſcene which Jupiter acted with his above-mentioned miſtreſs of old, was more than beginning, when Trent burſt from the cloſet into which he had conveyed himſelf, and unkindly interrupted the action.

His lordſhip preſently ran to his ſword; but Trent, with great calmneſs anſwered, 'That as it 'was very well known he durſt fight, he ſhould not 'draw his ſword on this occaſion; for ſure,' ſays he, 'my lord, it would be the higheſt imprudence 'in me to kill a man, who is now become ſo con-'ſiderably my debtor.' At which words he fetched a perſon from the cloſet, who had been confined

with him, telling him he had done his buſineſs, and might now, if he pleaſed, retire.

It would be tedious here to amuſe the reader with all that paſſed on the preſent occaſion; the rage and confuſion of the wife, or the perplexity in which my lord was involved. We will omit therefore all ſuch matters, and proceed directly to buſineſs, as Trent and his lordſhip did ſoon after. And in the concluſion, my lord ſtipulated to pay a good round ſum, and to provide Mr. Trent with a good place on the firſt opportunity.

On the ſide of Mr. Trent, were ſtipulated abſolute remiſſion of all paſt, and full indulgence for the time to come.

Trent now immediately took a houſe at the polite end of the town, furniſhed it elegantly, and ſet up his equipage, rigged out both himſelf and his wife with very handſome clothes, frequented all public places where he could get admiſſion, puſhed himſelf into acquaintance, and his wife ſoon afterwards began to keep an aſſembly, or, in the faſhionable phraſe, to be at home once a week; when, by my lord's aſſiſtance, ſhe was preſently viſited by moſt men of the firſt rank, and by all ſuch women of faſhion as are not very nice in their company.

My lord's amour with this lady laſted not long; for as we have before obſerved, he was the moſt inconſtant of all human race. Mrs. Trent's paſſion was not, however, of that kind, which leads to any very deep reſentment of ſuch fickleneſs. Her paſſion, indeed, was principally founded upon intereſt; ſo that foundation ſerved to ſupport another ſuperſtructure; and ſhe was eaſily prevailed upon, as well as her huſband, to be uſeful to my lord in a capacity, which, though very often exerted in the polite world, hath not, as yet, to my great ſurprize, acquired any polite name, or, indeed, any

which

which is not too coarſe to be admitted in this hiſtory.

After this preface, which we thought neceſſary to account for a character, of which ſome of my country and collegiate readers might poſſibly doubt the exiſtence, I ſhall proceed to what more immediately regards Mrs. Booth. The reader may be pleaſed to remember, that Mr. Trent was preſent at the aſſembly, to which Booth and his wife were carried by Mrs. James, and where Amelia was met by the noble peer.

His lordſhip ſeeing there that Booth and Trent were old acquaintance, failed not, to uſe the language of ſportſmen, to put Trent on upon the ſcent of Amelia. For this purpoſe, that gentleman viſited Booth the very next day, and had purſued him cloſe ever ſince. By his means, therefore, my lord learned that Amelia was to be at the maſquerade, to which place ſhe was dogged by Trent in a ſailor's jacket, who, meeting my lord, according to agreement, at the entrance of the opera-houſe, like the four-legged gentlemen of the ſame vocation, made a dead point, as it is called, at the game.

My lord was ſo ſatisfied and delighted with his converſation at the maſquerade, with the ſuppoſed Amelia, and the encouragement, which in reality ſhe had given him, that, when he ſaw Trent the next morning, he embraced him with great fondneſs, gave him a bank note of a hundred pounds, and promiſed him both the Indies on his ſucceſs, of which he began now to have no manner of doubt.

The affair that happened at the gaming table, was likewiſe a ſcheme of Trent's, on a hint given by my lord to him, to endeavour to lead Booth into ſome ſcrape or diſtreſs; his lordſhip promiſing to pay whatever expence Trent might be led into by ſuch means. Upon his lordſhip's credit, therefore, the money lent to Booth was really advanced. And

hence

hence aroſe all that ſeeming generoſity and indifference as to the payment; Trent being ſatisfied with the obligation conferred on Booth, by means of which, he hoped to effect his purpoſe.

But now the ſcene was totally changed; for Mrs. Atkinſon, the morning after the quarrel, beginning ſeriouſly to recollect, that ſhe had carried the matter rather too far, and might really injure Amelia's reputation, a thought, to which the warm purſuit of her own intereſt, had a good deal blinded her at the time, reſolved to viſit my lord himſelf, and to let him into the whole ſtory; for, as ſhe had ſucceeded already in her favourite point, ſhe thought ſhe had no reaſon to fear any conſequence of the diſcovery. This reſolution ſhe immediately executed.

Trent came to attend his lordſhip, juſt after Mrs. Atkinſon had left him. He found the peer in a very ill humour, and brought no news to comfort or recruit his ſpirits; for he had himſelf juſt received a billet from Booth, with an excuſe for himſelf and his wife, from accepting the invitation at Trent's houſe that evening, where matters had been previouſly concerted for their entertainment; and when his lordſhip was, by accident, to drop into the room where Amelia was, while Booth was to be engaged at play in another.

And now after much debate, and after Trent had acquainted my lord with the wretched ſituation of Booth's circumſtances, it was reſolved, that Trent ſhould immediately demand his money of Booth, and upon his not paying it, for they both concluded it impoſſible he ſhould pay it, to put the note which Trent had for the money, in ſuit againſt him, by the genteel means of paying it away to a nominal third perſon; and this they both conceived muſt end immediately in the ruin of Booth, and, conſequently, in the conqueſt of Amelia.

In this project, and with this hope, both my lord and his ſetter, or (if the ſportſmen pleaſe) ſet-

ting-dog, both greatly exulted, and it was next morning executed, as we have already ſeen.

CHAP. IV.

Containing ſome diſtreſs.

TRENT's letter drove Booth almoſt to madneſs. To be indebted to ſuch a fellow, at any rate, had ſtuck much in his ſtomach, and had given him very great uneaſineſs; but to anſwer this demand in any other manner, than by paying the money, was, abſolutely, what he could not bear. Again, to pay this money, he very plainly ſaw there was but one way; and this was, by ſtripping his wife, not only of every farthing, but almoſt of every rag ſhe had in the world; a thought ſo dreadful, that it chilled his very ſoul with horror; and yet pride, at laſt, ſeemed to repreſent this as the leſſer evil of the two.

But how to do this was ſtill a queſtion. It was not ſure, at leaſt he feared it was not, that Amelia herſelf would readily conſent to this; and ſo far from perſuading her to ſuch a meaſure, he could not bear even to propoſe it. At length his determination was to acquaint his wife with the whole affair, and to aſk her conſent, by way of aſking her advice; for he was well aſſured ſhe could find no other means of extricating him out of his dilemma. This he accordingly did, repreſenting the affair as bad as he could; though, indeed, it was impoſſible for him to aggravate the real truth.

Amelia heard him patiently, without once interrupting him. When he had finiſhed, ſhe remained ſilent ſome time: Indeed, the ſhock ſhe received from this ſtory almoſt deprived her of the power of ſpeaking. At laſt ſhe anſwered: 'Well, my 'dear, you aſk my advice; I certainly can give 'you no other, than that the money muſt be paid.'

'But

'But how muſt it be paid?' cries he, 'Oh Hea-
'vens! thou ſweeteſt creature, what, not once up-
'braid me for bringing this ruin on thee!'

'Upbraid you, my dear!' ſays ſhe——'Would
'to Heaven I could prevent your upbraiding your-
'ſelf. But do not deſpair. I will endeavour by
'ſome means or other to get you the money.'

'Alas! my dear love,' cries Booth, 'I know the
'only way by which you can raiſe it. How can I
'conſent to that? do you forget the fears you ſo
'lately expreſſed, of what would be our wretched
'condition, when our little all was mouldered away?
'O, my Amelia! they cut my very heart-ſtrings,
'when you ſpoke then; for I had then loſt this
'little all. Indeed, I aſſure you, I have not played
'ſince, nor ever will more.'

'Keep that reſolution,' ſaid ſhe, 'my dear, and
'I hope we ſhall yet recover the paſt.'——At which words, caſting her eyes on the children, the tears burſt from her eyes, and ſhe cried,——'Heaven
'will, I hope, provide for us.'

A pathetic ſcene now enſued between the huſband and wife, which would not, perhaps, pleaſe many readers to ſee drawn at too full a length. It is ſufficient to ſay, that this excellent woman not only uſed her utmoſt endeavours to ſtifle and conceal her own concern, but ſaid and did every thing in her power to allay that of her huſband.

Booth was, at this time, to meet a perſon whom we have formerly mentioned in the courſe of our hiſtory. This gentleman had a place in the war-office, and pretended to be a man of great intereſt and conſequence; by which means he did not only receive great reſpect and court from the inferior officers, but actually bubbled ſeveral of their money, by undertaking to do them ſervices, which, in reality, were not within his power. In truth, I have known few great men, who have not been beſet with one or more of ſuch fellows as theſe, through whom

whom the inferior part of mankind are obliged to make their court to the great men themſelves; by which means, I believe, principally, perſons of real merit have been often deterred from the attempt; for theſe ſubaltern coxcombs ever aſſume an equal ſtate with their maſters, and look for an equal degree of reſpect to be paid to them; to which men of ſpirit, who are in every light their betters, are not eaſily brought to ſubmit. Theſe fellows, indeed, themſelves have a jealous eye towards all great abilities, and are ſure, to the utmoſt of their power, to keep all, who are ſo endowed, from the preſence of their maſters. They uſe their maſters, as bad miniſters have ſometimes uſed a prince; they keep all men of merit from his ears, and daily ſacrifice his true honour and intereſt to their own profit, and their own vanity.

As ſoon as Booth was gone to his appointment with this man, Amelia immediately betook herſelf to her buſineſs with the higheſt reſolution. She packed up, not only her own little trinkets, and thoſe of the children, but the greateſt part of her own poor clothes, (for ſhe was but barely provided) and then drove in a hackney-coach to the ſame pawnbroker's, who had before been recommended to her by Mrs. Atkinſon; who advanced her the money ſhe deſired.

Being now provided with her ſum, ſhe returned well pleaſed home; and her huſband coming in ſoon after, ſhe, with much cheerfulneſs, delivered him all the money.

Booth was ſo overjoyed with the proſpect of diſcharging his debt to Trent, that he did not perfectly reflect on the diſtreſs to which his family was now reduced. The good-humour which appeared in the countenance of Amelia, was, perhaps, another help to ſtifle thoſe reflections; but, above all, were the aſſurances he had received from the great man, whom he had met at a coffeehouſe, and who had promiſed

promiſed to do him all the ſervice in his power; which ſeveral halfpay ſubaltern officers aſſured him was very conſiderable.

With this comfortable news he acquainted his wife, who either was, or ſeemed to be, extremely well pleaſed with it. And now he ſet out, with the money in his pocket to pay his friend Trent, who, unluckily for him, happened not to be at home.

On his return home, he met his old friend the lieutenant, who thankfully paid him his crown, and inſiſted on his going with him and taking part of a bottle. This invitation was ſo eager and preſſing, that poor Booth, who could not reſiſt much importunity, complied.

While they were over this bottle, Booth acquainted his friend with the promiſes he had received that afternoon at the coffeehouſe, with which the old gentleman was very well pleaſed: 'For I have 'heard,' ſays he, 'that gentleman hath very power-'ful intereſt;' but he informed him likewiſe, that he had heard that the great man muſt be touched; for that he never did any thing without touching. Of this, indeed, the great man himſelf had given ſome oblique hints, by ſaying, with great ſagacity and ſlyneſs, That he knew where fifty pounds might be depoſited to much advantage.

Booth anſwered, That he would very readily advance a ſmall ſum if he had it in his power, but that at preſent it was not ſo; for that he had no more in the world than the ſum of fifty pounds, which he owed Trent, and which he intended to pay him the next morning.

'It is very right, undoubtedly, to pay your debts,' ſays the old gentleman; 'but ſure, on ſuch an occa-'ſion, any man but the rankeſt uſurer would be 'contented to ſtay a little while for his money; and 'it will be only a little while I am convinced; for 'if you depoſit this ſum in the great man's hands, 'I make no doubt but you will ſucceed imme-

'diately,

'diately, in getting your commiſſion; and then I 'will help you to a method of taking up ſuch a 'ſum as this.' The old gentleman perſiſted in this advice, and backed it with every argument he could invent; declaring, as was indeed true, that he gave the ſame advice which he would purſue, was the caſe his own.

Booth long rejected the opinion of his friend; till, as they had not argued with dry lips, he became heated with wine, and then at laſt the old gentleman ſucceeded. Indeed, ſuch was his love, either for Booth, or for his own opinion, and perhaps for both, that he omitted nothing in his power. He even endeavoured to palliate the character of Trent, and unſaid half what he had before ſaid of that gentleman. In the end, he undertook to make Trent eaſy, and to go to him the very next morning for that purpoſe.

Poor Booth at laſt yielded, though with the utmoſt difficulty. Indeed, had he known quite as much of Trent as the reader doth, no motive whatſoever would have prevailed on him to have taken the old gentleman's advice.

CHAP. V.

Containing more wormwood, and other ingredients.

IN the morning Booth communicated the matter to Amelia, who told him ſhe would not preſume to adviſe him in an affair, of which he was ſo much the better judge.

While Booth remained in a doubtful ſtate what conduct to purſue, Bound came to make him a viſit, and informed him, that he had been at Trent's houſe, but found him not at home; adding, that he would pay him a ſecond viſit that very day, and would not reſt till he found him.

Booth

Booth was aſhamed to confeſs his wavering reſolution, in an affair in which he had been ſo troubleſome to his friend; he therefore dreſſed himſelf immediately, and together they both went to wait on the little great man, to whom Booth now hoped to pay his court in the moſt effectual manner.

Bound had been longer acquainted with the modern methods of buſineſs than Booth; he adviſed his friend therefore, to begin with tipping (as it is called) the great man's ſervant. He did ſo, and by that means got ſpeedy acceſs to the maſter.

The great man received the money, not as a gudgeon doth a bait, but as a pike receives a poor gudgeon into his maw. To ſay the truth, ſuch fellows as theſe, may well be likened to that voracious fiſh, who fattens himſelf by devouring all the little inhabitants of the river. As ſoon as the great man had pocketed the caſh, he ſhook Booth by the hand, and told him, He would be ſure to ſlip no opportunity of ſerving him, and would ſend him word, as ſoon as any offered.

Here I ſhall ſtop one moment, and ſo, perhaps, will my good-natured reader; for, ſurely, it muſt be a hard heart, which is not affected, with reflecting on the manner, in which this poor little ſum was raiſed, and on the manner in which it was beſtowed. A worthy family, the wife and children of a man who had loſt his blood abroad in the ſervice of his country, parting with their little all, and expoſed to cold and hunger, to pamper ſuch a fellow as this!

And if any ſuch reader, as I mention, ſhould happen to be in reality a great man, and in power, perhaps the horror of this picture may induce him to put a final end to this abominable practice of touching, as it is called; by which, indeed, a ſet of leaches are permitted to ſuck the blood of the brave

brave and the indigent; of the widow and the orphan.

Booth now returned home, where he found his wife with Mrs. James. Amelia had, before the arrival of her huſband, abſolutely refuſed Mrs. James's invitation to dinner the next day; but when Booth came in, the lady renewed her application, and that in ſo preſſing a manner, that Booth ſeconded her; for though he had enough of jealouſy in his temper; yet ſuch was his friendſhip to the colonel, and ſuch his gratitude to the obligations which he had received from him, that his own unwillingneſs to believe any thing of him, co-operating with Amelia's endeavours to put every thing in the faireſt light, had brought him to acquit his friend of any ill deſign. To this, perhaps, the late affair concerning my lord had moreover contributed; for it ſeems to me, that the ſame paſſion cannot much energize on two different objects at one and the ſame time: an obſervation which, I believe, will hold as true, with regard to the cruel paſſions of jealouſy and anger, as to the gentle paſſion of love, in which one great and mighty object is ſure to engage the whole paſſion.

When Booth grew importunate, Amelia anſwered, 'My dear, I ſhould not refuſe you whatever 'was in my power; but this is abſolutely out of 'my power; for ſince I muſt declare the truth, I 'cannot dreſs myſelf.'

'Why ſo?' ſaid Mrs. James, 'I am ſure you are 'in good health.'

'Is there no other impediment to dreſſing but 'want of health, Madam?' anſwered Amelia.

'Upon my word, none that I know of,' replied Mrs. James.

'What do you think of want of clothes, Ma'dam?' ſaid Amelia.

'Ridiculous!' cried Mrs. James. 'What need 'have you to dreſs yourſelf out?—You will ſee no

'body but our own family, and I promiſe you I 'don't expect it.—A plain nightgown will do very 'well.'

'But if I muſt be plain with you, Madam,' ſaid Amelia, 'I have no other clothes but what I have 'now on my back.——I have not even a clean 'ſhift in the world; for you muſt know, my dear,' ſaid ſhe to Booth, 'that little Betty is walked off 'this morning, and hath carried all my linen with 'her.'

'How, my dear!' cries Booth, 'little Betty rob-'bed you!'

'It is even ſo,' anſwered Amelia. Indeed, ſhe ſpoke truth; for little Betty having perceived the evening before that her miſtreſs was moving her goods, was willing to lend all the aſſiſtance in her power, and had accordingly moved off early that morning, taking with her whatever ſhe could lay her hands on.

Booth expreſſed himſelf with ſome paſſion on the occaſion, and ſwore he would make an example of the girl. 'If the little ſlut be above ground,' cried he, 'I will find her out, and bring her to juſtice.'

'I am really ſorry for this accident,' ſaid Mrs. James, 'and (though I know not how to mention 'it) I beg you'll give me leave to offer you any linen 'of mine, till you can make new of your own.

Amelia thanked Mrs. James, but declined the favour, ſaying, ſhe ſhould do well enough at home; and that, as ſhe had no ſervant now to take care of her children, ſhe could not, nor would not leave them on any account.

'Then bring maſter and miſs with you,' ſaid Mrs. James. 'You ſhall poſitively dine with us 'to-morrow.'

'I beg, Madam, you will mention it no more,' ſaid Amelia; 'for beſides the ſubſtantial reaſons I 'have already given, I have ſome things on my 'mind at preſent which make me unfit for com-

'pany;

'pany; and I am reſolved nothing ſhall prevail on 'me to ſtir from home.'

Mrs. James had carried her invitation already to the very utmoſt limits of good-breeding, if not beyond them. She deſiſted therefore from going any further, and after ſome ſhort ſtay longer, took her leave, with many expreſſions of concern, which however, great as it was, left her heart and her mouth together, before ſhe was out of the houſe.

Booth now declared that he would go in purſuit of little Betty, againſt whom he vowed ſo much vengeance, that Amelia endeavoured to moderate his anger by repreſenting to him the girl's youth, and that this was the firſt fault ſhe had ever been guilty of. 'Indeed,' ſays ſhe, 'I ſhould be very 'glad to have my things again, and I would have 'the girl too puniſhed in ſome degree, which might 'poſſibly be for her own good; but I tremble to 'think of taking away her life:' for Booth in his rage had ſworn he would hang her.

'I know the tenderneſs of your heart, my dear,' ſaid Booth, 'and I love you for it; but I muſt 'beg leave to diſſent from your opinion. I do not 'think the girl in any light an object of mercy. 'She is not only guilty of diſhoneſty, but of cruel-'ty; for ſhe muſt know our ſituation, and the 'very little we had left. She is beſides guilty of 'ingratitude to you, who have treated her with ſo 'much kindneſs, that you have rather acted the 'part of a mother than of a miſtreſs. And ſo far 'from thinking her youth an excuſe, I think it 'rather an aggravation. It is true, indeed, there 'are faults which the youth of the party very 'ſtrongly recommends to our pardon. Such are 'all thoſe which proceed from careleſſneſs, and 'want of thought; but crimes of this black die, 'which are committed with deliberation, and im-'ply a bad mind, deſerve a more ſevere puniſh-'ment in a young perſon than in one of riper years;

'for what muſt the mind be in old age which 'hath acquired ſuch a degree of perfection in vil-'lany ſo very early! ſuch perſons as theſe it is 'really a charity to the public to put out of the 'ſociety; and, indeed, a religious man would put 'them out of the world for the ſake of themſelves; 'for whoever underſtands any thing of human na-'ture muſt know, that ſuch people, the longer 'they live, the more they will accumulate vice and 'wickedneſs.'

'Well, my dear,' cries Amelia, 'I cannot argue 'with you on theſe ſubjects. I ſhall always ſubmit 'to your ſuperior judgment, and I know you too 'well to think that you will ever do any thing 'cruel.'

Booth then left Amelia to the care of her children and went in purſuit of the thief.

CHAP. VI.

A ſcene of the tragic kind.

HE had not been long gone, before a thundering knock was heard at the door of the houſe where Amelia lodged, and preſently after a figure all pale, ghaſtly, and almoſt breathleſs, ruſhed into the room where ſhe then was with her children.

This figure Amelia ſoon recognized to be Mrs. Atkinſon, though, indeed, ſhe was ſo diſguiſed, that at her firſt entrance Amelia ſcarce knew her. Her eyes were ſunk in her head, her hair diſhevelled, and not only her dreſs, but every feature in her face was in the utmoſt diſorder.

Amelia was greatly ſhocked at this ſight, and the little girl was much frightened; as for the boy he immediately knew her, and running to Amelia, he cried, 'La! mamma, what is the matter with 'poor Mrs. Atkinſon?'

As ſoon as Mrs. Atkinſon recovered her breath, ſhe cried out——'O, Mrs. Booth! I am the moſt 'miſerable of women; I have loſt the beſt of huſ-'bands.'

Amelia looking at her with all the tenderneſs imaginable; forgetting, I believe, that there had ever been any quarrel between them——ſaid—— 'Good Heavens, Madam, what's the matter?

'O, Mrs. Booth!' anſwered ſhe, 'I fear I have loſt 'my huſband. The doctor ſays, there is but little 'hope of his life. O, Madam! however I have 'been in the wrong, I am ſure you will forgive me 'and pity me. I am ſure I am ſeverely puniſhed; 'for to that curſed affair I owe all my miſery.'

'Indeed, Madam,' cries Amelia, 'I am ex-'tremely concerned for your misfortune. But 'pray tell me, hath any thing happened to the ſer-'jeant?'

'O, Madam!' cries ſhe, 'I have the greateſt rea-'ſon to fear I ſhall loſe him. The doctor hath al-'moſt given him over——He ſays he hath ſcarce 'any hopes.——O, Madam! that evening that the 'fatal quarrel happened between us, my dear cap-'tain took it ſo to heart, that he ſat up all night 'and drank a whole bottle of brandy.——Indeed, 'he ſaid, he wiſhed to kill himſelf; for nothing 'could have hurt him ſo much in the world, he 'ſaid, as to have any quarrel between you and me. 'His concern, and what he drank together threw, 'him into a high fever.——So that, when I came 'home from my lord's—(for indeed, Madam, I 'have been and ſet all to rights.——Your reputa-'tion is now in no danger.) When I came home, 'I ſay, I found the poor man in a raving delirious 'fit, and in that he hath continued ever ſince till 'about an hour ago, when he came perfectly to 'his ſenſes; but now he ſays he is ſure he ſhall die, 'and begs for Heaven's ſake to ſee you firſt. 'Would you, Madam, would you have the good-

'neſs to grant my poor captain's deſire? conſider 'he is a dying man, and neither he nor I ſhall ever 'aſk you a ſecond favour. He ſays he hath ſome-'thing to ſay to you that he can mention to no other 'perſon, and that he cannot die in peace unleſs 'he ſees you.'

'Upon my word, Madam,' cries Amelia, 'I 'am extremely concerned at what you tell me. I 'knew the poor ſerjeant from his infancy, and al-'ways had an affection for him, as I think him to 'be one of the beſt-natured and honeſteſt crea-'tures upon earth. I am ſure, if I could do him 'any ſervice,——but of what uſe can my going 'be?'

'Of the higheſt in the world,' anſwered Mrs. Atkinſon. 'If you knew how earneſtly he entreated 'it, how his poor breaking heart begged to ſee you, 'you would not refuſe.'—

'Nay, I do not abſolutely refuſe,' cries Amelia. ——'Something to ſay to me of conſequence, and 'that he could not die in peace, unleſs he ſaid it—'Did he ſay that, Mrs. Atkinſon?'

'Upon my honour he did,' anſwered ſhe, 'and 'much more than I have related.'

'Well, I will go with you,' cries Amelia. 'I 'cannot gueſs what this ſhould be; but I will go.'

Mrs. Atkinſon then poured out a thouſand bleſſings and thankſgivings; and taking hold of Amelia's hand, and eagerly kiſſing it, cried out—'How 'could that fury paſſion drive me to quarrel with 'ſuch a creature?'

Amelia told her ſhe had forgiven and forgot it; and then calling up the miſtreſs of the houſe, and committing to her the care of the children, ſhe cloked herſelf up as well as ſhe could, and ſet out with Mrs. Atkinſon.

When they arrived at the houſe, Mrs. Atkinſon ſaid, ſhe would go firſt and give the captain ſome notice; for that if Amelia entered the room unexpectedly,

expectedly, the ſurpriſe might have an ill effect. She left therefore Amelia in the parlour, and proceeded directly up ſtairs.

Poor Atkinſon, weak and bad as was his condition, no ſooner heard that Amelia was come, than he diſcovered great joy in his countenance, and preſently afterwards ſhe was introduced to him.

Atkinſon exerted his utmoſt ſtrength to thank her for this goodneſs to a dying man (for ſo he called himſelf). He ſaid, he ſhould not have preſumed to give her this trouble, had he not had ſomething, which he thought of conſequence, to ſay to her, and which he could not mention to any other perſon. He then deſired his wife to give him a little box, of which he always kept the key himſelf, and afterwards begged her to leave the room for a few minutes; at which, neither ſhe, nor Amelia, expreſſed any diſſatisfaction.

When he was alone with Amelia, he ſpoke as follows: 'This, Madam, is the laſt time my eyes 'will ever behold what——Do pardon me, Ma'dam, I will never offend you more.'——Here he ſunk down in his bed, and the tears guſhed from his eyes.

'Why ſhould you fear to offend me, Joe,' ſaid Amelia. 'I am ſure you never did any thing wil'lingly to offend me.'

'No, Madam,' anſwered he, 'I would die a 'thouſand times, before I would have ventured it 'in the ſmalleſt matter. But—I cannot ſpeak—'and yet I muſt. You cannot pardon me, and yet, 'perhaps, as I am a dying man, and never ſhall 'ſee you more.—Indeed, if I was to live after this 'diſcovery, I ſhould never dare to look you in the 'face again—And yet, Madam, to think I ſhall 'never ſee you more is worſe than ten thouſand 'deaths.'

'Indeed, Mr. Atkinſon,' cries Amelia, bluſhing, and looking down on the floor, 'I muſt not hear

'you talk in this manner. If you have any thing 'to ſay, tell it me, and do not be afraid of my an- 'ger; for I think I may promiſe to forgive what- 'ever it was poſſible you ſhould do.'

'Here then, Madam,' ſaid he, 'is your picture; 'I ſtole it when I was eighteen years of age, and 'have kept it ever ſince. It is ſet in gold, with 'three little diamonds; and yet I can truly ſay, it 'was not the gold nor the diamonds which I ſtole— 'it was that face, which, if I had been the emperor 'of the world—'

'I muſt not hear any more of this;' ſaid ſhe,—— 'comfort yourſelf, Joe, and think no more of this 'matter. Be aſſured, I freely and heartily forgive 'you—But pray compoſe yourſelf; come, let me 'call in your wife.'—

'Firſt, Madam, let me beg one favour,'—cried he, 'conſider it is the laſt, and then I ſhall die in 'peace—let me kiſs that hand before I die.'

'Well, nay,' ſays ſhe, 'I don't know what I am 'doing—well—there—ſhe then careleſsly gave him 'her hand, which he put gently to his lips, and 'then preſently let it drop and fell back in the bed.'

Amelia now ſummoned Mrs. Atkinſon, who was, indeed, no further off than juſt without the door. She then haſtened down ſtairs and called for a great glaſs of water, which having drank off, ſhe threw herſelf into a chair, and the tears ran plentifully from her eyes with compaſſion for the poor wretch ſhe had juſt left in his bed.

To ſay the truth without any injury to her chaſtity, that heart which had ſtood firm as a rock to all the attacks of title and equipage, of finery and flattery, and which all the treaſures of the univerſe could not have purchaſed, was yet a little ſoftened by the plain, honeſt, modeſt, involuntary, delicate, heroic paſſion of this poor and humble ſwain; for whom, in ſpite of herſelf, ſhe felt a momentary tender-

tenderneſs and complacence, at which Booth, if he had known it, would perhaps have been diſpleaſed.

Having ſtaid ſome time in the parlour, and not finding Mrs. Atkinſon come down, (for indeed her huſband was then ſo bad ſhe could not quit him) Amelia left a meſſage with the maid of the houſe for her miſtreſs, purporting that ſhe ſhould be ready to do any thing in her power to ſerve her, and then left the houſe with a confuſion on her mind that ſhe had never felt before, and which any chaſtity that is not hewn out of marble muſt feel on ſo tender and delicate an occaſion.

CHAP. VII.

In which Mr. Booth meets with more than one adventure.

BOOTH having hunted about for two hours, at laſt ſaw a young lady in a tattered ſilk gown, ſtepping out of a ſhop in Monmouth ſtreet, into a hackney-coach. This lady, notwithſtanding the diſguiſe of her dreſs, he preſently diſcovered to be no other than little Betty.

He inſtantly gave the alarm of ſtop thief, ſtop coach; upon which, Mrs. Betty was immediately ſtopt in her vehicle, and Booth and his myrmidons laid hold of her.

The girl no ſooner found that ſhe was ſeized by her maſter, than the conſciouſneſs of her guilt overpowered her; for ſhe was not yet an experienced offender, and ſhe immediately confeſſed her crime.

She was then carried before a juſtice of peace, where ſhe was ſearched, and there was found in her poſſeſſion four ſhillings and ſix pence in money, beſides the ſilk gown, which was, indeed, proper furniture for rag-fair, and ſcarce worth a ſingle farthing,

thing, though the honeſt ſhopkeeper in Monmouth-ſtreet had ſold it for a crown to this ſimple girl.

The girl being examined by the magiſtrate, ſpoke as follows: 'Indeed, Sir, an't pleaſe your worſhip, 'I am very ſorry for what I have done; and to be 'ſure, an't pleaſe your honour, my lord, it muſt 'have been the devil that put me upon it; for to 'be ſure, pleaſe your majeſty, I never thought 'upon ſuch a thing in my whole life before, any 'more than I did of my dying day; but, indeed, 'Sir, an't pleaſe your worſhip.—'

She was running on in this manner when the juſtice interrupted her, and deſired her to give an account what ſhe had taken from her maſter, and what ſhe had done with it.

'Indeed, an't pleaſe your majeſty,' ſaid ſhe, 'I 'took no more than two ſhifts of Madam's, and 'I pawned them for five ſhillings, which I gave 'for the gown that's upon my back; and as for 'the money in my pocket, it is every farthing of 'it my own. I am ſure I intended to carry back 'the ſhifts too as ſoon as ever I could get money 'to take them out.'

The girl having told them where the pawnbroker lived, the juſtice ſent to him, to produce the ſhifts, which he preſently did; for he expected that a warrant to ſearch his houſe would be the conſequence of his refuſal.

The ſhifts being produced, on which the honeſt pawnbroker had lent five ſhillings, appeared plainly to be worth above thirty, indeed, when new they had coſt much more. So that by their goodneſs, as well as by their ſize, it was certain they could not have belonged to the girl.

Booth grew very warm againſt the pawnbroker. 'I hope, Sir,' ſaid he to the juſtice, 'there is ſome 'puniſhment for this fellow likewiſe, who ſo plainly 'appears to have known that theſe goods were 'ſtolen. The ſhops of theſe fellows may, indeed,

'be

'be called the fountains of theft; for it is in reality 'the encouragement which they meet with from 'theſe receivers of their goods, that induces men 'very often to become thieves, ſo that theſe de- 'ſerve equal, if not ſeverer puniſhment than the 'thieves themſelves.'

The pawnbroker proteſted his innocence; and denied the taking in the ſhifts. Indeed, in this he ſpoke truth; for he had ſlipt into an inner room, as was always his cuſtom on theſe occaſions, and left a little boy to do the buſineſs; by which means, he had carried on the trade of receiving ſtolen goods for many years with impunity, and had been twice acquitted at the Old-Baily, though the juggle appeared upon the moſt manifeſt evidence.

As the juſtice was going to ſpeak, he was interrupted by the girl, who, falling upon her knees to Booth, with many tears, begged his forgiveneſs.

'Indeed, Betty,' cries Booth, 'you do not de- 'ſerve forgiveneſs; for you know very good rea- 'ſons why you ſhould not have thought of robbing 'your miſtreſs, particularly at this time. And what 'further aggravates your crime, is, that you have 'robbed the beſt and kindeſt miſtreſs in the world. 'Nay, you are not only guilty of felony, but of a 'felonious breach of truſt; for you know very well 'every thing your miſtreſs had, was intruſted to your 'care.'

Now it happened by very great accident that the juſtice before whom the girl was brought, underſtood the law. Turning therefore to Booth, he ſaid, 'Do you ſay, Sir, that this girl was intruſted with 'the ſhifts?'

'Yes, Sir,' ſaid Booth, 'ſhe was intruſted with 'every thing.'

'And will you ſwear that the goods ſtolen,' ſaid the juſtice, 'are worth forty ſhillings?'

'No, indeed, Sir,' anſwered Booth, 'nor that 'they are worth thirty either.'

'Then,

'Then, Sir,' cries the juſtice, 'the girl cannot be 'guilty of felony.'

'How, Sir,' ſaid Booth, 'is it not a breach of 'truſt? and is not a breach of truſt felony, and the 'worſt felony too?'

'No, Sir,' anſwered the juſtice, 'a breach of 'truſt is no crime in our law, unleſs it be in a 'ſervant; and then the act of parliament requires 'the goods taken to be of the value of forty 'ſhillings.'

'So then a ſervant,' cries Booth, 'may rob his 'maſter of thirty-nine ſhillings whenever he pleaſes, 'and he can't be puniſhed.'

'If the goods are under his care, he can't,' cries the juſtice.

'I aſk your pardon, Sir,' ſays Booth. 'I do 'not doubt what you ſay; but ſure this is a very 'extraordinary law.'

'Perhaps I think ſo too,' ſaid the juſtice; 'but 'it belongs not to my office to make or to mend 'laws. My buſineſs is only to execute them. If 'therefore the caſe be as you ſay, I muſt diſcharge 'the girl.'

'I hope, however, you will puniſh the pawn-'broker,' cries Booth.

'If the girl is diſcharged,' cries the juſtice, 'ſo 'muſt be the pawnbroker; for if the goods are 'not ſtolen, he cannot be guilty of receiving them, 'knowing them to be ſtolen. And beſides, as to 'his offence, to ſay the truth, I am almoſt weary 'of proſecuting it; for ſuch are the difficulties 'laid in the way of this proſecution, that it is al-'moſt impoſſible to convict any one on it. And 'to ſpeak my opinion plainly, ſuch are the laws, and 'ſuch the method of proceeding, that one would 'almoſt think our laws were rather made for the 'protection of rogues, than for the puniſhment of 'them.'

Thus

Thus ended this examination: the thief and the receiver went about their buſineſs, and Booth departed, in order to go home to his wife.

In his way home, Booth was met by a lady in a chair; who, immediately upon ſeeing him, ſtopt her chair, bolted out of it, and going directly up to him, ſaid, 'So, Mr. Booth, you have kept your 'word with me.'

This lady was no other than Miſs Matthews, and the ſpeech ſhe meant was of a promiſe made to her at the maſquerade, of viſiting her within a day or two; which, whether he ever intended to keep, I cannot ſay, but in truth, the ſeveral accidents that had ſince happened to him, had ſo diſcompoſed his mind, that he had abſolutely forgot it.

Booth however was too ſenſible, and too well-bred, to make the excuſe of forgetfulneſs to a lady; nor could he readily find any other. While he ſtood therefore heſitating, and looking not over wiſe, Miſs Matthews ſaid: 'Well, Sir, ſince by your con-'fuſion I ſee you have ſome grace left, I will par-'don you on one condition, and that is, that you 'will ſup with me this night. But, if you fail me 'now, expect all the revenge of an injured woman.' She then bound herſelf by a moſt outrageous oath, that ſhe would complain to his wife——'And I am 'ſure,' ſays ſhe, 'ſhe is ſo much a woman of ho-'nour, as to do me juſtice.—And though I miſcarried 'in my firſt attempt, be aſſured I will take care of 'my ſecond.'

Booth aſked, what ſhe meant by her firſt attempt? to which ſhe anſwered, That ſhe had already writ his wife an account of his ill uſage of her, but that ſhe was pleaſed it had miſcarried. She then repeated her aſſeverations, that ſhe would now do it effectually if he diſappointed her.

This threat ſhe reckoned would moſt certainly terrify poor Booth; and, indeed, ſhe was not miſtaken; for, I believe, it would have been impoſſible, by

by any other menace, or by any other means, to have brought him once even to balance in his mind on this queſtion. But by this threat ſhe prevailed; and Booth promiſed, upon his word and honour, to come to her at the hour ſhe appointed. After which, ſhe took leave of him with a ſqueeze by the hand, and a ſmiling countenance, and walked back to her chair.

But, however ſhe might be pleaſed with having obtained this promiſe, Booth was far from being delighted with the thoughts of having given it. He looked, indeed, upon the conſequences of this meeting with horror; but as to the conſequence which was ſo apparently intended by the lady, he reſolved againſt it. At length he came to this determination; to go according to his appointment, to argue the matter with the lady, and to convince her, if poſſible, that, from a regard to his honour only, he muſt diſcontinue her acquaintance. If this failed to ſatisfy her, and ſhe ſtill perſiſted in her threats to acquaint his wife with the affair, he then reſolved, whatever pains it coſt him, to communicate the whole truth himſelf to Amelia, from whoſe goodneſs he doubted not but to obtain an abſolute remiſſion.

CHAP. VIII.

In which Amelia appears in a light more amiable than gay.

WE will now return to Amelia, whom we left in ſome perturbation of mind departing from Mrs. Atkinſon.

Though ſhe had before walked through the ſtreets in a very improper dreſs with Mrs. Atkinſon, ſhe was unwilling, eſpecially as ſhe was alone, to return in the ſame manner. Indeed, ſhe was ſcarce able to walk in her preſent condition; for

the caſe of poor Atkinſon had much affected her tender heart, and her eyes had overflown with many tears.

It occurred likewiſe to her at preſent, that ſhe had not a ſingle ſhilling in her pocket, or at home, to provide food for herſelf and her family. In this ſituation ſhe reſolved to go immediately to the pawnbroker whither ſhe had gone before, and to depoſite her picture for what ſhe could raiſe upon it. She then immediately took a chair, and put her deſign in execution.

The intrinſic value of the gold, in which this picture was ſet, and of the little diamonds which ſurrounded it, amounted to nine guineas. This therefore was advanced to her, and the prettieſt face in the world (ſuch is often the fate of beauty) was depoſited, as of no value into the bargain.

When ſhe came home, ſhe found the following letter from Mrs. Atkinſon:

'My deareſt Madam,

'AS I know your goodneſs, I could not delay 'a moment acquainting you with the happy 'turn of my affairs ſince you went. The doctor, 'on his return to viſit my huſband, has aſſured 'me, that the captain was on the recovery, and 'in very little danger; and I really think he is 'ſince mended. I hope to wait on you ſoon with 'better news. Heaven bleſs you, dear Madam, 'and believe me to be, with the utmoſt ſincerity,

'Your moſt obliged,

'obedient humble ſervant,

'Atkinſon.'

Amelia was really pleaſed with this letter; and now it being paſt four o'clock, ſhe deſpaired of ſeeing her huſband till the evening. She therefore provided

provided ſome tarts for her children, and then eating nothing but a ſlice of bread and butter herſelf, ſhe began to prepare for the captain's ſupper.

There were two things of which her huſband was particularly fond, which, though it may bring the ſimplicity of his taſte into great contempt with ſome of my readers, I will venture to name. Theſe were a fowl and egg ſauce, and mutton broth; both which Amelia immediately purchaſed.

As ſoon as the clock ſtruck ſeven, the good creature went down into the kitchen, and began to exerciſe her talents of cookery, of which ſhe was a great miſtreſs, as ſhe was of every œconomical office, from the higheſt to the loweſt; and as no woman could outſhine her in a drawing-room, ſo none could make the drawing-room itſelf ſhine brighter than Amelia. And if I may ſpeak a bold truth, I queſtion whether it be poſſible to view this fine creature in a more amiable light, than while ſhe was dreſſing her huſband's ſupper, with her little children playing round her.

It was now half an hour paſt eight, and the meat almoſt ready, the table likewiſe neatly ſpread with materials borrowed from her landlady, and ſhe began to grow a little uneaſy at Booth's not returning; when a ſudden knock at the door rouſed her ſpirits, and ſhe cried, 'There, my dear, there is 'your good papa;' at which words ſhe darted ſwiftly up ſtairs, and opened the door to her huſband.

She deſired her huſband into walk up to the dining-room, and ſhe would come to him in an inſtant; for ſhe was deſirous to encreaſe his pleaſure, by ſurprizing him with his two favourite diſhes. She then went down again to the kitchen, where the maid of the houſe undertook to ſend up the ſupper, and ſhe with her children returned to Booth.

He then told her conciſely what had happened, with relation to the girl—To which ſhe ſcarce made any anſwer; but aſked him if he had not dined. He aſſured her he had not eat a morſel the whole day. 'Well,' ſays ſhe, 'my dear, I am a 'fellow-ſufferer; but we ſhall both enjoy our ſup-'per the more; for I have made a little proviſion 'for you, as I gueſſed what might be the caſe. I 'have got you a bottle of wine too. And here 'is a clean cloth and a ſmiling countenance, my 'dear Will. Indeed, I am in unuſual good ſpirits 'to-night, and I have made a promiſe to the chil-'dren, which you muſt confirm; I have promiſed 'to let them ſit up this one night to ſupper with 'us.——Nay, don't look ſo ſerious; caſt off all 'uneaſy thoughts—I have a preſent for you here— 'No matter how I came by it.'——At which words, ſhe put eight guineas into his hand, crying, 'Come, my dear Bill, be gay—Fortune will yet 'be kind to us—at leaſt, let us be happy this night. 'Indeed, the pleaſures of many women, during 'their whole lives, will not amount to my happi-'neſs this night, if you will be in good humour.'

Booth fetched a deep ſigh, and cried—'How 'unhappy am I, my dear, that I can't ſup with you 'to-night!'

As in the delightful month of June, when the ſky is all ſerene, and the whole face of nature looks with a pleaſing and ſmiling aſpect, ſuddenly a dark cloud ſpreads itſelf over the hemiſphere, the ſun vaniſhes from our ſight, and every object is ob-ſcured by a dark and horrid gloom. So happened it to Amelia; the joy that had enlightened every feature diſappeared in a moment; the luſtre for-ſook her ſhining eyes; and all the little loves that played and wantoned in her cheeks, hung their drooping heads, and with a faint trembling voice, ſhe repeated her huſband's words: 'Not ſup with 'me to-night, my dear!'

'Indeed, my dear,' anſwered he, 'I cannot. I 'need not tell you how uneaſy it makes me, or that 'I am as much diſappointed as yourſelf; but I am 'engaged to ſup abroad. I have abſolutely given 'my honour; and beſides, it is on buſineſs of im-'portance.'

'My dear,' ſaid ſhe, 'I ſay no more. I am 'convinced you would not willingly ſup from me. 'I own it is a very particular diſappointment to 'me to-night, when I had propoſed unuſual plea-'ſure; but the ſame reaſon which is ſufficient to 'you, ought to be ſo to me.'

Booth made his wife a compliment on her ready compliance, and then aſked her, what ſhe intended by giving him that money, or how ſhe came by it.

'I intend, my dear,' ſaid ſhe, 'to give it you; 'that is all. As to the manner in which I came 'by it, you know, Billy, that is not very material. 'You are well aſſured I got it by no means which 'would diſpleaſe you; and, perhaps, another time 'I may tell you.'

Booth aſked no farther queſtions; but he returned her, and inſiſted on her taking all but one guinea, ſaying, ſhe was the ſafeſt treaſurer. He then promiſed her to make all the haſte home in his power, and he hoped, he ſaid, to be with her in an hour and half at fartheſt, and then took his leave.

When he was gone, the poor diſappointed Amelia ſat down to ſupper with her children; with whoſe company ſhe was forced to conſole herſelf for the abſence of her huſband.

CHAP. IX.

A very tragic ſcene.

THE clock had ſtruck eleven, and Amelia was juſt proceeding to put her children to bed, when ſhe heard a knock at the ſtreet-door.

Upon

Upon which, the boy cried out, 'There's papa, 'mamma, pray let me ſtay and ſee him before I 'go to bed.' This was a favour very eaſily obtained; for Amelia inſtantly ran down ſtairs, exulting in the goodneſs of her huſband for returning ſo ſoon, though half an hour was already elapſed beyond the time in which he promiſed to return.

Poor Amelia was now again diſappointed; for it was not her huſband at the door, but a ſervant with a letter for him, which he delivered into her hands. She immediately returned up ſtairs, and ſaid—'It was not your papa, my dear; but I hope 'it is one who hath brought us ſome good news.' For Booth had told her, that he hourly expected to receive ſuch from the great man, and had deſired her to open any letter which came to him in his abſence.

Amelia therefore broke open the letter, and read as follows:

'SIR,

'AFTER what hath paſt between us, I 'need only tell you that I know you ſup-'ped this very night alone with Miſs Matthews: 'a fact which will upbraid you ſufficiently, with-'out putting me to that trouble; and will very well 'account for my deſiring the favour of ſeeing you 'to-morrow in Hyde Park at ſix in the morning. 'You will forgive me reminding you once more 'how inexcuſable this behaviour is in you, who are 'poſſeſſed in your own wife of the moſt ineſtimable 'jewel.

'Yours, &c.

'T. James.

'I ſhall bring piſtols with me.'

It is not eaſy to deſcribe the agitation of Amelia's mind when ſhe read this letter. She threw herſelf into her chair, turned as pale as death, began to tremble all over, and had juſt power enough left to tap the bottle of wine, which ſhe had hitherto preſerved entire for her huſband, and to drink off a large bumper.

The little boy perceived the ſtrange ſymptoms which appeared in his mother; and running to her, he cried, 'What's the matter, my dear mamma! 'you don't look well?—No harm hath happened 'to poor papa, I hope—Sure that bad man hath 'not carried him away again?'

Amelia anſwered, 'No, child, nothing—no-'thing at all.'——And then a large ſhower of tears came to her aſſiſtance; which preſently after produced the ſame in the eyes of both the children.

Amelia, after a ſhort ſilence, looking tenderly at her children, cried out, 'It is too much, too much 'to bear. Why did I bring theſe little wretches 'into the world! why were theſe innocents born 'to ſuch a fate!'—She then threw her arms round them both, (for they were before embracing her knees) and cried, 'O my children! my children! 'forgive me, my babes!—Forgive me that I have 'brought you into ſuch a world as this! You are 'undone—my children are undone!'

The little boy anſwered with great ſpirit, 'How 'undone, mamma? my ſiſter and I don't care a 'farthing for being undone—Don't cry ſo upon 'our accounts—we are both very well; indeed we 'are—But do pray tell us. I am ſure ſome acci-'dent hath happened to poor papa.'

'Mention him no more,' cries Amelia—'your 'papa is—indeed he is a wicked man—he cares 'not for any of us——O Heavens! is this the hap-'pineſs I promiſed myſelf this evening!'——At which

which words ſhe fell into an agony, holding both her children in her arms.

The maid of the houſe now entered the room, with a letter in her hand, which ſhe had received from a porter, whoſe arrival the reader will not wonder to have been unheard by Amelia in her preſent condition.

The maid, upon her entrance into the room, perceiving the ſituation of Amelia, cried out, 'Good Heavens! madam, what's the matter?' Upon which, Amelia, who had a little recovered herſelf after the laſt violent vent of her paſſion, ſtarted up and cried—'Nothing, Mrs. Suſan—'nothing extraordinary. I am ſubject to theſe fits 'ſometimes; but I am very well now. Come, 'my dear children, I am very well again; indeed I 'am. You muſt now go to bed; Mrs. Suſan will 'be ſo good as to put you to bed.'

'But why doth not papa love us?' cries the little boy, 'I am ſure we have none of us done any 'thing to diſoblige him.'

This innocent queſtion of the child ſo ſtung Amelia, that ſhe had the utmoſt difficulty to prevent a relapſe. However, ſhe took another dram of wine; for ſo it might be called to her, who was the moſt temperate of women, and never exceeded three glaſſes on any occaſion. In this glaſs ſhe drank her children's health, and ſoon after ſo well ſoothed, and compoſed them, that they went quietly away with Mrs. Suſan.

The maid, in the ſhock ſhe had conceived at the melancholy, indeed frightful ſcene, which had preſented itſelf to her at her firſt coming into the room, had quite forgot the letter, which ſhe held in her hand. However, juſt at her departure, ſhe recollected it, and delivered it to Amelia; who was no ſooner alone, than ſhe opened it, and read as follows:

'My deareſt ſweeteſt love,

'I Write this from the bailiff's houſe, where I was formerly, and to which I am again brought at the ſuit of that villain, Trent. I have the misfortune to think I owe this accident (I mean, that it happened to-night) to my own folly, in endeavouring to keep a ſecret from you—O, my dear! had I had reſolution to confeſs my crime to you, your forgiveneſs would, I am convinced, have coſt me only a few bluſhes, and I had now been happy in your arms. Fool that I was, to leave you on ſuch an account, and to add to a former tranſgreſſion a new one!—Yet, by Heavens! I mean not a tranſgreſſion of the like kind; for of that I am not, nor ever will be guilty; and when you know the true reaſon of my leaving you to-night, I think you will pity, rather than upbraid me. I am ſure you would, if you knew the compunction with which I left you to go to the moſt worthleſs, the moſt infamous ——Do gueſs the reſt——Gueſs that crime with which I cannot ſtain my paper—but ſtill believe me no more guilty than I am—or, if it will leſſen your vexation at what hath befallen me, believe me as guilty as you pleaſe, and think me, for a while at leaſt, as undeſerving of you, as I think myſelf. This paper and pen are ſo bad, I queſtion whether you can read what I write; I almoſt doubt whether I wiſh you ſhould. Yet this I will endeavour to make as legible as I can ——Be comforted, my dear love, and ſtill keep up your ſpirits with the hopes of better days. The doctor will be in town to-morrow, and I truſt on his goodneſs for my delivery once more from this place, and that I ſhall ſoon be able

'to

'to repay him. That Heaven may bleſs and pre-
'ſerve you, is the prayer of,
'My deareſt love,
'Your ever fond, affectionate,
'and hereafter, faithful huſband,
'W. Booth.'

Amelia pretty well gueſſed the obſcure meaning of this letter, which though, at another time, it might have given her unſpeakable torment, was at preſent rather of the medicinal kind, and ſerved to allay her anguiſh. Her anger to Booth too began a little to abate, and was ſoftened by her concern for his misfortune. Upon the whole, however, ſhe paſt a miſerable and ſleepleſs night, her gentle mind torn and diſtracted with various and contending paſſions, diſtreſſed with doubts, and wandering in a kind of twilight, which preſented her only objects of different degrees of horror, and where black deſpair cloſed at a ſmall diſtance the gloomy proſpect.

AMELIA.

BOOK XII.

CHAP. I.

The book begins with polite hiſtory.

BEFORE we return to the miſerable couple, whom we left at the end of the laſt book, we will give our reader the more cheerful view of the gay and happy family of Colonel James.

Mrs. James, when ſhe could not, as we have ſeen, prevail with Amelia to accept that invitation, which, at the deſire of the colonel, ſhe had ſo kindly and obediently carried her, returned to her huſband, and acquainted him with the ill ſucceſs of her embaſſy; at which, to ſay the truth, ſhe was almoſt as much diſappointed as the colonel himſelf; for he had not taken a much ſtronger liking to Amelia, than ſhe herſelf had conceived for Booth. This will account for ſome paſſages, which may have a little ſurprized the reader in the former chapters of this hiſtory, as we were not then at leiſure to communicate to them a hint of this kind; it was indeed on Mr. Booth's account that ſhe had been at the trouble of changing her dreſs at the maſquerade.

But her paſſions of this ſort, happily for her, were not extremely ſtrong; ſhe was therefore eaſily baulk-

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ed; and as ſhe met with no encouragement from Booth, ſhe ſoon gave way to the impetuoſity of Miſs Matthews; and from that time ſcarce thought more of the affair, till her huſband's deſign againſt the wife revived hers likewiſe; inſomuch, that her paſſion was, at this time, certainly ſtrong enough for Booth, to produce a good hearty hatred for Amelia, whom ſhe now abuſed to the colonel in very groſs terms; both on the account of her poverty, and her inſolence; for ſo ſhe termed the refuſal of all her offers.

The colonel ſeeing no hopes of ſoon poſſeſſing his new miſtreſs, began, like a prudent and wiſe man, to turn his thoughts towards the ſecuring his old one. From what his wife had mentioned, concerning the behaviour of the ſhepherdeſs and particularly her preference of Booth, he had little doubt but that this was the identical Miſs Matthews. He reſolved therefore to watch her cloſely, in hopes of diſcovering Booth's intrigue with her. In this, beſides the remainder of affection which he yet preſerved for that lady, he had another view, as it would give him a fair pretence to quarrel with Booth; who, by carrying on this intrigue, would have broke his word and honour given to him. And he began now to hate poor Booth heartily, from the ſame reaſon from which Mrs. James had contracted her averſion to Amelia.

The colonel therefore employed an inferior kind of pimp to watch the lodgings of Miſs Matthews, and to acquaint him if Booth, whoſe perſon was known to the pimp, made any viſit there.

The pimp faithfully performed his office, and having laſt night made the wiſhed-for diſcovery, immediately acquainted his maſter with it.

Upon this news, the colonel preſently diſpatched to Booth the ſhort note which we have before ſeen. He ſent it to his own houſe inſtead of Miſs Matthews's, with hopes of that very accident which actually

actually did happen. Not that he had any ingredient of the bully in him, and deſire to be prevented from fighting, but with a proſpect of injuring Booth in the affection and eſteem of Amelia, and of recommending himſelf ſomewhat to her by appearing in the light of her champion; for which purpoſe he added that compliment to Amelia in his letter. He concluded upon the whole, that, if Booth himſelf opened the letter, he would certainly meet him the next morning; but if his wife ſhould open it before he came home, it might have the effects before mentioned; and for his future expoſtulation with Booth, it would not be in Amelia's power to prevent it.

Now it happened, that this pimp had more maſters than one. Amongſt theſe, was the worthy Mr. Trent, for whom he had often done buſineſs of the pimping vocation. He had been employed indeed in the ſervice of the great peer himſelf, under the direction of the ſaid Trent, and was the very perſon who had aſſiſted the ſaid Trent in dogging Booth and his wife to the opera-houſe on maſquerade night.

This ſubaltern pimp was with his ſuperior, Trent, yeſterday morning, when he found a bailiff with him in order to receive his inſtructions for the arreſting Booth; when the bailiff ſaid, it would be a very difficult matter to take him; for that to his knowledge he was as ſhy a cock as any in England. The ſubaltern immediately acquainted Trent with the buſineſs in which he was employed by the colonel. Upon which, Trent enjoined him the moment he had ſet him to give immediate notice to the bailiff; which he agreed to, and performed accordingly.

The bailiff, on receiving the notice, immediately ſet out for his ſtand at an alehouſe within three doors of Miſs Matthews's lodgings. At which, unfortunately for poor Booth, he arrived a very few

minutes before Booth left that lady in order to return to Amelia.

These were several matters, of which we thought necessary our reader should be informed; for, besides that it conduces greatly to a perfect understanding of all history, there is no exercise of the mind of a sensible reader more pleasant than the tracing the several small and almost imperceptible links in every chain of events by which all the great actions of the world are produced. We will now in the next chapter proceed with our history.

CHAP. II.

In which Amelia visits her husband.

AMELIA, after much anxious thinking, in which she sometimes flattered herself that her husband was less guilty than she had at first imagined him, and that he had some good excuse to make for himself; (for, indeed, she was not so able as willing to make one for him) at length resolved to set out for the bailiff's castle. Having therefore strictly recommended the care of her children to her good landlady, she sent for a hackney-coach, and ordered the coachman to drive to Gray's-Inn-Lane.

When she came to the house, and asked for the captain, the bailiff's wife, who came to the door, guessing by the greatness of her beauty, and the disorder of her dress, that she was a young lady of pleasure, answered surlily, 'Captain! I do not 'know of any captain that is here, not I!' For this good woman was, as well as Dame Purgante in Prior, a bitter enemy to all whores; especially to those of the handsome kind; for some such she suspected to go shares with her in a certain property to which the law gave her the sole right.

Amelia

Amelia replied, ſhe was certain that Captain Booth was there. 'Well, if he is ſo,' cries the bailiff's wife, 'you may come into the kitchen if you 'will——and he ſhall be called down to you if 'you have any buſineſs with him.' At the ſame time ſhe muttered ſomething to herſelf, and concluded a little more intelligibly, though ſtill in a muttering voice, that ſhe kept no ſuch houſe.

Amelia, whoſe innocence gave her no ſuſpicion of the true cauſe of this good woman's ſullenneſs, was frightened, and began to fear ſhe knew not what. At laſt ſhe made a ſhift to totter into the kitchen, when the miſtreſs of the houſe aſked her, 'Well, Madam, who ſhall I tell the captain wants 'to ſpeak with him?'

'I aſk your pardon, Madam,' cries Amelia, 'in 'my confuſion I really forgot you did not know 'me——tell him, if you pleaſe, that I am his 'wife.'

'And are you indeed his wife, Madam,' cries Mrs. Bailiff, a little ſoftened?'

'Yes, indeed, and upon my honour,' anſwers Amelia.

'If this be the caſe,' cries the other, 'you may 'walk up ſtairs if you pleaſe. Heaven forbid, I 'ſhould part man and wife. Indeed, I think they 'can never be too much together. But I never 'will ſuffer any bad doings in my houſe, nor any 'of the town ladies to come to gentlemen here.

Amelia anſwered, that ſhe liked her the better; for, indeed, in her preſent diſpoſition, Amelia was as much exaſperated againſt wicked women as the virtuous miſtreſs of the houſe, or any other virtuous woman could be.

The bailiff's wife then uſhered Amelia up ſtairs, and having unlocked the priſoner's doors, cried, 'Captain, here is your lady, Sir, come to ſee you.' At which words, Booth ſtarted up from his chair, and caught Amelia in his arms, embracing her for

a conſiderable time with ſo much rapture, that the bailiff's wife, who was an eye-witneſs of this violent fondneſs, began to ſuſpect whether Amelia had really told her truth. However, ſhe had ſome little awe of the captain, and for fear of being in the wrong, did not interfere, but ſhut the door and turned the key.

When Booth found himſelf alone with his wife, and had vented the firſt violence of his rapture in kiſſes and embraces, he looked tenderly at her, and cried, 'Is it poſſible, Amelia, is it poſſible you can 'have this goodneſs to follow ſuch a wretch as me 'to ſuch a place as this—or do you come to upbraid 'me with my guilt, and to ſink me down to that 'perdition I ſo juſtly deſerve?

'Am I ſo given to upbraiding then?' ſays ſhe, in a gentle voice, 'have I ever given you occaſion 'to think I would ſink you to perdition?'

'Far be it from me, my love, to think ſo,' anſwered he. 'And yet you may forgive the utmoſt 'fears of an offending, penitent ſinner. I know, 'indeed, the extent of your goodneſs, and yet I 'know my guilt ſo great——'

'Alas! Mr. Booth,' ſaid ſhe, 'What guilt is 'this which you mention, and which you writ to 'me of laſt night——Sure by your mentioning to 'me ſo much, you intend to tell me more, nay, 'indeed, to tell me all.——And not leave my mind 'open to ſuſpicions perhaps ten times worſe than 'the truth.'

'Will you give me a patient hearing?' ſaid he.

'I will indeed,' anſwered ſhe, 'nay, I am pre-'pared to hear the worſt you can unfold; nay, 'perhaps, the worſt is ſhort of my apprehenſions.'

Booth then, after a little further apology, began and related to her the whole that had paſſed between him and Miſs Matthews, from their firſt meeting in the priſon to their ſeparation the preceding evening. All which, as the reader knows it already

ready, it would be tedious and unpardonable to tranſcribe from his mouth. He told her likewiſe all that he had done and ſuffered, to conceal his tranſgreſſion from her knowledge. This he aſſured her was the buſineſs of his viſit laſt night, the conſequence of which was, he declared in the moſt ſolemn manner, no other than an abſolute quarrel with Miſs Matthews, of whom he had taken a final leave.

When he had ended his narration, Amelia, after a ſhort ſilence, anſwered,——'Indeed, I firmly be-'lieve every word you have ſaid—but I cannot now 'forgive you the fault you have confeſſed—and my 'reaſon is——becauſe I have forgiven it long ago. 'Here, my dear,' ſaid ſhe, 'is an inſtance that I 'am likewiſe capable of keeping a ſecret.'——She then delivered her huſband a letter which ſhe had ſome time ago received from Miſs Matthews, and which was the ſame which that lady had mentioned, and ſuppoſed, as Booth had never heard of it, that it had miſcarried; for ſhe ſent it by the penny-poſt. In this letter, which was ſigned by a feigned name, ſhe had acquainted Amelia with the infidelity of her huſband, and had beſides very greatly abuſed him; taxing him with many falſehoods; and, among the reſt, with having ſpoken very ſlightingly and diſreſpectfully of his wife.

Amelia never ſhined forth to Booth in ſo amiable and great a light; nor did his own unworthineſs ever appear to him ſo mean and contemptible, as at this inſtant. However, when he had read the letter, he uttered many violent proteſtations to her, that all which related to herſelf was abſolutely falſe.

'I am convinced it is,' ſaid ſhe. 'I would not 'have a ſuſpicion of the contrary for the world. 'I aſſure you I had, till laſt night revived it in my 'memory, almoſt forgot the letter; for as I well 'knew from whom it came, by her mentioning ob-

'ligations

'ligations which ſhe had conferred on you, and 'which you had more than once ſpoken to me of: 'I made large allowances for the ſituation you was 'then in; and I was the more ſatisfied, as the let-'ter itſelf, as well as many other circumſtances, 'convinced me the affair was at an end.'

Booth now uttered the moſt extravagant expreſſions of admiration and fondneſs that his heart could dictate, and accompanied them with the warmeſt embraces. All which warmth and tenderneſs ſhe returned; and tears of love and joy guſhed from both their eyes. So raviſhed indeed were their hearts, that for ſome time they both forgot the dreadful ſituation of their affairs.

This, however, was but a ſhort reverie. It ſoon recurred to Amelia, that though ſhe had the liberty of leaving that houſe when ſhe pleaſed, ſhe could not take her beloved huſband with her. This thought ſtung her tender boſom to the quick, and ſhe could not ſo far command herſelf as to refrain from many ſorrowful exclamations againſt the hardſhip of their deſtiny; but when ſhe ſaw the effect they had upon Booth, ſhe ſtifled her riſing grief, forced a little cheerfulneſs into her countenance, and exerting all the ſpirits ſhe could raiſe within herſelf, expreſſed her hopes of ſeeing a ſpeedy end to their ſufferings. She then aſked her huſband what ſhe ſhould do for him, and to whom ſhe ſhould apply for his deliverance.

'You know, my dear,' cries Booth, 'that the 'doctor is to be in town ſome time to day. My 'hopes of immediate redemption are only in him; 'and if that can be obtained, I make no doubt but 'of the ſucceſs of that affair which is in the hands 'of a gentleman who hath faithfully promiſed, and 'in whoſe power I am ſo well aſſured it is to ſerve 'me.'

Thus did this poor man ſupport his hopes by a dependence on that ticket which he had ſo dearly purchaſed

purchaſed of one who pretended to manage the wheels in the great ſtate lottery of preferment. A lottery indeed, which hath this to recommend it, that many poor wretches feed their imaginations with the proſpect of a prize during their whole lives, and never diſcover they have drawn a blank.

Amelia, who was of a pretty ſanguine temper, and was entirely ignorant of theſe matters, was full as eaſy to be deceived into hopes as her huſband; but in reality at preſent, ſhe turned her eyes to no diſtant proſpect; the deſire of regaining her huſband's liberty having engroſſed her whole mind.

While they were diſcourſing on theſe matters, they heard a violent noiſe in the houſe, and immediately after ſeveral perſons paſſed by their door up ſtairs to the apartment over their head. This greatly terrified the gentle ſpirit of Amelia, and ſhe cried—'Good Heavens, my dear, muſt I leave you 'in this horrid place? I am terrified with a thou-'ſand fears concerning you.'

Booth endeavoured to comfort her, ſaying, that he was in no manner of danger, and that he doubted not but that the doctor would ſoon be with him——'And ſtay, my dear,' cries he, 'now I re-'collect, ſuppoſe you ſhould apply to my old friend 'James; for I believe you are pretty well ſatisfied, 'that your apprehenſions of him were groundleſs. 'I have no reaſon to think but that he would be as 'ready to ſerve me as formerly.'

Amelia turned pale as aſhes at the name of James, and, inſtead of making a direct anſwer to her huſband, ſhe laid hold of him, and cried, 'My dear, 'I have one favour to beg of you, and I inſiſt on 'your granting it me.'

Booth readily ſwore he would deny her nothing.

It is only this, my dear, ſaid ſhe, that if that deteſted colonel comes, you will not ſee him. Let the people of the houſe tell him you are not here.

He

'He knows nothing of my being here,' anſwered Booth; 'but why ſhould I refuſe to ſee him, if 'he ſhould be kind enough to come hither to me? 'Indeed, my Amelia, you have taken a diſlike to 'that man without ſufficient reaſon.'

'I ſpeak not upon that account,' cries Amelia; 'but I have had dreams laſt night about you two. 'Perhaps you will laugh at my folly; but pray in-'dulge it. Nay, I inſiſt on your promiſe of not 'denying me.'

'Dreams! my dear creature,' anſwered he. 'What dream can you have had of us?'

'One too horrible to be mentioned,' replied ſhe. ——'I cannot think of it without horror, and 'unleſs you will promiſe me not to ſee the colonel 'till I return, I poſitively will never leave you.'

'Indeed, my Amelia,' ſaid Booth, 'I never 'knew you unreaſonable before. How can a wo-'man of your ſenſe talk of dreams?'

'Suffer me to be once at leaſt unreaſonable,' ſaid Amelia, 'as you are ſo good-natured to ſay I am 'not often ſo. Conſider what I have lately ſuffered, 'and how weak my ſpirits muſt be at this time.'

As Booth was going to ſpeak, the bailiff, without any ceremony, entered the room, and cried, 'No 'offence, I hope, madam; my wife, it ſeems, did 'not know you. She thought the captain had a 'mind for a bit of fleſh by the bye. But I have 'quieted all matters; for I know you very well; 'I have ſeen that handſome face many a time when 'I have been waiting upon the captain formerly. 'No offence, I hope, madam; but if my wife was 'as handſome as you are—I ſhould not look for 'worſe goods abroad.'

Booth conceived ſome diſpleaſure at this ſpeech; but he did not think proper to expreſs more than a piſh.——And then aſked the bailiff what was the meaning of the noiſe they heard juſt now.

'I know of no noiſe,' anſwered the bailiff. 'Some of my men have been carrying a piece of 'bad luggage up ſtairs; a poor raſcal that reſiſted 'the law and juſtice; ſo I gave him a cut or two 'with a hanger. If they ſhould prove mortal, he 'muſt thank himſelf for it. If a man will not be-'have like a gentleman to an officer, he muſt take 'the conſequence; but I muſt ſay that for you, 'captain, you behave yourſelf like a gentleman; 'and therefore I ſhall always uſe you as ſuch; and 'I hope you will find bail ſoon with all my heart. 'This is but a paultry ſum to what the laſt was; 'and I do aſſure you, there is nothing elſe againſt 'you in the office.'

The latter part of the bailiff's ſpeech ſomewhat comforted Amelia, who had been a little frightened by the former; and ſhe ſoon after took leave of her huſband, to go in queſt of the doctor, who, as Amelia had heard that morning, was expected in town that very day, which was ſomewhat ſooner than he had intended at his departure.

Before ſhe went, however, ſhe left a ſtrict charge with the bailiff, who uſhered her very civilly down ſtairs, that if one Colonel James came there to enquire for her huſband, he ſhould deny that he was there.

She then departed; and the bailiff immediately gave a very ſtrict charge to his wife, his maid, and his followers, that if one Colonel James, or any one from him, ſhould enquire after the captain, that they ſhould let him know he had the captain above ſtairs; for he doubted not but that the colonel was one of Booth's creditors, and he hoped for a ſecond bail bond by his means.

CHAP. III.

Containing matter pertinent to the hiſtory.

AMELIA, in her way to the doctor's, determined juſt to ſtop at her own lodgings, which lay a little out of the road, and to pay a momentary viſit to her children.

This was fortunate enough; for had ſhe called at the doctor's houſe, ſhe would have heard nothing of him, which would have cauſed in her ſome alarm and diſappointment; for the doctor was ſet down at Mrs. Atkinſon's, where he was directed to Amelia's lodgings, to which he went before he called at his own; and here Amelia now found him playing with her two children.

The doctor had been a little ſurpriſed at not finding Amelia at home, or any one that could give an account of her. He was now more ſurpriſed to ſee her come in ſuch a dreſs, and at the diſorder which he very plainly perceived in her pale and melancholy countenance. He addreſſed her firſt (for, indeed, ſhe was in no great haſte to ſpeak) and cried, 'My dear child, what is the matter? where is your 'huſband? ſome miſchief I am afraid hath hap-'pened to him in my abſence.'

'O, my dear doctor!' anſwered Amelia, 'ſure 'ſome good angel hath ſent you hither. My poor 'Will is arreſted again. I left him in the moſt 'miſerable condition in the very houſe whence your 'goodneſs formerly redeemed him.'

'Arreſted!' cries the doctor. 'Then it muſt 'be for ſome very inconſiderable trifle.'

'I wiſh it was,' ſaid Amelia; 'but it is for no 'leſs than fifty pounds.'

'Then,' cries the doctor, 'he hath been diſinge-'nuous with me. He told me he did not owe ten

'pounds in the world for which he was liable to be 'ſued.'

'I know not what to ſay,' cries Amelia. 'In-'deed, I am afraid to tell you the truth.'

'How, child,' ſaid the doctor——'I hope you 'will never diſguiſe it to any one, eſpecially to me. 'Any prevarication, I promiſe you, will forfeit my 'friendſhip for ever.'

'I will tell you the whole,' cries Amelia, 'and 'rely entirely on your goodneſs.' She then related the gaming ſtory, not forgetting to ſet in the fulleſt light, and to lay the ſtrongeſt emphaſis on his promiſe never to play again.

The doctor fetched a deep ſigh when he had heard Amelia's relation, and cried, 'I am ſorry, 'child, for the ſhare you are to partake in your 'huſband's ſufferings; but as for him, I really 'think he deſerves no compaſſion. You ſay he 'hath promiſed never to play again; but I muſt 'tell you he hath broke his promiſe to me already; 'for I had heard he was formerly addicted to this 'vice, and had given him ſufficient caution againſt 'it. You will conſider, child, I am already pretty 'largely engaged for him, every farthing of which 'I am ſenſible I muſt pay. You know I would go 'to the utmoſt verge of prudence to ſerve you; but 'I muſt not exceed my ability, which is not very 'great; and I have ſeveral families on my hands, 'who are by misfortune alone brought to want. 'I do aſſure you I cannot at preſent anſwer for 'ſuch a ſum as this, without diſtreſſing my own 'circumſtances.'

'Then heaven have mercy upon us all,' cries Amelia, 'for we have no other friend on earth—'My huſband is undone; and theſe poor little 'wretches muſt be ſtarved.'

The doctor caſt his eyes on the children, and then cried—'I hope not ſo. I told you I muſt diſtreſs 'my circumſtances, and I will diſtreſs them this 'once

'once on your account, and on the account of theſe 'poor little babes——But things muſt not go on 'any longer in this way—You muſt take an heroic 'reſolution. I will hire a coach for you to-morrow 'morning, which ſhall carry you all down to my 'parſonage-houſe. There you ſhall have my pro-'tection, till ſomething can be done for your huſ-'band; of which, to be plain with you, I at pre-'ſent ſee no likelihood.'

Amelia fell upon her knees in an ecſtaſy of thankſgiving to the doctor, who immediately raiſed her up and placed her in her chair. She then re-collected herſelf and ſaid—'O, my worthy friend! I 'have ſtill another matter to mention to you, in 'which I muſt have both your advice and aſſiſtance. 'My ſoul bluſhes to give you all this trouble; but 'what other friend have I?——indeed, what other 'friend could I apply to ſo properly on ſuch an 'occaſion?'

The doctor, with a very kind voice and counte-nance, deſired her to ſpeak. She then ſaid—'O, Sir! 'that wicked colonel, whom I have mentioned to 'you formerly, hath picked ſome quarrel with my 'huſband, (for ſhe did not think proper to mention 'the cauſe) and hath ſent him a challenge. It 'came to my hand laſt night after he was arreſted; 'I opened and read it.'

'Give it me, child,' ſaid the doctor.

She anſwered ſhe had burnt it; as was indeed true. 'But I remember it was an appointment 'to meet at ſword and piſtol this morning at Hyde-'Park.'

'Make yourſelf eaſy, my dear child,' cries the doctor, 'I will take care to prevent any miſchief.'

'But conſider, my dear Sir,' ſaid ſhe, 'this is a 'tender matter. My huſband's honour is to be 'preſerved as well as his life.'

'And ſo is his ſoul, which ought to be the 'deareſt of all things,' cries the doctor. 'Honour!

'nonſenſe! Can honour dictate to him to diſobey 'the expreſs commands of his Maker, in compliance 'with a cuſtom eſtabliſhed by a ſet of blockheads, 'founded on falſe principles of virtue, in direct op-'poſition to the plain and poſitive precepts of reli-'gion, and tending manifeſtly to give a ſanction 'to ruffians, and to protect them in all the ways of 'impudence and villany?'

'All this, I believe, is very true,' cries Amelia; 'but yet you know, doctor, the opinion of the 'world.'

'You talk ſimply, child,' cries the doctor. 'What is the opinion of the world oppoſed to 'religion and virtue? but you are in the wrong. 'It is not the opinion of the world; it is the opi-'nion of the idle, ignorant, and profligate. It is 'impoſſible it ſhould be the opinion of one man of 'ſenſe, who is in earneſt in his belief of our re-'ligion. Chiefly, indeed, it hath been upheld by 'the nonſenſe of women; who, either from their 'extreme cowardice, and deſire of protection, or, 'as Mr. Bayle thinks, from their exceſſive vanity, 'have been always forward to countenance a ſet 'of hectors and bravoes, and to deſpiſe all men of 'modeſty and ſobriety; though theſe are often, at 'the bottom, not only the better, but the braver 'men.'

'You know, doctor,' cries Amelia, 'I have 'never preſumed to argue with you; your opi-'nion is to me always inſtruction, and your word 'a law.'

'Indeed, child,' cries the doctor, 'I know you 'are a good woman; and yet I muſt obſerve to 'you, that this very deſire of feeding the paſſion 'of female vanity with the heroiſm of her man, 'old Homer ſeems to make the characteriſtic of a 'bad and looſe woman. He introduces Helen up-'braiding her gallant with having quitted the 'fight, and left the victory to Menelaus, and ſeem-

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'ing to be ſorry that ſhe had left her huſband,
'only becauſe he was the better duelliſt of the two;
'but in how different a light doth he repreſent the
'tender and chaſte love of Andromache to her
'worthy Hector! ſhe diſſuades him from expoſing
'himſelf to danger, even in a juſt cauſe. This is
'indeed a weakneſs; but it is an amiable one, and
'becoming the true feminine character; but a wo-
'man, who out of heroic vanity (for ſo it is) would
'hazard not only the life, but the ſoul too of her
'huſband in a duel, is a monſter, and ought to be
'painted in no other character but that of a
'Fury.'

'I aſſure you, doctor,' cries Amelia, 'I never
'ſaw this matter in the odious light, in which you
'have truly repreſented it, before. I am aſhamed
'to recollect what I have formerly ſaid on this ſub-
'ject.——And yet whilſt the opinion of the world
'is as it is, one would wiſh to comply as far as poſ-
'ſible—eſpecially as my huſband is an officer of
'the army. If it can be done therefore with ſafety
'to his honour——

'Again honour!' cries the doctor, 'indeed I
'will not ſuffer that noble word to be ſo baſely and
'barbarouſly proſtituted. I have known ſome of
'theſe men of honour, as they call themſelves, to
'be the moſt arrant raſcals in the univerſe.'

'Well. I aſk your pardon,' ſaid ſhe,—'Repu-
'tation then, if you pleaſe—or any other word you
'like better—you know my meaning very well.'

'I do know your meaning,' cries the doctor,
'and Virgil knew it a great while ago. The
'next time you ſee your friend Mrs. Atkinſon,
'aſk her what it was made Dido fall in love with
'Æneas.'

'Nay, dear Sir,' ſaid Amelia, 'do not rally me
'ſo unmercifully; think where my poor huſband is
'now.'

'He is,' answered the doctor, 'where I will 'presently be with him. In the mean time, do you 'pack up every thing in order for your journey to-'morrow; for, if you are wise, you will not trust 'your husband a day longer in this town—there-'fore to packing——'

Amelia promised she would—though indeed she wanted not any warning for her journey on this account; for when she had packed up herself in the coach, she packed up her all. However, she did not think proper to mention this to the doctor; for as he was now in pretty good humour, she did not care to venture again discomposing his temper.

The doctor then set out for Gray's Inn Lane; and, as soon as he was gone, Amelia began to consider of her incapacity to take a journey in her present situation, without even a clean shift. At last she resolved, as she was possessed of seven guineas and a half, to go to her friend and redeem some of her own and her husband's linen out of captivity; indeed just so much, as would render it barely possible for them to go out of town with any kind of decency. And this resolution she immediately executed.

As soon as she had finished her business with the pawnbroker, (if a man who lends under thirty per cent. deserves that name) he said to her, 'Pray, 'Madam, did you know that man who was here 'yesterday, when you brought the picture?' Amelia answered in the negative. 'Indeed, Madam,' said the broker, 'he knows you, though he did 'not recollect you while you was here, as your hood 'was drawn over your face; but the moment you 'was gone, he begged to look at the picture, 'which I, thinking no harm, permitted. He had 'scarce looked upon it, when he cried out—By 'heaven and earth it is her picture! He then asked 'me if I knew you—Indeed, says I, I never saw the 'lady before.'

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In this laſt particular, however, the pawnbroker a little ſavoured of his profeſſion, and made a ſmall deviation from the truth; for when the man had aſked him if he knew the lady, he anſwered ſhe was ſome poor undone woman, who had pawned all her clothes to him the day before; and I ſuppoſe, ſays he, this picture is the laſt of her goods and chattels. This hint we thought proper to give the reader, as it may chance to be material.

Amelia anſwered coldly, That ſhe had taken ſo very little notice of the man, that ſhe ſcarce remembered he was there.

'I aſſure you, Madam,' ſays the pawnbroker, 'he hath taken very great notice of you; for the 'man changed countenance upon what I ſaid, and 'preſently after begged me to give him a dram. 'Oho! thinks I to myſelf, are you thereabouts? I 'would not be ſo much in love with ſome folks, 'as ſome people are, for more intereſt than I ſhall 'ever make of a thouſand pounds.'

Amelia bluſhed, and ſaid with ſome peeviſhneſs, 'That ſhe knew nothing of the man; but ſuppoſed 'he was ſome impertinent fellow or other.'

'Nay, Madam,' anſwered the pawnbroker, 'I 'aſſure you he is not worthy your regard. He 'is a poor wretch, and I believe I am poſſeſſed of 'moſt of his moveables. However, I hope you 'are not offended; for, indeed, he ſaid no harm; 'but he was very ſtrangely diſordered, that is the 'truth of it.'

Amelia was very deſirous of putting an end to this converſation, and altogether as eager to return to her children; ſhe therefore bundled up her things as faſt as ſhe could, and calling for a hackney-coach, directed the coachman to her lodgings, and bid him drive her home with all the haſte he could.

CHAP. IV.

In which Dr. Harriſon viſits Colonel James.

THE doctor, when he left Amelia, intended to go directly to Booth; but he preſently changed his mind, and determined firſt to call on the colonel, as he thought it was proper to put an end to that matter, before he gave Booth his liberty.

The doctor found the two colonels, James and Bath, together. They both received him very civilly; for James was a very well-bred man; and Bath always ſhewed a particular reſpect to the clergy, he being indeed a perfect good chriſtian, except in the articles of fighting and ſwearing.

Our divine ſat ſome time without mentioning the ſubject of his errand, in hopes that Bath would go away; but when he found no likelihood of that, (for indeed Bath was of the two much the moſt pleaſed with his company) he told James that he had ſomething to ſay to him relating to Mr. Booth, which he believed he might ſpeak before his brother.

'Undoubtedly, Sir,' ſaid James; 'for there can 'be no ſecrets between us which my brother may 'not hear.'

'I come then to you, Sir,' ſaid the doctor, 'from 'the moſt unhappy woman in the world, to whoſe 'afflictions you have very greatly and very cruelly 'added, by ſending a challenge to her huſband, 'which hath very luckily fallen into her hands; 'for had the man, for whom you deſigned it, re-'ceived it, I am afraid you would not have ſeen me 'upon this occaſion.'

'If I writ ſuch a letter to Mr. Booth, Sir,' ſaid James, 'you may be aſſured I did not expect this 'viſit in anſwer to it.'

'I do

'I do not think you did,' cries the doctor; 'but 'you have great reaſon to thank heaven for order- 'ing this matter contrary to your expectations. I 'know not what trifle may have drawn this chal- 'lenge from you; but after what I have ſome rea- 'ſon to know of you, Sir, I muſt plainly tell you, 'that if you had added to your guilt already com- 'mitted againſt this man that of having his blood 'upon your hands, your ſoul would have become 'as black as hell itſelf.'

'Give me leave to ſay,' cries the colonel, 'this 'is a language which I am not uſed to hear; and 'if your cloth was not your protection, you ſhould 'not give it me with impunity. After what you 'know of me, Sir! What do you preſume to know 'of me to my diſadvantage?'

'You ſay my cloth is my protection, colonel,' anſwered the doctor, 'therefore pray lay aſide your 'anger; I do not come with any deſign of affront- 'ing or offending you.'——

'Very well,' cries Bath, 'that declaration is ſuf- 'ficient from a clergyman, let him ſay what he 'pleaſes.'

'Indeed, Sir,' ſays the doctor very mildly, 'I con- 'ſult equally the good of you both, and, in a ſpi- 'ritual ſenſe, more eſpecially yours; for you know 'you have injured this poor man.'

'So far on the contrary,' cries James, 'that I 'have been his greateſt benefactor. I ſcorn to 'upbraid him; but you force me to it. Nor have 'I ever done him the leaſt injury.'

'Perhaps not,' ſaid the doctor; 'I will alter 'what I have ſaid.——But for this I apply to your 'honour——Have you not intended him an in- 'jury, the very intention of which cancels every 'obligation?'

'How, Sir?' anſwered the colonel—'What do 'you mean?'

'My

'My meaning,' replied the doctor, 'is almoſt 'too tender to mention——Come, colonel, exa- 'mine your own heart; and then anſwer me on 'your honour, if you have not intended to do 'him the higheſt wrong which one man can do 'another.'

'I do not know what you mean by the queſtion,' anſwered the colonel.

'D—n me, the queſtion is very tranſparent,' cries Bath. 'From any other man it would be an 'affront with the ſtrongeſt emphaſis, but from one 'of the doctor's cloth, it demands a categorical 'anſwer.'

'I am not a papiſt, Sir,' anſwered colonel James, 'nor am I obliged to confeſs to my prieſt. But if 'you have any thing to ſay, ſpeak openly—for I do 'not underſtand your meaning.'

'I have explained my meaning to you already,' ſaid the doctor, 'in a letter I wrote to you on the 'ſubject—a ſubject which I am ſorry I ſhould have 'any occaſion to write upon to a chriſtian.'

'I do remember now,' cries the colonel, 'that I 'received a very impertinent letter ſomething like 'a ſermon, againſt adultery; but I did not expect to 'hear the author own it to my face.'

'That brave man then, Sir,' anſwered the doctor, 'ſtands before you who dares own he wrote that 'letter, and dares affirm too, that it was writ on a 'juſt and ſtrong foundation. But if the hardneſs 'of your heart could prevail on you to treat my 'good intention with contempt and ſcorn, what, 'pray, could induce you to ſhew it, nay, to give it 'Mr. Booth? What motive could you have for 'that, unleſs you meant to inſult him, and to pro- 'voke your rival to give you that opportunity of 'putting him out of the world, which you have 'ſince wickedly ſought by your challenge?'

'I give him the letter!' ſaid the colonel.

'Yes,

'Yes, Sir,' anſwered the doctor, 'he ſhewed me 'the letter, and affirmed that you gave it him at the 'maſquerade.'

'He is a lying raſcal then,' ſaid the colonel very paſſionately. 'I ſcarce took the trouble of reading 'the letter, and loſt it out of my pocket.'

Here Bath interfered, and explained this affair in the manner in which it happened, and with which the reader is already acquainted. He concluded by great eulogiums on the performance, and declared it was one of the moſt enthuſiaſtic (meaning, perhaps, eccleſiaſtic) letters that ever was written. 'And d—n me,' ſays he, 'if I do not 'reſpect the author with the utmoſt emphaſis of 'thinking.'

The doctor now recollected what had paſſed with Booth, and perceived he had made a miſtake of one colonel for another. This he preſently acknowledged to colonel James, and ſaid that the miſtake had been his, and not Booth's.

Bath now collected all his gravity, and dignity, as he called it, into his countenance, and addreſſing himſelf to James, ſaid—'And was that letter writ 'to you, brother?—I hope you never deſerved any 'ſuſpicion of this kind.'

'Brother,' cries James, 'I am accountable to 'myſelf for my actions, and ſhall not render an ac-'count either to you, or to that gentleman.'

'As to me, brother,' anſwered Bath, 'you ſay 'right; but I think this gentleman may call you to 'an account; nay, I think it is his duty ſo to do. 'And let me tell you, brother, there is one much 'greater than he to whom you muſt give an account. 'Mrs. Booth is really a fine woman, a lady of moſt 'imperious and majeſtic preſence. I have heard 'you often ſay, that you liked her; and if you have 'quarrelled with her huſband upon this account, 'by all the dignity of man, I think you ought to 'aſk his pardon.'

'Indeed, brother,' cries James, 'I can bear 'this no longer—you will make me angry pre- 'ſently.'

'Angry! brother James,' cries Bath—'angry! '—I love you, brother, and have obligations to 'you. I will ſay no more——but I hope you know 'I do not fear making any man angry.'

James anſwered, he knew it well; and then the doctor apprehending that while he was ſtopping up one breach, he ſhould make another, preſently interfered, and turned the diſcourſe back to Booth. 'You tell me, Sir,' ſaid he to James, 'that my 'gown is my protection; let it then at leaſt protect 'me where I have had no deſign in offending; 'where I have conſulted your higheſt welfare, as in 'truth he did in writing this letter. And if you 'did not in the leaſt deſerve any ſuch ſuſpicion, 'ſtill you have no cauſe for reſentment. Caution 'againſt ſin, even to the innocent, can never be un- 'wholeſome. But this I aſſure you, whatever anger 'you have to me, you can have none to poor Booth, 'who was entirely ignorant of my writing to you, 'and who, I am certain, never entertained the leaſt 'ſuſpicion of you; on the contrary, reveres you 'with the higheſt eſteem, and love and gratitude. 'Let me therefore reconcile all matters between 'you, and bring you together before he hath even 'heard of this challenge.'

'Brother,' cries Bath, 'I hope I ſhall not make 'you angry—I lie when I ſay ſo; for I am in- 'different to any man's anger——Let me be an ac- 'ceſſary to what the doctor hath ſaid. I think I 'may be truſted with matters of this nature, and 'it is a little unkind that, if you intended to ſend 'a challenge, you did not make me the bearer. 'But, indeed, as to what appears to me, this mat- 'ter may be very well made up; and as Mr. 'Booth doth not know of the challenge, I don't ſee 'why he ever ſhould, any more than your giving

'him

'him the lie juſt now; but that he ſhall never have 'from me, nor, I believe, from this gentleman; for, 'indeed, if he ſhould, it would be incumbent upon 'him to cut your throat.'

'Lookee, doctor,' ſaid James, 'I do not de-'ſerve the unkind ſuſpicion you juſt now threw 'out againſt me. I never thirſted after any man's 'blood; and as for what hath paſſed ſince this 'diſcovery hath happened, I may, perhaps, not think 'it worth my while to trouble myſelf any more 'about it.'

The doctor was not contented with, perhaps, he inſiſted on a firm promiſe, to be bound with the colonel's honour. This at length he obtained, and then departed well ſatisfied.

In fact, the colonel was aſhamed to avow the real cauſe of the quarrel to this good man, or, indeed, to his brother Bath, who would not only have condemned him equally with the doctor, but would poſſibly have quarrelled with him on his ſiſter's account, whom, as the reader muſt have obſerved, he loved above all things; and in plain truth, though the colonel was a brave man, and dared to fight, yet he was altogether as willing to let it alone; and this made him now and then give a little way to the wrongheadedneſs of colonel Bath, who, with all the other principles of honour and humanity, made no more of cutting the throat of a man upon any of his punctilios, than a butcher doth of killing ſheep.

CHAP. V.

What paſſed at the bailiff's houſe.

THE doctor now ſet forwards to his friend Booth, and as he paſt by the door of his attorney in the way, he called upon him, and took him with him.

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The meeting between him and Booth need not be expatiated on. The doctor was really angry, and though he deferred his lecture to a more proper opportunity, yet as he was no diſſembler (indeed, he was incapable of any diſguiſe) he could not put on a ſhow of that heartineſs with which he had formerly uſed to receive his friend.

Booth at laſt began himſelf in the following manner: 'Doctor, I am really aſhamed to ſee you; 'and if you knew the confuſion of my ſoul on this 'occaſion, I am ſure you would pity rather than 'upbraid me—And yet I can ſay with great ſince-'rity, I rejoice in this laſt inſtance of my ſhame, 'ſince I am like to reap the moſt ſolid advantage 'from it.' The doctor ſtared at this, and Booth thus proceeded: 'Since I have been in this 'wretched place, I have employed my time almoſt 'entirely in reading over a ſeries of ſermons, 'which are contained in that book,' (meaning Dr. Barrow's works, which then lay on the table before him) 'in proof of the chriſtian religion, and ſo good 'an effect have they had upon me, that I ſhall, I 'believe, be the better man for them as long as 'I live. I have not a doubt (for I own I have had 'ſuch) which remains now unſatisfied.—If ever an 'angel might be thought to guide the pen of a 'writer, ſurely the pen of that great and good man 'had ſuch an aſſiſtant.' The doctor readily concurred in the praiſes of Dr. Barrow, and added—'You ſay you have had your doubts, young gentle-'man; indeed, I did not know that—And pray, 'what were your doubts?' 'Whatever they were, 'Sir,' ſaid Booth, 'they are now ſatisfied, as I be-'lieve thoſe of every impartial and ſenſible reader 'will be, if he will, with due attention, read over 'theſe excellent ſermons.' 'Very well,' anſwered the doctor, 'though I have converſed, I find, with 'a falſe brother hitherto, I am glad you are recon-'ciled to truth at laſt, and I hope your future faith

'will

'will have ſome influence on your future life. I 'need not tell you, Sir,' replied Booth, 'that will 'always be the caſe, where faith is ſincere, as I aſ-'ſure you mine is. Indeed, I never was a raſh 'diſbeliever; my chief doubt was founded on this, 'that as men appeared to me to act entirely from 'their paſſions, their actions could have neither 'merit nor demerit.' 'A very worthy concluſion 'truly,' cries the doctor; 'but if men act, as I 'believe they do, from their paſſions, it would be 'fair to conclude that religion to be true, which ap-'plies immediately to the ſtrongeſt of theſe paſ-'ſions; hope and fear, chuſing rather to rely on 'its rewards and puniſhments, than on that native 'beauty of virtue, which ſome of the ancient phi-'loſophers thought proper to recommend to their 'diſciples.——But we will defer this diſcourſe till 'another opportunity; at preſent, as the devil hath 'thought proper to ſet you free, I will try if I can 'prevail on the bailiff to do the ſame.'

The doctor had not really ſo much money in town as Booth's debt amounted to, and therefore, though he would otherwiſe very willingly have paid it, he was forced to give bail to the action. For which purpoſe, as the bailiff was a man of great form, he was obliged to get another perſon to be bound with him. This perſon, however, the attorney undertook to procure, and immediately ſet out in queſt of him.

During his abſence, the bailiff came into the room, and, addreſſing himſelf to the doctor, ſaid, 'I 'think, Sir, your name is Doctor Harriſon.' The doctor immediately acknowledged his name. Indeed, the bailiff had ſeen it to a bail-bond before. 'Why then, Sir,' ſaid the bailiff, 'there is a man 'above, in a dying condition, that deſires the favour 'of ſpeaking to you; I believe he wants you to 'pray by him.'

The bailiff himſelf was not more ready to execute his office on all occaſions for his fee, than the doctor was to execute his for nothing. Without making any further enquiry therefore into the condition of the man, he immediately went up ſtairs.

As ſoon as the bailiff returned down ſtairs, which was immediately after he had lodged the doctor in the room, Booth had the curioſity to aſk him, Who this man was? 'Why, I don't know much of 'him,' ſaid the bailiff, 'I had him once in cuſtody 'before now, I remember it was when your honour 'was here laſt; and now I remember too, he ſaid 'then he knew your honour very well. Indeed, I 'had ſome opinion of him at that time; for he 'ſpent his money very much like a gentleman; but 'I have diſcovered ſince, that he is a poor fellow, 'and worth nothing. He is a mere ſhy cock. I 'have had the ſtuff about me this week, and could 'never get at him till this morning; nay, I don't 'believe we ſhould ever have found out his lodgings, had it not been for the attorney that was 'here juſt now, who gave us information. And 'ſo we took him this morning by a comical way 'enough. For we dreſſed up one of my men in 'women's clothes, who told the people of the 'houſe, that he was his ſiſter, juſt come to town; 'for we were told by the attorney, that he had 'ſuch a ſiſter, upon which he was let up ſtairs; 'and ſo kept the door a-jar, till I and another ruſhed 'in. Let me tell you, captain, there are as good 'ſtratagems made uſe of in our buſineſs, as any in 'the army.'

'But pray, Sir,' ſaid Booth, 'did not you tell 'me this morning, that the poor fellow was deſperately wounded; nay, I think you told the doctor, 'that he was a dying man?

'I had like to have forgot that,' cries the bailiff. '——Nothing would ſerve the gentleman but that 'he muſt make reſiſtance, and he gave my man 'a blow

'a blow with a ſtick; but I ſoon quieted him, by 'giving him a wipe or two with a hanger. Not 'that I believe I have done his buſineſs neither; 'but the fellow is faint-hearted, and the ſurgeon, I 'fancy, frightens him more than he need.——— 'But, however, let the worſt come to the worſt, the 'law is all on my ſide, and it is only *ſe fendendo*. 'The attorney that was here juſt now, told me ſo, 'and bid me fear nothing; for that he would ſtand 'my friend, and undertake the cauſe; and he is 'a deviliſh good one at a defence at the Old-'Bailey, I promiſe you. I have known him bring 'off ſeveral, that every body thought would have 'been hanged.'

'But ſuppoſe you ſhould be acquitted,' ſaid Booth; 'would not the blood of this poor wretch 'lie a little heavy at your heart?'

'Why ſhould it, captain,' ſaid the bailiff. 'Is 'it not all done in a lawful way? Why will people 'reſiſt the law, when they know the conſequence? 'to be ſure, if a man was to kill another, in an un-'lawful manner as it were, and what the law calls 'murder, that is quite and clear another thing. I 'ſhould not care to be convicted of murder, any 'more than another man. Why now, captain, 'you have been abroad in the wars, they tell me, 'and, to be ſure, muſt have killed men in your time. 'Pray, was you ever afraid afterwards of ſeeing their 'ghoſts?'

'That is a different affair,' cries Booth; 'but I 'would not kill a man in cold blood for all the 'world.'

'There is no difference at all, as I can ſee,' cries the bailiff. 'One is as much in the way of buſi-'neſs as the other. When gentlemen behave them-'ſelves like unto gentlemen, I know how to treat 'them as ſuch, as well as any officer the king 'hath.——And when they do not, why they muſt

'take what follows, and the law doth not call it 'murder.'

Booth very plainly ſaw that the bailiff had ſquared his conſcience exactly according to law, and that he could not eaſily ſubvert his way of thinking. He therefore gave up the cauſe, and deſired the bailiff to expedite the bonds, which he promiſed to do, ſaying, He hoped he had uſed him with proper civility this time, if he had not the laſt, and that he ſhould be remembered for it.

But before we cloſe this chapter, we ſhall endeavour to ſatisfy an enquiry, which may ariſe in our moſt favourite readers, (for ſo are the moſt curious) how it came to paſs, that ſuch a perſon, as was Doctor Harriſon, ſhould employ ſuch a fellow as this Murphy.

The caſe then was thus: This Murphy had been clerk to an attorney, in the very ſame town in which the doctor lived, and when he was out of his time, had ſet up with a character fair enough, and had married a maid-ſervant of Mrs. Harris, by which means he had all the buſineſs to which that lady and her friends, in which number was the doctor, could recommend him.

Murphy went on with his buſineſs, and thrived very well, till he happened to make an unfortunate ſlip, in which he was detected by a brother of the ſame calling. But though we call this by the gentle name of a ſlip, in reſpect to its being ſo extremely common, it was a matter in which the law, if it had ever come to its ears, would have paſſed a very ſevere cenſure, being, indeed, no leſs than perjury and ſubornation of perjury.

This brother attorney, being a very good-natured man, and unwilling to beſpatter his own profeſſion, and conſidering, perhaps, that the conſequence did in no wiſe affect the public, who had no manner of intereſt in the alternative, whether A. in whom the right was, or B. to whom Mr. Murphy, by the means

means aforeſaid, had transferred it, ſucceeded in an action; we mention this particular, becauſe, as this brother attorney was a very violent party man, and a profeſſed ſtickler for the public, to ſuffer any injury to have been done to that, would have been highly inconſiſtent with his principles.

This gentleman, therefore, came to Mr. Murphy, and after ſhewing him, that he had it in his power to convict him of the aforeſaid crime, very generouſly told him, That he had not the leaſt delight in bringing any man to deſtruction, nor the leaſt animoſity againſt him. All that he inſiſted upon, was, that he would not live in the ſame town or county with one who had been guilty of ſuch an action. He then told Mr. Murphy, That he would keep the ſecret on two conditions; the one was, that he immediately quitted that country; the other was, that he ſhould convince him he deſerved this kindneſs by his gratitude, and that Murphy ſhould transfer to the other all the buſineſs which he then had in thoſe parts, and to which he could poſſibly recommend him.

It is the obſervation of a very wiſe man, that it is a very common exerciſe of wiſdom in this world, of two evils to chuſe the leaſt. The reader, therefore, cannot doubt but that Mr. Murphy complied with the alternative propoſed by his kind brother, and accepted the terms on which ſecrecy was to be obtained.

This happened while the doctor was abroad, and with all this, except the departure of Murphy, not only the doctor, but the whole town (ſave his aforeſaid brother alone) were, to this day, unacquainted.

The doctor, at his return, hearing that Mr. Murphy was gone, applied to the other attorney in his affairs, who ſtill employed this Murphy as his agent in town, partly, perhaps, out of good-will to him, and partly from the recommendation of Miſs Harris; for as he had married a ſervant of the family, and

a particular favourite of her's, there can be no wonder that ſhe, who was entirely ignorant of the affair above related, as well as of his conduct in town ſhould continue her favour to him. It will appear, therefore, I apprehend, no longer ſtrange, that the doctor, who had ſeen this man but three times ſince his removal to town, and then converſed with him only on buſineſs, ſhould remain as ignorant of his life and character, as a man generally is of the character of the hackney-coachman who drives him. Nor doth it reflect more on the honour or underſtanding of the doctor, under theſe circumſtances, to employ Murphy, than it would if he had been driven about the town by a thief or a murderer.

CHAP. VI.

What paſſed between the doctor and the ſick man.

WE left the doctor in the laſt chapter with the wounded man, to whom the doctor, in a very gentle voice, ſpoke as follows:

'I am ſorry, friend, to ſee you in this ſituation, 'and am very ready to give you any comfort or 'aſſiſtance within my power.'

'I thank you kindly, Doctor,' ſaid the man. 'Indeed, I ſhould not have preſumed to have ſent 'to you, had I not known your character; for 'though I believe I am not at all known to you, I 'have lived many years in that town where you 'yourſelf had a houſe; my name is Robinſon. I 'uſed to write for the attornies in thoſe parts, 'and I have been employed on your buſineſs in 'my time.'

'I do not recollect you, nor your name,' ſaid the doctor; 'but conſider, friend, your moments are 'precious, and your buſineſs, as I am informed, is

'to offer up your prayers to that great Being, be-
'fore whom you are ſhortly to appear.—But, firſt,
'let me exhort you earneſtly to a moſt ſerious re-
'pentance of all your ſins.'

'O Doctor!' ſaid the man—'Pray, what is your
'opinion of a deathbed repentance?

'If repentance is ſincere,' cries the doctor, 'I
'hope, through the mercies and merits of our moſt
'powerful and benign interceſſor, it will never come
'too late.'

'But do not you think, Sir,' cries the man, 'that
'in order to obtain forgiveneſs of any great ſin
'we have committed, by an injury done to our
'neighbours, it is neceſſary, as far as in us lies, to
'make all the amends we can to the party injured,
'and to undo, if poſſible, the injury we have done.'

'Moſt undoubtedly,' cries the doctor; 'our pre-
'tence to repentance would otherwiſe be groſs hy-
'pocriſy, and an impudent attempt to deceive and
'impoſe upon our creator himſelf.'

'Indeed, I am of the ſame opinion,' cries the penitent; 'and I think further, that this is thrown
'in my way, and hinted to me by that great Being;
'for an accident happened to me yeſterday, by
'which, as things have fallen out ſince, I think I
'plainly diſcern the hand of Providence. I went
'yeſterday, Sir, you muſt know, to a pawnbroker's,
'to pawn the laſt moveable, which, except the
'poor clothes you ſee on my back, I am worth
'in the world. While I was there, a young lady
'came in to pawn her picture. She had diſguiſed
'herſelf ſo much, and pulled her hood ſo over her
'face, that I did not know her while ſhe ſtaid,
'which was ſcarce three minutes. As ſoon as ſhe
'was gone, the pawnbroker, taking the picture in
'his hand, cried out—*Upon my word, this is the hand-*
'*ſomeſt face I ever ſaw in my life.* I deſired him to
'let me look on the picture, which he readily did
'—and I no ſooner caſt my eyes upon it, than the

'ſtrong reſemblance ſtruck me, and I knew it to 'be Mrs. Booth.'

'Mrs. Booth! what Mrs. Booth?' cries the doctor.

'Captain Booth's lady; the captain who is now 'below,' ſaid the other.

'How!' cries the doctor, with great impetuoſity.

'Have patience,' ſaid the man, 'and you ſhall 'hear all. I expreſſed ſome ſurprize to the pawn-'broker, and aſked the lady's name. He anſwered, 'That he knew not her name; but that ſhe was 'ſome undone wretch, who had the day before left 'all her clothes with him in pawn. My guilt im-'mediately flew in my face, and told me I had been 'acceſſary to this lady's undoing. The ſudden 'ſhock ſo affected me, that, had it not been for a 'dram which the pawnbroker gave me, I believe I 'ſhould have ſunk on the ſpot.'

'Acceſſary to her undoing! how acceſſary?' ſaid the doctor. 'Pray tell me, for I am impatient to 'hear.'

'I will tell you all, as faſt as I can,' cries the ſick man. 'You know, good doctor, that Mrs. 'Harris of our town had two daughters, this Mrs. 'Booth and another. Now, Sir, it ſeems the other 'daughter had, ſome way or other, diſobliged her 'mother, a little before the old lady died, therefore 'ſhe made a will, and left all her fortune, except 'one thouſand pound, to Mrs. Booth; to which 'will Mr. Murphy, myſelf, and another, who is 'now dead, were the witneſſes. Mrs. Harris after-'wards died ſuddenly; upon which it was con-'trived, by her other daughter and Mr. Murphy 'to make a new will, in which Mrs. Booth had a 'legacy of ten pound, and all the reſt was given 'to the other. To this will, Murphy, myſelf, and 'the ſame third perſon, again ſet our hands.'

'Good

'Good Heaven! how wonderful is thy providence,' cries the doctor——'Murphy, ſay you?'

'He himſelf, Sir,' anſwered Robinſon; 'Murphy, who is the greateſt rogue, I believe, now in the world.'

'Pray, Sir, proceed,' cries the doctor.

'For this ſervice, Sir,' ſaid Robinſon, 'myſelf and the third perſon, one Carter, received two hundred pound each. What reward Murphy himſelf had, I know not. Carter died ſoon afterwards; and from that time, at ſeveral payments, I have by threats extorted above a hundred pound more.—And this, Sir, is the whole truth, which I am ready to teſtify, if it would pleaſe Heaven to prolong my life.——

'I hope it will,' cries the doctor; 'but ſomething muſt be done for fear of accidents—I will ſend to counſel immediately, to know how to ſecure your teſtimony.—Whom can I get to ſend? ——Stay, ay—he will do—but I know not where his houſe or his chambers are—I will go myſelf—but I may be wanted here.'

While the doctor was in this violent agitation, the ſurgeon made his appearance. The doctor ſtood ſtill in a meditating poſture, while the ſurgeon examined his patient. After which, the doctor begged him to declare his opinion, and whether he thought the wounded man in any immediate danger of death. 'I do not know,' anſwered the ſurgeon, 'what you call immediate. He may live ſeveral 'days——nay, he may recover. It is impoſſible 'to give any certain opinion in theſe caſes.' He then launched forth into a ſet of terms, which the doctor, with all his ſcholarſhip, could not underſtand. To ſay the truth, many of them were not to be found in any dictionary or lexicon.

One diſcovery, however, the doctor made, and that was, that the ſurgeon was a very ignorant, conceited fellow, and knew nothing of his profeſ-

ſion. He reſolved therefore, to get better advice for the ſick; but this he poſtponed at preſent, and applying himſelf to the ſurgeon, ſaid, 'He ſhould be 'very much obliged to him, if he knew where to 'find ſuch a counſellor, and would fetch him thither. 'I ſhould not aſk ſuch a favour of you, Sir,' ſays the doctor, 'if it was not on buſineſs of the laſt im-'portance, or if I could find any other meſſenger.'

'I fetch—Sir!' ſaid the ſurgeon very angrily. 'Do you take me for a footman, or a porter? I 'don't know who you are; but I believe you are 'full as proper to go on ſuch an errand as I am;' (for as the doctor, who was juſt come off his journey, was very roughly dreſſed, the ſurgeon held him in no great reſpect.) The ſurgeon then called aloud from the top of the ſtairs, 'Let my coach-'man draw up,' and ſtrutted off without any ceremony, telling his patient he would call again the next day.

At this very inſtant arrived Murphy with the other bail, and finding Booth alone, he aſked the bailiff at the door, What was become of the doctor? 'Why the doctor,' anſwered he, 'is above ſtairs, 'praying with ————.' 'How!' cries Murphy. 'How came you not to carry him directly to New-'gate, as you promiſed me?' 'Why, becauſe he 'was wounded,' cries the bailiff. 'I thought it 'was charity to take care of him; and, beſides, 'why ſhould one make more noiſe about the mat-'ter than is neceſſary?' 'And Doctor Harriſon 'with him?' ſaid Murphy. 'Yes, he is,' ſaid the bailiff; 'he deſired to ſpeak with the doctor very 'much, and they have been praying together al-'moſt this hour.'——'All is up, and undone,' cries Murphy. 'Let me come by, I have thought 'of ſomething which I muſt do immediately.'

Now as by means of the ſurgeon's leaving the door open, the doctor heard Murphy's voice, naming Robinſon peeviſhly, he drew ſoftly to the top of

of the ſtairs, where he heard the foregoing dialogue; and as ſoon as Murphy had uttered his laſt words, and was moving downwards, the doctor immediately ſallied from his poſt, running as faſt as he could, and crying, Stop the villain, ſtop the thief.

The attorney wanted no better hint to accelerate his pace; and having the ſtart of the doctor, got down ſtairs, and out into the ſtreet; but the doctor was ſo cloſe at his heels, and being in foot the nimbler of the two, he ſoon overtook him, and laid hold of him, as he would have done on either Broughton or Slack in the ſame cauſe.

This action in the ſtreet, accompanied with the frequent cry of Stop thief by the doctor, during the chace, preſently drew together a large mob, who began, as is uſual, to enter immediately upon buſineſs, and to make ſtrict enquiry into the matter, in order to proceed to do juſtice in their ſummary way.

Murphy, who knew well the temper of the mob, cried out, 'If you are a bailiff, ſhew me your writ. 'Gentlemen, he pretends to arreſt me here without a writ.'

Upon this, one of the ſturdieſt and forwardeſt of the mob, and who by a ſuperior ſtrength of body, and of lungs, preſided in this aſſembly, declared he would ſuffer no ſuch thing. 'D—n me,' ſays he, 'away to the pump with the catchpole di-'rectly——ſhew me your writ, or let the gentle-'man go———you ſhall not arreſt a man contrary 'to law.'

He then laid his hands on the doctor, who ſtill faſt griping the attorney, cried out: 'He is a vil-'lain—I am no bailiff, but a clergyman, and this 'lawyer is guilty of forgery, and hath ruined a poor 'family.'

'How!' cries the ſpokeſman——'a lawyer!—'that alters the caſe——

'Yes,

'Yes, faith,' cries another of the mob, 'it is 'lawyer Murphy. I know him very well.'

'And hath he ruined a poor family? like enough, 'faith, if he's a lawyer.——Away with him to the 'juſtice immediately.'

The bailiff now came up, deſiring to know what was the matter? to whom Doctor Harriſon anſwered, That he had arreſted that villain for forgery. 'How can you arreſt him,' cries the bailiff, 'you 'are no officer, nor have any warrant? Mr. Mur'phy is a gentleman, and he ſhall be uſed as 'ſuch.'

'Nay, to be ſure,' cries the ſpokeſman, 'there 'ought to be a warrant; that's the truth on't.'

'There needs no warrant,' cries the doctor. 'I 'accuſe him of felony; and I know ſo much of 'the law of England, that any man may arreſt a 'felon, without any warrant whatever. This vil'lain hath undone a poor family; and I will die on 'the ſpot before I part with him.'

'If the law be ſo,' cries the orator, 'that is 'another matter. And to be ſure, to ruin a poor 'man is the greateſt of ſins. And being a lawyer 'too, makes it ſo much the worſe—He ſhall go be'fore the juſtice, d—n me if he ſhan't go before 'the juſtice. I ſays the word, he ſhall.'

'I ſay he is a gentleman, and ſhall be uſed ac'cording to law,' cries the bailiff; 'and though 'you are a clergyman,' ſaid he to Harriſon, 'you 'don't ſhew yourſelf as one by your actions.'

'That's a bailiff,' cries one of the mob—'one 'lawyer will always ſtand by another; but I think 'the clergyman is a very good man, and acts be'coming a clergyman, to ſtand by the poor.'

At which words the mob all gave a great ſhout, and ſeveral cried out: 'Bring him along, away 'with him to the juſtice.'

And now a conſtable appeared, and with an au-

thori-

thoritative voice, declared what he was, produced his ſtaff, and demanded the peace.

The doctor then delivered his priſoner over to the officer, and charged him with felony; the conſtable received him; the attorney ſubmitted; the bailiff was huſhed; and the waves of the mob immediately ſubſided.

The doctor now balanced with himſelf how he ſhould proceed; at laſt he determined to leave Booth a little longer in captivity, and not quit ſight of Murphy, before he had lodged him ſafe with a magiſtrate. They then all moved forwards to the juſtice; the conſtable and his priſoner marching firſt, the doctor and the bailiff following next, and about five thouſand mob, (for no leſs number were aſſembled in a very few minutes) following in the proceſſion.

They found the magiſtrate juſt ſitting down to his dinner; however, when he was acquainted with the doctor's profeſſion, he immediately admitted him, and heard his buſineſs. Which he no ſooner perfectly underſtood, with all its circumſtances, than he reſolved, though it was then very late, and he had been fatigued all the morning with public buſineſs, to poſtpone all refreſhment till he had diſcharged his duty. He accordingly adjourned the priſoner and his cauſe to the bailiff's houſe, whither he himſelf, with the doctor, immediately repaired, and whither the attorney was followed by a much larger number of attendants than he had been honoured with before.

CHAP. VII.

In which the hiſtory draws towards a concluſion.

NOTHING could exceed the aſtoniſhment of Booth at the behaviour of the doctor, at the time when he ſallied forth in purſuit of the attorney;

ney; for which it was ſo impoſſible for him to account in any manner whatever. He remained a long time in the utmoſt torture of mind, till at laſt the bailiff's wife came to him, and aſked him, If the doctor was not a madman; and, in truth, he could hardly defend him from that imputation.

While he was in this perplexity, the maid of the houſe brought him a meſſage from Robinſon, deſiring the favour of ſeeing him above ſtairs. With this he immediately complied.

When theſe two were alone together, and the key turned on them (for the bailiff's wife was a moſt careful perſon, and never omitted that ceremony in the abſence of her huſband, having always at her tongue's end that excellent proverb of Safe bind, ſafe find.) Robinſon looking ſtedfaſtly upon Booth, ſaid, 'I believe, Sir, you ſcarce re-'member me.'

Booth anſwered, That he thought he had ſeen his face ſomewhere before; but could not then recollect when and where.

'Indeed, Sir,' anſwered the man, 'it was a 'place which no man can remember with pleaſure. 'But do you not remember, a few weeks ago, that 'you had the misfortune to be in a certain priſon 'in this town, where you loſt a trifling ſum at cards 'to a fellow-priſoner?'

This hint ſufficiently awakened Booth's memory, and he now recollected the features of his old friend Robinſon. He anſwered him a little ſurlily, 'I 'know you now very well; but I did not imagine 'you would ever have reminded me of that tranſ-'action.'

'Alas, Sir!' anſwered Robinſon, 'whatever hap-'pened then was very trifling, compared to the in-'juries I have done you; but if my life be ſpared 'long enough, I will now undo it all; and as I have 'been one of your worſt enemies, I will now be 'one of your beſt friends.'

He

He was juſt entering upon his ſtory, when a noiſe was heard below, which might be almoſt compared to what hath been heard in Holland, when the dykes have given way, and the ocean, in an inundation breaks in upon the land. It ſeemed, indeed, as if the whole world was burſting into the houſe at once.

Booth was a man of great firmneſs of mind, and he had need of it all at this inſtant. As for poor Robinſon, the uſual concomitants of guilt attended him, and he began to tremble in a violent manner.

The firſt perſon, who aſcended the ſtairs, was the doctor, who no ſooner ſaw Booth, than he ran to him, and embraced him, crying, 'My child, I 'wiſh you joy with all my heart. Your ſufferings 'are all at an end; and Providence hath done you 'the juſtice at laſt, which it will, one day or other, 'render to all men.——You will hear all preſently; 'but I can now only tell you, that your ſiſter is 'diſcovered, and the eſtate is your own.'

Booth was in ſuch confuſion, that he ſcarce made any anſwer; and now appeared the juſtice and his clerk, and immediately afterwards the conſtable with his priſoner, the bailiff, and as many more as could poſſibly crowd up ſtairs.

The doctor now addreſſed himſelf to the ſick man, and deſired him to repeat the ſame information before the juſtice, which he had made already; to which Robinſon readily conſented.

While the clerk was taking down the information, the attorney expreſſed a very impatient deſire to ſend inſtantly for his clerk; and expreſſed ſo much uneaſineſs at the confuſion in which he had left his papers at home, that a thought ſuggeſted itſelf to the doctor, that if his houſe was ſearched, ſome lights, and evidence, relating to this affair, would certainly be found; he therefore deſired the

juſtice

juſtice to grant a ſearch-warranr immediately, to ſearch his houſe.

The juſtice anſwered, That he had no ſuch power. That if there was any ſuſpicion of ſtolen goods, he could grant a warrant to ſearch for them.

'How, Sir!' ſaid the doctor, 'can you grant a 'warrant to ſearch a man's houſe for a ſilver tea-'ſpoon, and not in a caſe like this, where a man is 'robbed of his whole eſtate?'

'Hold, Sir,' ſays the ſick man, 'I believe I can 'anſwer that point; for I can ſwear he hath ſeveral 'title-deeds of the eſtate now in his poſſeſſion, 'which I am ſure were ſtolen from the right 'owner.'

The juſtice ſtill heſitated. He ſaid, Title-deeds ſavoured of the reality, and it was not felony to ſteal them. If, indeed, they were taken away in a box, then it would be felony to ſteal the box.

'Savour of the reality! Savour of the fartality,' ſaid the doctor. 'I never heard ſuch incomprehen-'ſible nonſenſe. This is impudent, as well as 'childiſh, trifling with the lives and properties of 'men.'

'Well, Sir,' ſaid Robinſon, 'I now am ſure I 'can do his buſineſs; for I know he hath a ſilver 'cup in his poſſeſſion, which is the property of 'this gentleman, (meaning Booth) and how he got 'it but by ſtealth, let him account if he can.'

'That will do,' cries the juſtice, with great plea-ſure. 'That will do; and if you will charge him 'on oath with that, I will inſtantly grant my war-'rant to ſearch his houſe for it.' 'And I will go 'and ſee it executed,' cries the doctor; for it was a maxim of his, that no man could deſcend below himſelf, in doing any act which may contribute to protect an innocent perſon, or to bring a rogue to the gallows.

The

The oath was inſtantly taken, the warrant ſigned, and the doctor attended the conſtable in the execution of it.

The clerk then proceeded in taking the information of Robinſon, and had juſt finiſhed it, when the doctor returned with the utmoſt joy in his countenance, and declared that he had ſufficient evidence of the fact in his poſſeſſion. He had indeed two or three letters from Miſs Harris, in anſwer to the attorney's frequent demands of money for ſecrecy, that fully explained the whole villany.

The juſtice now aſked the priſoner what he had to ſay for himſelf, or whether he choſe to ſay any thing in his own defence.

'Sir,' ſaid the attorney with great confidence, 'I am not to defend myſelf here. It will be of 'no ſervice to me; for I know you neither can, 'nor will diſcharge me. But I am extremely in-'nocent of all this matter, as I doubt not but to 'make appear to the ſatisfaction of a court of 'juſtice.'

The legal previous ceremonies were then gone through of binding over the proſecutor, &c. and then the attorney was committed to Newgate; whither he was eſcorted amidſt the acclamations of the populace.

When Murphy was departed, and a little calm reſtored in the houſe, the juſtice made his compliments of congratulation to Booth; who, as well as he could in his preſent tumult of joy, returned his thanks to both the magiſtrate and the doctor. They were now all preparing to depart, when Mr. Bondum ſtept up to Booth, and ſaid: 'Hold, Sir, 'you have forgot one thing——you have not given 'bail yet.'

This occaſioned ſome diſtreſs at this time; for the attorney's friend was departed; but when the juſtice heard this, he immediately offered himſelf as the other bondſman; and thus ended the affair.

It was now paſt ſix o'clock, and none of the gentlemen had yet dined. They very readily therefore accepted the magiſtrate's invitation, and went all together to his houſe.

And now the very firſt thing that was done, even before they ſat down to dinner, was to diſpatch a meſſenger to one of the beſt ſurgeons in town, to take care of Robinſon; and another meſſenger to Booth's lodgings, to prevent Amelia's concern at their ſtaying ſo long.

The latter however was to little purpoſe; for Amelia's patience had been worn out before, and ſhe had taken a hackney-coach, and driven to the bailiff's, where ſhe arrived a little after the departure of her huſband, and was thence directed to the juſtice's.

Though there was no kind of reaſon for Amelia's fright at hearing that her huſband and doctor Harriſon were gone before the juſtice; and though ſhe indeed imagined that they were there in the light of complainants, not of offenders; yet ſo tender were her fears for her huſband, and ſo much had her gentle ſpirits been lately agitated, that ſhe had a thouſand apprehenſions of ſhe knew not what. When ſhe arrived therefore at the houſe, ſhe ran directly into the room, where all the company were at dinner, ſcarce knowing what ſhe did, or whither ſhe was going.

She found her huſband in ſuch a ſituation, and diſcovered ſuch cheerfulneſs in his countenance, that ſo violent a turn was given to her ſpirits, that ſhe was juſt able, with the aſſiſtance of a glaſs of water, to ſupport herſelf. She ſoon however recovered her calmneſs, and in a little time began to eat what might indeed be almoſt called her breakfaſt.

The juſtice now wiſhed her joy of what had happened that day; for which ſhe kindly thanked him, apprehending he meant the liberty of her huſband.

His

His worſhip might perhaps have explained himſelf more largely, had not the doctor given him a timely wink, for this wiſe and good man was fearful of making ſuch a diſcovery all at once to Amelia, leſt it ſhould overpower her; and luckily the juſtice's wife was not well enough acquainted with the matter to ſay any thing more on it than barely to aſſure the lady that ſhe joined in her huſband's congratulation.

Amelia was then in a clean white gown, which ſhe had that day redeemed, and was, indeed, dreſſed all over with great neatneſs and exactneſs; with the glow therefore which aroſe in her features from finding her huſband releaſed from his captivity, ſhe made ſo charming a figure, that ſhe attracted the eyes of the magiſtrate and of his wife, and they both agreed when they were alone, that they had never ſeen ſo charming a creature; nay, Booth himſelf afterwards told her, that he ſcarce ever remembered her to look ſo extremely beautiful as ſhe did that evening.

Whether Amelia's beauty, or the reflexion on the remarkable act of juſtice he had performed, or whatever motive filled the magiſtrate with extraordinary good-humour, and opened his heart and cellars, I will not determine; but he gave them ſo hearty a welcome, and they were all ſo pleaſed with each other, that Amelia, for that one night, truſted the care of her children to the woman where they lodged, nor did the company riſe from table till the clock ſtruck eleven.

They then ſeparated. Amelia and Booth having been ſet down at their lodgings, retired into each other's arms; nor did Booth that evening, by the doctor's advice, mention one word of the grand affair to his wife.

CHAP. VIII.

Thus this hiſtory draws nearer to a concluſion.

IN the morning early Amelia received the following letter from Mrs. Atkinſon:

'The ſurgeon of the regiment, to which the 'captain my huſband lately belonged, and who 'came this evening to ſee the captain, hath almoſt 'frightened me out of my wits by a ſtrange ſtory 'of your huſband being committed to priſon by a 'juſtice of peace for forgery. For Heaven's ſake 'ſend me the truth. If my huſband can be of 'any ſervice, weak as he is, he will be carried in a 'chair to ſerve a brother officer for whom he hath 'a regard, which I need not mention. Or if the 'ſum of twenty pounds will be of any ſervice to 'you, I will wait upon you with it the moment I 'can get my clothes on, the morning you receive 'this; for it is too late to ſend to-night. The 'captain begs his hearty ſervice and reſpects, and 'believe me,

'Dear Madam,

'Your ever affectionate friend,

'and humble ſervant,

'F. ATKINSON.'

When Amelia read this letter to Booth, they were both equally ſurpriſed, ſhe at the commitment for forgery, and he at ſeeing ſuch a letter from Mrs. Atkinſon; for he was a ſtranger yet to the reconciliation that had happened.

Booth's doubts were firſt ſatisfied by Amelia, from which he received great pleaſure; for he really had a very great affection and fondneſs for Mr. Atkinſon, who, indeed, ſo well deſerved it.

'Well,

'Well, my dear,' ſaid he to Amelia ſmiling, 'ſhall 'we accept this generous offer?'

'O fy! no certainly,' anſwered ſhe.

'Why not,' cries Booth, 'it is but a trifle; and 'yet it will be of great ſervice to us?'

'But conſider, my dear,' ſaid ſhe, 'how ill theſe 'poor people can ſpare it.'

'They can ſpare it for a little while,' ſaid Booth, 'and we ſhall ſoon pay it them again?'

'When, my dear?' ſaid Amelia. 'Do, my 'dear Will, conſider our wretched circumſtances. 'I beg you let us go into the country immediately, 'and live upon bread and water, till fortune pleaſes 'to ſmile upon us.'

'I am convinced that day is not far off,' ſaid Booth. 'However, give me leave to ſend an an-'ſwer to Mrs. Atkinſon, that we ſhall be glad of 'her company immediately to breakfaſt.'

'You know I never contradict you,' ſaid ſhe, 'but I aſſure you it is contrary to my inclinations to 'take this money.'

'Well, ſuffer me,' cries he, 'to act this once 'contrary to your inclinations.' He then writ a ſhort note to Mrs. Atkinſon, and diſpatched it away immediately; which, when he had done, Amelia ſaid, 'I ſhall be glad of Mrs. Atkinſon's company 'to breakfaſt; but yet I wiſh you would oblige 'me in refuſing this money. Take five guineas 'only. That is indeed ſuch a ſum, as, if we never 'ſhould pay it, would ſit light on my mind. The 'laſt perſons in the world from whom I would re-'ceive favours of that ſort, are the poor and ge-'nerous.'

'You can receive favours only from the gene-'rous,' cries Booth: 'and, to be plain with you, 'there are very few who are generous that are not 'poor.'

'What think you,' ſaid ſhe, 'of Dr. Harriſon?'

'I do aſſure you,' ſaid Booth, 'he is far from 'being rich. The doctor hath an income of little 'more than ſix hundred pounds a year; and I am 'convinced he gives away four of it. Indeed, he 'is one of the beſt oeconomiſts in the world; but 'yet I am poſitive he never was at any time poſſeſſed 'of five hundred pounds ſince he hath been a man. 'Conſider, dear Emily, the late obligations we have 'to this gentleman; it would be unreaſonable to 'expect more, at leaſt at preſent; my half-pay is 'mortgaged for a year to come.——How then ſhall 'we live?'

'By our labour,' anſwered ſhe, 'I am able to 'labour, and I am ſure I am not aſhamed of it.'

'And do you really think you can ſupport ſuch 'a life?'

'I am ſure I could be happy in it,' anſwered Amelia. 'And why not I as well as a thouſand 'others, who have not the happineſs of ſuch a huſ-'band to make life delicious? why ſhould I com-'plain of my hard fate, while ſo many, who are 'much poorer than I, enjoy theirs. Am I of a 'ſuperior rank of being to the wife of the honeſt 'labourer? am I not partaker of one common na-'ture with her?'

'My angel,' cries Booth, 'it delights me to hear 'you talk thus, and for a reaſon you little gueſs; 'for I am aſſured that one who can ſo heroically 'endure adverſity, will bear proſperity with equal 'greatneſs of ſoul; for the mind that cannot be 'dejected by the former, is not likely to be tranſ-'ported with the latter.'

'If it had pleaſed Heaven,' cried ſhe, 'to have 'tried me, I think, at leaſt I hope I ſhould have 'preſerved my humility.'

'Then, my dear,' ſaid he, I will relate you a 'dream I had laſt night. You know you lately 'mentioned a dream of yours.'

'Do ſo,' ſaid ſhe, 'I am attentive.'

'I dreamt,'

'I dreamt,' ſaid he, 'this night that we were 'in the moſt miſerable ſituation imaginable. In-'deed, in the ſituation we were yeſterday morning, 'or rather worſe; that I was laid in a priſon for 'debt, and that you wanted a morſel of bread to 'feed the mouths of your hungry children. At 'length (for nothing you know is quicker than 'the tranſition in dreams) Dr. Harriſon methought 'came to me, with cheerfulneſs and joy in his 'countenance. The priſon doors immediately flew 'open; and Dr. Harriſon introduced you, gayly, 'though not richly dreſſed. That you gently chid 'me for ſtaying ſo long; all on a ſudden appeared 'a coach with four horſes to it, in which was a 'maid-ſervant with our two children. We both 'immediately went into the coach, and taking our 'leave of the doctor, ſet out towards your country 'houſe; for yours, I dreamt it was.——I only aſk 'you now, if this was real, and the tranſition almoſt 'as ſudden, could you ſupport it?'——

Amelia was going to anſwer when Mrs. Atkinſon came into the room, and after very little previous ceremony preſented Booth with a bank note, which he received of her, ſaying, he would very ſoon repay it; a promiſe that a little offended Amelia, as ſhe thought he had no chance of keeping it.

The doctor preſently arrived, and the company ſat down to breakfaſt, during which Mrs. Atkinſon entertained them with the hiſtory of the doctors that had attended her huſband, by whoſe advice Atkinſon was recovered from every thing but the weakneſs which his diſtemper had occaſioned.

When the tea-table was removed, Booth told the doctor, that he had acquainted his wife with a dream he had laſt night. 'I dreamt, doctor,' ſaid he, 'that ſhe was reſtored to her eſtate.'

'Very well,' ſaid the doctor; 'and if I am to 'be the Oniropolos, I believe the dream will come 'to paſs. To ſay the truth, I have rather a better

'opinion of dreams than Horace had. Old Ho-
'mer ſays they came from Jupiter; and as to your
'dream, I have often had it in my waking thoughts,
'that ſome time or other that roguery (for ſo I
'was always convinced it was) would be brought
'to light; for the ſame Homer ſays, as you, Ma-
'dam,' (meaning Mrs. Atkinſon) 'very well know,

Εἴπερ γάρ τε καὶ αὐτίκ' Ὀλύμπιος οὐκ ἐτέλεσσεν,
Ἦκά τε καὶ ὀψὲ τελεῖ· σύν τε μεγάλῳ ἀπέτισαν
Σὺν σφῇσιν κεφαλῇσι, γυναιξί τε καὶ τεκέεσσιν *.

'I have no Greek ears, Sir,' ſaid Mrs. Atkinſon,
'I believe I could underſtand it in the Delphin
'Homer.'

'I wiſh,' cries he, 'my dear child, (to Amelia)
'you would read a little in the Delphin Ariſtotle,
'or elſe in ſome chriſtian divine, to learn a doctrine
'which you will one day have a uſe for. I mean
'to bear the hardeſt of all human conflicts, and
'ſupport with an even temper, and without any
'violent tranſports of mind, a ſudden guſt of pro-
'ſperity.'

'Indeed,' cries Amelia, 'I ſhould almoſt think
'my huſband and you, doctor, had ſome very good
'news to tell me, by your uſing, both of you, the
'ſame introduction. As far as I know myſelf, I
'think I can anſwer, I can ſupport any degree of
'proſperity, and I think I yeſterday ſhewed I could:
'for I do aſſure you, it is not in the power of
'fortune to try me with ſuch another tranſition
'from grief to joy, as I conceived from ſeeing my
'huſband in priſon and at liberty.'

'Well, you are a good girl,' cries the doctor,
'and after I have put on my ſpectacles I will try
'you.'

'* If Jupiter doth not immediately execute his vengeance; he
'will however execute it at laſt; and their tranſgreſſions ſhall fall
'heavily on their own heads, and on their wives and children.'

The

The doctor then took out a new-spaper, and read as follows:

'Yesterday one Murphy, an eminent attorney at 'law, was committed to Newgate, for the forgery 'of a will under which an estate hath been for many 'years detained from the right owner.'

Now in this paragraph there is something very remarkable, and that is——that it is true: but *opus est explanatum.* In the Delphin edition of this news-paper, there is the following note upon the words right owner: 'The right owner of this 'estate is a young lady of the highest merit, whose 'maiden name was Harris, and who some time 'since was married to an idle fellow, one lieutenant 'Booth. And the best historians assure us, that 'letters from the elder sister of this lady, which 'manifestly prove the forgery, and clear up the 'whole affair, are in the hands of an old parson, 'called Dr. Harrison.'

'And is this really true,' cries Amelia?

'Yes, really, and sincerely,' cries the doctor. 'The whole estate; for your mother left it you 'all, and is as surely yours, as if you was already 'in possession.'

'Gracious Heaven!' cries she, 'falling on her 'knees, I thank you.'——And then starting up, she ran to her husband, and embracing him, cried, 'My dear love, I wish you joy; and I ought in 'gratitude to wish it you; for you are the cause 'of mine. It is upon yours, and my children's 'account, that I principally rejoice.'

Mrs. Atkinson rose from her chair, and jumped about the room for joy, repeating,

Turne, quod optanti divûm promittere nemo
Auderet, volvenda dies, en, attulit ultro. *

* 'What none of all the Gods could grant thy vows
'That, Turnus, this auspicious day bestows.

Amelia

Amelia now threw herſelf into a chair, complained ſhe was a little faint, and begged a glaſs of water. The doctor adviſed her to be blooded; but ſhe refuſed, ſaying, ſhe required a vent of another kind.——She then deſired her children to be brought to her, whom ſhe immediately caught in her arms, and having profuſely cried over them for ſeveral minutes, declared ſhe was eaſy. After which, ſhe ſoon regained her uſual temper and complexion.

That day they dined together, and in the afternoon they all, except the doctor, viſited captain Atkinſon; he repaired to the bailiff's houſe to viſit the ſick man, whom he found very cheerful, the ſurgeon having aſſured him that he was in no danger.

The doctor had a long ſpiritual diſcourſe with Robinſon, who aſſured him that he ſincerely repented of his paſt life, that he was reſolved to lead his future days in a different manner, and to make what amends he could for his ſins to ſociety, by bringing one of the greateſt rogues in it to juſtice. There was a circumſtance which much pleaſed the doctor, and made him conclude that, however Robinſon had been corrupted by his old maſter, he had naturally a good diſpoſition. This was, that Robinſon declared he was chiefly induced to the diſcovery by what had happened at the pawnbroker's, and by the miſeries which he there perceived he had been inſtrumental in bringing on Booth and his family.

The next day Booth and his wife, at the doctor's inſtance, dined with Colonel James and his lady, where they were received with great civility, and all matters were accommodated without Booth ever knowing a ſyllable of the challenge even to this day.

The doctor inſiſted very ſtrongly on having Miſs Harris taken into cuſtody, and ſaid, if ſhe was his ſiſter, he would deliver her to juſtice. He added beſides, that it was impoſſible to ſkreen her, and carry on the proſecution, or, indeed, recover the eſtate. Amelia at laſt begged the delay of one day only, in which time ſhe wrote a letter to her ſiſter informing her of the diſcovery, and the danger in which ſhe ſtood, and begged her earneſtly to make her eſcape, with many aſſurances that ſhe would never ſuffer her to know any diſtreſs. This letter ſhe ſent away expreſs, and it had the deſired effect; for Miſs Harris having received ſufficient information from the attorney to the ſame purpoſe, immediately ſet out for Pool, and from thence to France, carrying with her all her money, moſt of her clothes, and ſome few jewels. She had, indeed, packed up plate and jewels to the value of two thouſand pounds and upwards. But Booth, to whom Amelia communicated the letter, prevented her, by ordering the man that went with the expreſs, (who had been a ſerjeant of the foot guards recommended to him by Atkinſon) to ſuffer the lady to go whither ſhe pleaſed, but not to take any thing with her except her clothes, which he was carefully to ſearch. Theſe orders were obeyed punctually, and with theſe ſhe was obliged to comply.

Two days after the bird was flown, a warrant from the lord chief juſtice arrived to take her up, the meſſenger of which returned with the news of her flight, highly to the ſatisfaction of Amelia, and conſequently of Booth, and, indeed, not greatly to the grief of the doctor.

About a week afterwards, Booth and Amelia, with their children, and Captain Atkinſon and his lady, all ſet forwards together for Amelia's houſe, where they arrived amidſt the acclamations of all the

the neighbours, and every public demonſtration of joy.

They found the houſe ready prepared to receive them by Atkinſon's friend, the old ſerjeant, and a good dinner prepared for them by Amelia's old nurſe, who was addreſſed with the utmoſt duty by her ſon and daughter, moſt affectionately careſſed by Booth and his wife, and by Amelia's abſolute command ſeated next to herſelf at the table. At which, perhaps, were aſſembled ſome of the beſt and happieſt people then in the world.

CHAP. IX.

In which the hiſtory is concluded.

HAVING brought our hiſtory to a concluſion, as to thoſe points in which we preſume our reader was chiefly intereſted, in the foregoing chapter; we ſhall in this, by way of epilogue, endeavour to ſatisfy his curioſity, as to what hath ſince happened to the principal perſonages of whom we have treated in the foregoing pages.

Colonel James and his lady, after living in a polite manner for many years together, at laſt agreed to live in as polite a manner aſunder. The colonel hath kept Miſs Matthews ever ſince, and is at length grown to doat on her (though now very diſagreeable in her perſon, and immenſely fat) to ſuch a degree, that he ſubmits to be treated by her in the moſt tyrannical manner.

He allows his lady eight hundred pounds a year, with which ſhe divides her time between Tunbridge, Bath, and London, and paſſes about nine hours in the twenty-four at cards. Her income is lately increaſed by three thouſand pounds left her by her brother Colonel Bath, who was killed in a duel about ſix

ſix years ago, by a gentleman who told the colonel he differed from him in opinion.

The noble peer and Mrs. Elliſon have been both dead ſeveral years, and both of the conſequences of their favourite vices; Mrs. Elliſon having fallen a martyr to her liquor, and the other to his amours, by which he was at laſt become ſo rotten, that he ſtunk above ground.

The attorney, Murphy, was brought to his trial at the Old-Bailey, where, after much quibbling about the meaning of a very plain act of parliament, he was at length convicted of forgery, and was ſoon afterwards hanged at Tyburn.

The witneſs for ſome time ſeemed to reform his life, and received a ſmall penſion from Booth; after which, he returned to vicious courſes, took a purſe on the highway, was detected and taken, and followed the laſt ſteps of his old maſter. So apt are men, whoſe manners have been once thoroughly corrupted to return, from any dawn of an amendment, into the dark paths of vice.

As to Miſs Harris, ſhe lived three years with a broken heart at Boulogne, where ſhe received annually fifty pounds from her ſiſter, who was hardly prevailed on by Dr. Harriſon not to ſend her a hundred, and then died in a moſt miſerable manner.

Mr. Atkinſon upon the whole hath led a very happy life with his wife, though he hath been ſometimes obliged to pay proper homage to her ſuperior underſtanding and knowledge. This, however, he cheerfully ſubmits to, and ſhe makes him proper returns of fondneſs. They have two fine boys, of whom they are equally fond. He is lately advanced to the rank of captain, and laſt ſummer both he and his wife paid a viſit of three months to Booth and his wife.

Dr. Harriſon is grown old in years, and in honour; beloved and reſpected by all his pariſhioners, and

and by all his neighbours. He divides his time between his pariſh, his old town, and Booth's—— at which laſt place he had, two years ago, a gentle fit of the gout, being the firſt attack of that diſtemper. During this fit, Amelia was his nurſe, and her two oldeſt daughters ſat up alternately with him for a whole week. The eldeſt of thoſe girls, whoſe name is Amelia, is his favourite; ſhe is the picture of her mother, and it is thought the doctor hath diſtinguiſhed her in his will; for he hath declared that he will leave his whole fortune, except ſome few charities, among Amelia's children.

As to Booth and Amelia, fortune ſeems to have made them large amends for the tricks ſhe played them in their youth. They have, ever ſince the above period of this hiſtory, enjoyed an uninterrupted courſe of health and happineſs. In about ſix weeks after Booth's firſt coming into the country, he went to London, and paid all his debts of honour; after which, and a ſtay of two days only, he returned into the country, and hath never ſince been thirty miles from home. He hath two boys and four girls; the eldeſt of the boys, he who hath made his appearance in this hiſtory, is juſt come from the univerſity, and is one of the fineſt gentlemen, and beſt ſcholars of his age. The ſecond is juſt going from ſchool, and is intended for the church, that being his own choice. His eldeſt daughter is a woman grown, but we muſt not mention her age. A marriage was propoſed to her the other day with a young fellow of a good eſtate, but ſhe never would ſee him more then once; 'for 'doctor Harriſon,' ſays ſhe, 'told me he was illi-'terate, and I am ſure he is ill-natured.' The ſecond girl is three years younger than her ſiſter, and the others are yet children.

Amelia is ſtill the fineſt woman in England of her age. Booth himſelf often avers ſhe is as hand-

ſome

ſome as ever. Nothing can equal the ſerenity of their lives. Amelia declared to me the other day, that ſhe did not remember to have ſeen her huſband out of humour theſe ten years; and upon my inſinuating to her, that he had the beſt of wives, ſhe anſwered with a ſmile, that ſhe ought to be ſo, for that he had made her the happieſt of women.

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CONVERSATION.

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MAN is generally repreſented as an animal formed for, and delighted in, ſociety: In this ſtate alone, it is ſaid, his various talents can be exerted, his numberleſs neceſſities relieved, the dangers he is expoſed to can be avoided, and many of the pleaſures he eagerly affects, enjoyed. If theſe aſſertions be, as I think they are, undoubtedly and obviouſly certain, thoſe few who have denied man to be a ſocial animal, have left us theſe two ſolutions of their conduct; either that there are men as bold in denial, as can be found in aſſertion; and, as Cicero ſays, there is no abſurdity which ſome philoſopher or other hath not aſſerted; ſo we may ſay, there is no truth ſo glaring, that ſome have not denied it. Or elſe; that theſe rejecters of ſociety borrow all their information from their own ſavage diſpoſitions, and are, indeed, themſelves, the only exceptions to the above general rule.

But to leave ſuch perſons to thoſe who have thought them more worthy of an anſwer; there are others who are ſo ſeemingly fond of this ſocial ſtate,

that they are underſtood abſolutely to confine it to their own ſpecies; and entirely excluding the tamer and gentler, the herding and flocking parts of the creation, from all benefits of it, to ſet up this as one grand general diſtinction between the human and the brute ſpecies.

Shall we conclude this denial of all ſociety to the nature of brutes, which ſeems to be in defiance of every day's obſervation, to be as bold, as the denial of it to the nature of men? or, may we not more juſtly derive the error from an improper underſtanding of this word Society in too confined and ſpecial a ſenſe? in a word; do thoſe who utterly deny it to the brutal nature, mean any other by ſociety than converſation?

Now if we comprehend them in this ſenſe, as I think we very reaſonably may, the diſtinction appears to me to be truly juſt; for though other animals are not without all uſe of ſociety, yet this noble branch of it ſeems, of all the inhabitants of this globe, confined to man only; the narrow power of communicating ſome few ideas of luſt, or fear, or anger, which may be obſervable in brutes, falling infinitely ſhort of what is commonly meant by converſation, as may be deduced from the origination of the word itſelf, the only accurate guide to knowledge. The primitive and literal ſenſe of this word, is, I apprehend, to turn round together; and in its more copious uſage we intend by it, that reciprocal interchange of ideas, by which truth is examined; things are, in a manner, turned round, and ſifted, and all our knowledge communicated to each other.

In this reſpect man ſtands, I conceive, diſtinguiſhed from, and ſuperior to, all other earthly creatures; it is this privilege, which, while he is inferior in ſtrength to ſome, in ſwiftneſs to others; without horns or claws, or tuſks to attack them, or even to defend himſelf againſt them, hath made him

him maſter of them all. Indeed, in other views, however vain men may be of their abilities, they are greatly inferior to their animal neighbours. With what envy muſt a ſwine, or a much leſs voracious animal, be ſurveyed by a glutton; and how contemptible muſt the talents of other ſenſualiſts appear, when oppoſed, perhaps, to ſome of the loweſt and meaneſt of brutes; but in converſation man ſtands alone, at leaſt in this part of the creation; he leaves all others behind him at his firſt ſtart, and the greater progreſs he makes, the greater diſtance is between them.

Converſation is of three ſorts. Men are ſaid to converſe with God, with themſelves, and with one another. The two firſt of theſe have been ſo liberally and excellently ſpoken to by others, that I ſhall, at preſent, paſs them by, and confine myſelf, in this eſſay, to the third only; ſince it ſeems to me amazing, that this grand buſineſs of our lives, the foundation of every thing, either uſeful or pleaſant, ſhould have been ſo ſlightly treated of; that while there is ſcarce a profeſſion or handicraft in life, however mean and contemptible, which is not abundantly furniſhed with proper rules to the attaining its perfection, men ſhould be left almoſt totally in the dark, and without the leaſt light to direct, or any guide to conduct them in the proper exerting of thoſe talents, which are the nobleſt privilege of human nature, and productive of all rational happineſs; and the rather as this power is by no means ſelf-inſtructed, and in the poſſeſſion of the artleſs and ignorant, is of ſo mean uſe, that it raiſes them very little above thoſe animals who are void of it.

As converſation is a branch of ſociety, it follows, that it can be proper to none who is not in his nature ſocial. Now ſociety is agreeable to no creatures who are not inoffenſive to each other; and we therefore obſerve in animals who are entirely

guided by nature, that it is cultivated by ſuch only, while thoſe of more noxious diſpoſition addict themſelves to ſolitude, and, unleſs when prompted by luſt, or that neceſſary inſtinct implanted in them by nature, for the nurture of their young, ſhun as much as poſſible the ſociety of their own ſpecies. If therefore there ſhould be found ſome human individuals of ſo ſavage a habit, it would ſeem they were not adapted to ſociety, and, conſequently, not to converſation; nor would any inconvenience enſue the admittance of ſuch exceptions, ſince it would by no means impeach the general rule of man's being a ſocial animal; eſpecially when it appears (as is ſufficiently and admirably proved by my friend, the author of An Enquiry into Happineſs) that theſe men live in a conſtant oppoſition to their own nature, and are no leſs monſters than the moſt wanton abortions, or extravagant births.

Again; if ſociety requires that its members ſhould be inoffenſive, ſo the more uſeful and beneficial they are to each other, the more ſuitable are they to the ſocial nature, and more perfectly adapted to its inſtitution; for all creatures ſeek their own happineſs, and ſociety is therefore natural to any, becauſe it is naturally productive of this happineſs. To render therefore any animal ſocial, is to render it inoffenſive; an inſtance of which is to be ſeen in thoſe the ferocity of whoſe nature can be tamed by man. And here the reader may obſerve a double diſtinction of man from the more ſavage animals by ſociety, and from the ſocial by converſation.

But if men were merely inoffenſive to each other, it ſeems as if ſociety and converſation would be merely indifferent; and that in order to make it deſirable by a ſenſible being, it is neceſſary we ſhould go farther, and propoſe ſome poſitive good to ourſelves from it; and this preſuppoſes not only negatively, our not receiving any hurt; but poſitively,

tively, our receiving ſome good, ſome pleaſure or advantage from each other in it, ſomething which we could not find in an unſocial and ſolitary ſtate; otherwiſe we might cry out with the right honourable poet *;

Give us our wildneſs and our woods,
Our huts and caves again.

The art of pleaſing or doing good to one another is therefore the art of converſation. It is this habit which gives it all its value. And as man's being a ſocial animal (the truth of which is inconteſtibly proved by that excellent author of An Enquiry, &c. I have above cited) preſuppoſes a natural deſire or tendency this way, it will follow, that we can fail in attaining this truly deſirable end from ignorance only in the means; and how general this ignorance is, may be, with ſome probability, inferred from our want of even a word to expreſs this art by; that which comes the neareſt to it, and by which, perhaps, we would ſometimes intend it, being ſo horribly and barbarouſly corrupted, that it contains at preſent ſcarce a ſimple ingredient of what it ſeems originally to have been deſigned to expreſs.

The word I mean is Good-breeding; a word, I apprehend, not at firſt confined to externals, much leſs to any particular dreſs or attitude of the body; nor were the qualifications expreſſed by it to be furniſhed by a milliner, a tailor, or a perriwig-maker; no, nor even by a dancing-maſter himſelf. According to the idea I myſelf conceive from this word, I ſhould not have ſcrupled to call Socrates a well-bred man, though, I believe, he was very little inſtructed by any of the perſons I have above enumerated. In ſhort, by good-breeding (notwith-

* The Duke of Buckingham.

ſtanding the corrupt uſe of the word in a very different ſenſe) I mean the art of pleaſing, or contributing as much as poſſible to the eaſe and happineſs of thoſe with whom you converſe. I ſhall contend therefore no longer on this head; for whilſt my reader clearly conceives the ſenſe in which I uſe this word, it will not be very material whether I am right or wrong in its original application.

Good-breeding then, or the *Art of pleaſing in Converſation*, is expreſſed two different ways, viz. in our actions and our words, and our conduct in both may be reduced to that conciſe, comprehenſive rule in ſcripture; *Do unto all men as you would they ſhould do unto you.* Indeed, conciſe as this rule is, and plain as it appears, what are all treatiſes on ethics, but comments upon it? and whoever is well read in the book of nature, and hath made much obſervation on the actions of men, will perceive ſo few capable of judging, or rightly purſuing their own happineſs, that he will be apt to conclude, that ſome attention is neceſſary (and more than is commonly uſed) to enable men to know truly, *what they would have done unto them*, or, at leaſt, what it would be their intereſt *to have done.*

If therefore men, through weakneſs or inattention, often err in their conceptions of what would produce their own happineſs, no wonder they ſhould miſs in the application of what will contribute to that of others; and thus we may, without too ſevere a cenſure on their inclinations, account for that frequent failure in true good-breeding, which daily experience gives us inſtances of.

Beſides, the commentators have well paraphraſed on the abovementioned divine rule, that it is, to *do unto men what you would they* (if they were in your ſituation and circumſtances, and you in theirs) *ſhould do unto you*; and as this comment is neceſſary to be obſerved in ethics, ſo is it particularly uſeful in this our art, where the degree of the perſon is always,

always to be conſidered, as we ſhall explain more at large hereafter.

We ſee then a poſſibility for a man well diſpoſed to this golden rule, without ſome precautions, to err in the practice; nay, even good-nature itſelf, the very habit of mind moſt eſſential to furniſh us with true good-breeding, the latter ſo nearly reſembling the former, that it hath been called, and with the appearance at leaſt of propriety, artificial good-nature. This excellent quality itſelf ſometimes ſhoots us beyond the mark, and ſhews the truth of thoſe lines in Horace:

Inſani ſapiens nomen ferat, æquus iniqui,
Ultrà quam ſatis eſt, Virtutem ſi petat ipſam.

Inſtances of this will be naturally produced where we ſhew the deviations from thoſe rules, which we ſhall now attempt to lay down.

As this good-breeding is the art of pleaſing, it will be firſt neceſſary, with the utmoſt caution, to avoid hurting or giving any offence to thoſe with whom we converſe. And here we are ſurely to ſhun any kind of actual diſreſpect, or affront to their perſons, by inſolence, which is the ſevereſt attack that can be made on the pride of man, and of which Florus ſeems to have no inadequate opinion, when ſpeaking of the ſecond Tarquin, he ſays; *in omnes ſuperbiâ (quæ crudelitate gravior eſt* BONIS) *graſſatus*; "He trod on all with inſolence, which "ſits heavier on men of great minds than cruelty "itſelf." If there is any temper in man, which more than all others diſqualifies him for ſociety, it is this inſolence or haughtineſs, which, blinding a man to his own imperfections, and giving him a hawk's quick-ſightedneſs to thoſe of others, raiſes in him that contempt for his ſpecies, which inflates the cheeks, erects the head, and ſtiffens the gait of thoſe ſtrutting animals, who ſometimes ſtalk in aſ-

ſemblies,

ſemblies, for no other reaſon, but to ſhew in their geſture and behaviour the diſregard they have for the company. Though to a truly great and philoſophical mind, it is not eaſy to conceive a more ridiculous exhibition than this puppet; yet to others he is little leſs than a nuſance; for contempt is a murtherous weapon, and there is this difference only between the greateſt and weakeſt man, when attacked by it, that, in order to wound the former, it muſt be juſt; whereas, without the ſhields of wiſdom and philoſophy, which God knows are in the poſſeſſion of very few, it wants no juſtice to point it; but is certain to penetrate, from whatever corner it comes. It is this diſpoſition which inſpires the empty Cacus to deny his acquaintance, and overlook men of merit in diſtreſs; and the little ſilly, pretty Phillida, or Foolida, to ſtare at the ſtrange creatures round her. It is this temper which conſtitutes the ſupercilious eye, the reſerved look, the diſtant bow, the ſcornful leer, the affected aſtoniſhment, the loud whiſper, ending in a laugh directed full in the teeth of another. Hence ſpring, in ſhort, thoſe numberleſs offences given too frequently, in public and private aſſemblies, by perſons of weak underſtandings, indelicate habits, and ſo hungry and foul-feeding a vanity, that it wants to devour whatever comes in its way. Now, if good-breeding be what we have endeavoured to prove it, how foreign, and, indeed, how oppoſite to it, muſt ſuch a behaviour be? and can any man call a duke or a dutcheſs who wears it, well-bred? or are they not more juſtly entitled to thoſe inhuman names which they themſelves allot to the loweſt vulgar? But behold a more pleaſing picture on the reverſe. See the earl of C——, noble in his birth, ſplendid in his fortune, and embelliſhed with every endowment of mind; how affable! how condeſcending! himſelf the only one who ſeems

ſeems ignorant that he is every way the greateſt perſon in the room.

But it is not ſufficient to be inoffenſive, we muſt be profitable ſervants to each other: we are in the ſecond place, to proceed to the utmoſt verge in paying the reſpect due to others. We had better go a little too far than ſtop ſhort in this particular. My lord Shaftſbury hath a pretty obſervation, that the beggar, in addreſſing to a coach with, My Lord, is ſure not to offend, even though there be no lord there; but, on the contrary, ſhould plain Sir fly in the face of a nobleman, what muſt be the conſequence? And, indeed, whoever conſiders the buſtle and contention about precedence, the pains and labours undertaken, and ſometimes the prices given for the ſmalleſt title or mark of pre-eminence, and the viſible ſatisfaction betrayed in its enjoyment, may reaſonably conclude this is a matter of no ſmall conſequence. The truth is, we live in a world of common men, and not of philoſophers; for one of theſe, when he appears (which is very ſeldom, among us, is diſtinguiſhed, and very properly too, by the name of an odd fellow; for what is it leſs than extreme oddity to deſpiſe what the generality of the world think the labour of their whole lives well employed in procuring? we are therefore to adapt our behaviour to the opinion of the generality of mankind, and not to that of a few odd fellows.

It would be tedious, and perhaps impoſſible, to ſpecify every inſtance, or to lay down exact rules for our conduct in every minute particular. However, I ſhall mention ſome of the chief which moſt ordinarily occur, after premiſing, that the buſineſs of the whole is no more than to convey to others an idea of your eſteem of them, which is, indeed, the ſubſtance of all the compliments, ceremonies, preſents, and whatever paſſes between well-bred people. And here I ſhall lay down theſe poſitions:

First,

Firſt, that all meer ceremonies exiſt in form only, and have in them no ſubſtance at all; but being impoſed by the laws of cuſtom, become eſſential to good-breeding, from thoſe high-flown compliments paid to the Eaſtern monarchs, and which paſs between Chineſe mandarines, to thoſe coarſer ceremonials in uſe between Engliſh farmers and Dutch boors.

Secondly, that theſe ceremonies, poor as they are, are of more conſequence than they at firſt appear, and, in reality, conſtitute the only external difference between man and man. Thus, His grace, Right honourable, My lord, Right reverend, Reverend, Honourable, Sir, Eſquire, Mr. &c. have, in a philoſophical ſenſe, no meaning, yet are, perhaps, politically eſſential, and muſt be preſerved by good-breeding; becauſe,

Thirdly, they raiſe an expectation in the perſon by law and cuſtom entitled to them, and who will conſequently be diſpleaſed with the diſappointment.

Now, in order to deſcend minutely into any rules for good-breeding, it will be neceſſary to lay ſome ſcene, or to throw our diſciple into ſome particular circumſtance. We will begin them with a viſit in the country; and as the principal actor on this occaſion is the perſon who receives it, we will, as briefly as poſſible, lay down ſome general rules for his conduct; marking, at the ſame time, the principal deviations we have obſerved on theſe occaſions.

When an expected gueſt arrives to dinner at your houſe, if your equal, or, indeed, not greatly your inferior, he ſhould be ſure to find your family in ſome order, and yourſelf dreſſed and ready to receive him at your gate with a ſmiling countenance. This infuſes an immediate cheerfulneſs into your gueſt, and perſuades him of your eſteem and deſire of his company. Not ſo is the behaviour of

Poly-

Polyſpherchon, at whoſe gate you are obliged to knock a conſiderable time before you gain admittance. At length, the door being opened to you by a maid, or ſome improper ſervant, who wonders where the devil all the men are; and being aſked if the gentleman is at home, anſwers, ſhe believes ſo; you are conducted into a hall, or back parlour, where you ſtay ſome time, before the gentleman, in a diſhabille from his ſtudy or his garden, waits upon you, aſks pardon, and aſſures you he did not expect you ſo ſoon.

Your gueſt being introduced into a drawing-room, is, after the firſt ceremonies, to be aſked, whether he will refreſh himſelf after his journey, before dinner (for which he is never to ſtay longer than the uſual or fixed hour). But this requeſt is never to be repeated oftner than twice, and not in imitation of Calepus, who, as if hired by a phyſician, crams wine in a morning down the throats of his moſt temperate friends, their conſtitutions being not ſo dear to them as their preſent quiet.

When dinner is on the table, and the ladies have taken their places, the gentlemen are to be introduced into the eating-room, where they are to be ſeated with as much ſeeming indifference as poſſible, unleſs there be any preſent whoſe degrees claim an undoubted precedence. As to the reſt, the general rules of precedence are by marriage, age, and profeſſion. Laſtly; in placing your gueſts, regard is rather to be had to birth than fortune; for though purſe-pride is forward enough to exalt itſelf, it bears a degradation with more ſecret comfort and eaſe than the former, as being more inwardly ſatisfied with itſelf, and leſs apprehenſive of neglect or contempt.

The order in helping your gueſts is to be regulated by that of placing them; but here I muſt, with great ſubmiſſion recommend to the lady at the upper end of the table, to diſtribute her favours

vours as equally, and as impartially as ſhe can. I have ſometimes ſeen a large diſh of fiſh extend no farther than to the fifth perſon, and a haunch of veniſon loſe all its fat before half the table had taſted it.

A ſingle requeſt to eat of any particular diſh, how elegant ſoever, is the utmoſt I allow. I ſtrictly prohibit all earneſt ſolicitations, all complaints that you have no appetite, which are ſometimes little leſs than burleſque, and always impertinent and troubleſome.

And here, however low it may appear to ſome readers, as I have known omiſſions of this kind give offence, and ſometimes make the offenders, who have been very well-meaning perſons, ridiculous, I cannot help mentioning the ceremonial of drinking healths at table, which is always to begin with the lady's, and next the maſter's of the houſe.

When dinner is ended, and the ladies retired, though I do not hold the maſter of the feaſt obliged to fuddle himſelf through complacence, (and, indeed, it is his own fault generally, if his company be ſuch as would deſire it) yet he is to ſee that the bottle circulate ſufficiently to afford every perſon preſent a moderate quantity of wine, if he chuſes it; at the ſame time permitting thoſe who deſire it, either to paſs the bottle, or fill their glaſs as they pleaſe. Indeed, the beaſtly cuſtom of beſotting, and oſtentatious contention for pre-eminence in their cups, ſeems at preſent pretty well aboliſhed among the better ſort of people. Yet Methus ſtill remains, who meaſures the honeſty and underſtanding of mankind by a capaciouſneſs of their ſwallow; who ſings forth the praiſes of a bumper, and complains of the light in your glaſs; and at whoſe table it is as difficult to preſerve your ſenſes, as to preſerve your purſe at a gaming table, or your health at a b—y-houſe. On the other ſide, Sophronus eyes you carefully whilſt you are filling out

his

his liquor. The bottle as ſurely ſtops when it comes to him, as your chariot at Temple-Bar; and it is almoſt as impoſſible to carry a pint of wine from his houſe, as to gain the love of a reigning beauty, or borrow a ſhilling of P—— W——.

But to proceed. After a reaſonable time, if your gueſt intends ſtaying with you the whole evening, and declines the bottle, you may propoſe play, walking, or any other amuſement; but theſe are to be but barely mentioned, and offered to his choice with all indifference on your part. What perſon can be ſo dull as not to perceive in Agyrtes a longing to pick your pockets? or in Alazon, a deſire to ſatisfy his own vanity in ſhewing you the rarities of his houſe and gardens? When your gueſt offers to go, there ſhould be no ſolicitations to ſtay, unleſs for the whole night, and that no farther than to give him a moral aſſurance of his being welcome ſo to do; no aſſertions that he ſhan't go yet; no laying on violent hands; no private orders to ſervants, to delay providing the horſes or vehicles; like Deſmophylax, who never ſuffers any one to depart from his houſe without entitling him to an action of falſe impriſonment.

Let us now conſider a little the part which the viſitor himſelf is to act. And firſt, he is to avoid the two extremes of being too early, or too late, ſo as neither to ſurpriſe his friend unawares or unprovided, nor detain him too long in expectation. Orthrius, who hath nothing to do, diſturbs your reſt in a morning; and the frugal Chronophidus, leſt he ſhould waſte ſome minutes of his precious time, is ſure to ſpoil your dinner.

The addreſs at your arrival ſhould be as ſhort as poſſible, eſpecially when you viſit a ſuperior; not imitating Phlenaphius, who would ſtop his friend in the rain, rather than omit a ſingle bow.

Be not too obſervant of trifling ceremonies, ſuch as riſing, ſitting, walking firſt in or out of the room,

room, except with one greatly your ſuperior; but when ſuch a one offers you precedence, it is uncivil to refuſe it; of which, I will give you the following inſtance: An Engliſh nobleman being in France, was bid by Lewis XIV. to enter his coach before him, which he excuſed himſelf from; the king then immediately mounted, and ordering the door to be ſhut, drove on, leaving the nobleman behind him.

Never refuſe any thing offered you out of civility, unleſs in preference of a lady, and that no oftner than once; for nothing is more truly good-breeding, than to avoid being troubleſome. Though the taſte and humour of the viſitor is to be chiefly conſidered, yet is ſome regard likewiſe to be had to that of the maſter of the houſe; for otherwiſe your company will be rather a penance than a pleaſure. Methuſus plainly diſcovers his viſit to be paid to his ſober friend's bottle; nor will Philopaſus abſtain from cards, though he is certain they are agreeable only to himſelf; whilſt the ſlender Leptines gives his fat entertainer a ſweat, and makes him run the hazard of breaking his wind up his own mounts.

If conveniency allows your ſtaying longer than the time propoſed, it may be civil to offer to depart, leſt your ſtay may be incommodious to your friend; but if you perceive the contrary, by his ſolicitations, they ſhould be readily accepted; without tempting him to break theſe rules we have above laid down for him; cauſing a confuſion in his family, and among his ſervants, by preparations for your departure. Laſtly, when you are reſolved to go, the ſame method is to be obſerved which I have preſcribed at your arrival. No tedious ceremonies of taking leave; not like Hyperphylus, who bows and kiſſes, and ſqueezes by the hand as heartily, and wiſhes you as much health and happineſs, when he is going a journey home of ten miles, from a com-

a common acquaintance, as if he was leaving his neareſt friend or relation on a voyage to the Eaſt-Indies.

Having thus briefly conſidered our reader in the circumſtances of a private viſit, let us now take him into a public aſſembly, where, as more eyes will be on his behaviour, it cannot be leſs his intereſt to be inſtructed. We have, indeed, already formed a general picture of the chief enormities committed on theſe occaſions, we ſhall here endeavour to explain more particularly the rules of an oppoſite demeanour, which we may divide into three ſorts, viz. our behaviour to our ſuperiors, to our equals, and to our inferiors.

In our behaviour to our ſuperiors, two extremes are to be avoided; namely, an abject and baſe ſervility, and an impudent and encroaching freedom. When the well-born Hyperdulus approaches a nobleman in any public place, you would be perſuaded he was one of the meaneſt of his domeſtics; his cringes fall little ſhort of proſtration; and his whole behaviour is ſo mean and ſervile, that an eaſtern monarch would not require more humiliation from his vaſſals. On the other ſide, Anaſchyntus, whom fortunate accidents, without any pretenſions from his birth, have raiſed to aſſociate with his betters, ſhakes my lord duke by the hand, with a familiarity ſavouring not only of the moſt perfect intimacy, but the cloſeſt alliance. The former behaviour properly raiſes our contempt, the latter our diſguſt. Hyperdulus ſeems worthy of wearing his lordſhip's livery; Anaſchyntus deſerves to be turned out of his ſervice for his impudence. Between theſe two is that golden mean, which declares a man ready to acquieſce in allowing the reſpect due to a title by the laws and cuſtoms of his country, but impatient of any inſult, and diſdaining to purchaſe the intimacy with, and favour of a ſuperior, at the expence of conſcience or honour.

As to the queſtion, Who are our ſuperiors? I ſhall endeavour to aſcertain them, when I come, in the ſecond place, to mention our behaviour to our equals. The firſt inſtruction on this head, being carefully to conſider who are ſuch; every little ſuperiority of fortune or profeſſion being too apt to intoxicate men's minds, and elevate them in their own opinion, beyond their merit or pretenſions. Men are ſuperior to each other in this our country by title, by birth, by rank in profeſſion, and by age; very little, if any, being to be allowed to fortune, though ſo much is generally exacted by it, and commonly paid to it. Mankind never appear to me in a more deſpicable light, than when I ſee them, by a ſimple as well as mean ſervility, voluntarily concurring in the adoration of riches, without the leaſt benefit or proſpect from them. Reſpect and deference are perhaps juſtly demandable of the obliged, and may be, with ſome reaſon at leaſt, from expectation, paid to the rich and liberal from the neceſſitous; but that men ſhould be allured by the glittering of wealth only, to feed the inſolent pride of thoſe who will not in return feed their hunger; that the ſordid niggard ſhould find any ſacrifices on the altar of his vanity, ſeems to ariſe from a blinder idolatry, and a more bigotted and ſenſeleſs ſuperſtition, than any which the ſharp eyes of prieſts have diſcovered in the human mind.

All gentlemen, therefore, who are not raiſed above each other by title, birth, rank in profeſſion, age, or actual obligation, being to be conſidered as equals, let us take ſome leſſons for their behaviour to each other in public, from the following examples; in which we ſhall diſcern as well what we are to elect, as what we are to avoid. Authades is ſo abſolutely abandoned to his own humour, that he never gives it up on any occaſion. If Seraphina herſelf, whoſe charms one would imagine ſhould infuſe alacrity into the limbs of a cripple

ſooner

ſooner than the Bath waters, was to offer herſelf for his partner, he would anſwer, he never danced; even though the ladies loſt their ball by it. Nor doth this denial ariſe from incapacity; for he was in his youth an excellent dancer, and ſtill retains ſufficient knowledge of the art, and ſufficient abilities in his limbs to practiſe it; but from an affectation of gravity, which he will not ſacrifice to the eagereſt deſire of others. Dyſkolus hath the ſame averſion to cards; and though competently ſkilled in all games, is by no importunities to be prevailed on to make a third at ombre, or a fourth at whiſt and quadrille. He will ſuffer any company to be diſappointed of their amuſement, rather than ſubmit to paſs an hour or two a little diſagreeably to himſelf. The refuſal of Philautus is not ſo general; he is very ready to engage, provided you will indulge him in his favourite game, but it is impoſſible to perſuade him to any other. I ſhould add, both theſe are men of fortune, and the conſequences of loſs or gain, at the rate they are deſired to engage, very trifling and inconſiderable to them.

The rebukes theſe people ſometimes meet with, are no more equal to their deſerts than the honour paid to Chariſtus, the benevolence of whoſe mind ſcarce permits him to indulge his own will, unleſs by accident. Though neither his age nor underſtanding incline him to dance, nor will admit his receiving any pleaſure from it, yet would he caper a whole evening, rather than a fine young lady ſhould loſe an opportunity of diſplaying her charms by the ſeveral genteel and amiable attitudes which this exerciſe affords the ſkilful of that ſex. And though cards are not adapted to his temper, he never once baulked the inclinations of others on that account.

But as there are many who will not in the leaſt inſtance mortify their own humour to purchaſe the

ſatisfaction of all mankind, ſo there are ſome who make no ſcruple of ſatisfying their own pride and vanity, at the expence of the moſt cruel mortification of others. Of this kind is Agroicus, who ſeldom goes to an aſſembly, but he affronts half his acquaintance, by overlooking, or diſregarding them.

As this is a very common offence, and indeed much more criminal, both in its cauſe and effect, than is generally imagined, I ſhall examine it very minutely; and I doubt not but to make it appear, that there is no behaviour (to ſpeak like a philoſopher) more contemptible, nor, in a civil ſenſe, more deteſtable, than this.

The firſt ingredient in this compoſition is pride, which, according to the doctrine of ſome, is the univerſal paſſion. There are others who conſider it as the foible of great minds; and others again, who will have it to be the very foundation of greatneſs; and, perhaps, it may of that greatneſs which we have endeavoured to expoſe in many parts of theſe works; but to real greatneſs, which is the union of a good heart with a good head, it is almoſt diametrically oppoſite, as it generally proceeds from the depravity of both, and almoſt certainly from the badneſs of the latter. Indeed, a little obſervation will ſhew us, that fools are the moſt addicted to this vice; and a little reflexion will teach us, that it is incompatible with true underſtanding. Accordingly we ſee, that while the wiſeſt of men have conſtantly lamented the imbecillity and imperfection of their own nature, the meaneſt and weakeſt have been trumpeting forth their own excellencies, and triumphing in their own ſufficiency.

Pride may, I think, be properly defined; the pleaſure we feel in contemplating our own ſuperior merit, on comparing it with that of others. That it ariſes from this ſuppoſed ſuperiority is evident; for

for however great you admit a man's merit to be, if all men were equal to him, there would be no room for pride. Now if it ſtop here, perhaps, there is no enormous harm in it, or at leaſt, no more than is common to all other folly; every ſpecies of which is always liable to produce every ſpecies of miſchief; folly I fear it is; for ſhould the man eſtimate rightly on this occaſion, and the balance ſhould fairly turn on his ſide in this particular inſtance; ſhould he be indeed a great orator, poet, general; ſhould he be more wiſe, witty, learned, young, rich, healthy, or in whatever inſtance he may excel one, or many, or all; yet, if he examine himſelf thoroughly, will he find no reaſon to abate his pride? is the quality, in which he is ſo eminent, ſo generally or juſtly eſteemed? is it ſo entirely his own? doth he not rather owe his ſuperiority to the defects of others, than to his own perfection? or, laſtly, can he find in no part of his character, a weakneſs which may counterpoiſe this merit, and which as juſtly, at leaſt, threatens him with ſhame, as this entices him to pride? I fancy, if ſuch a ſcrutiny was made, (and nothing ſo ready as good ſenſe to make it) a proud man would be as rare, as in reality he is a ridiculous monſter. But ſuppoſe a man, on this compariſon, is (as may ſometimes happen) a little partial to himſelf, the harm is to himſelf, and he becomes only ridiculous from it. If I prefer my excellence in poetry to Pope or Young; if an inferior actor ſhould, in his opinion, exceed Quin or Garrick; or a ſign-poſt painter ſet himſelf above the inimitable Hogarth; we become only ridiculous by our vanity; and the perſons themſelves, who are thus humbled in the compariſon, would laugh with more reaſon than any other. Pride therefore, hitherto, ſeems an inoffenſive weakneſs only, and entitles a man to no worſe an appellation than that of a fool: but it will not ſtop here; though fool

be perhaps no desirable term, the proud man will deserve worse: he is not contented with the admiration he pays himself; he now becomes arrogant, and requires the same respect and preference from the world; for pride, though the greatest of flatterers, is by no means a profitable servant to itself; it resembles the parson of the parish more than the 'squire, and lives rather on the tithes, oblations, and contributions it collects from others, than on its own demesne. As pride therefore is seldom without arrogance, so is this never to be found without insolence. The arrogant man must be insolent, in order to attain his own ends; and to convince and remind men of the superiority he affects, will naturally, by ill words, actions, and gestures, endeavour to throw the despised person at as much distance as possible from him. Hence proceeds that supercilious look, and all those visible indignities with which men behave in public, to those whom they fancy their inferiors. Hence the very notable custom of deriding and often denying the nearest relations, friends, and acquaintance, in poverty and distress; lest we should anywise be levelled with the wretches we despise, either in their own imagination, or in the conceit of any who should behold familiarities pass between us.

But besides pride, folly, arrogance, and insolence, there is another simple (which vice never willingly leaves out of any composition) and this is ill-nature. A good-natured man may indeed (provided he is a fool) be proud, but arrogant and insolent he cannot be; unless we will allow to such a still greater degree of folly, and ignorance of human nature; which may indeed entitle them to forgiveness, in the benign language of scripture, because they know not what they do.

For when we come to consider the effect of this behaviour on the person who suffers it, we may perhaps have reason to conclude, that murder is not

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a much more cruel injury. What is the conſequence of this contempt? or, indeed, what is the deſign of it, but to expoſe the object of it to ſhame? a ſenſation as uneaſy, and almoſt intolerable, as thoſe which ariſe from the ſevereſt pains inflicted on the body; a convulſion of the mind (if I may ſo call it) which immediately produces ſymptoms of univerſal diſorder in the whole man; which hath ſometimes been attended with death itſelf, and to which death hath, by great multitudes, been with much alacrity preferred. Now, what leſs than the higheſt degree of ill-nature can permit a man to pamper his own vanity at the price of another's ſhame? Is the glutton, who, to raiſe the flavour of his diſh, put ſome birds or beaſt to exquiſite torment, more cruel to the animal, than this our proud man to his own ſpecies?

This character then is a compoſition made up of thoſe odious contemptible qualities, pride, folly, arrogance, inſolence, and ill-nature. I ſhall diſmiſs it with ſome general obſervations, which will place it in ſo ridiculous a light, that a man muſt hereafter be poſſeſſed of a very conſiderable portion, either of folly or impudence, to aſſume it.

Firſt, it proceeds on one grand fallacy; for whereas this wretch is endeavouring, by a ſupercilious conduct, to lead the beholder into an opinion of his ſuperiority to the deſpiſed perſon, he inwardly flatters his own vanity with a deceitful preſumption, that this his conduct is founded on a general preconceived opinion of this ſuperiority.

Secondly, this caution to preſerve it, plainly indicates a doubt, that the ſuperiority of our own character is very ſlightly eſtabliſhed; for which reaſon we ſee it chiefly practiſed by men who have the weakeſt pretenſions to the reputation they aim at; and, indeed, none was ever freer from it than that noble perſon whom we have already mentioned

in this eſſay, and who can never be mentioned but with honour, by thoſe who know him.

Thirdly, this opinion of our ſuperiority is commonly very erroneous. Who hath not ſeen a general behaving in this ſupercilious manner to an officer of lower rank, who hath been greatly his ſuperior in that very art, to his excellence in which the general aſcribes all his merit. Parallel inſtances occur in every other art, ſcience, or profeſſion.

Fourthly, men who excel others in trifling inſtances, frequently caſt a ſupercilious eye on their ſuperiors in the higheſt. Thus the leaſt pretenſions to pre-eminence in title, birth, riches, equipages, dreſs, &c. conſtantly overlook the moſt noble endowments of virtue, honour, wiſdom, ſenſe, wit, and every other quality which can truly dignify and adorn a man.

Laſtly, the loweſt and meaneſt of our ſpecies are the moſt ſtrongly addicted to this vice. Men who are a ſcandal to their ſex, and women who diſgrace human nature; for the baſeſt mechanic is ſo far from being exempt, that he is generally the moſt guilty of it. It viſits alehouſes and ginſhops, and whiſtles in the empty heads of fiddlers, mountebanks, and dancing-maſters.

To conclude a character on which we have already dwelt longer than is conſiſtent with the intended meaſure of this eſſay, this contempt of others is the trueſt ſymptom of a baſe and a bad heart. While it ſuggeſts itſelf to the mean and the vile, and tickles their little fancy on every occaſion, it never enters the great and good mind but on the ſtrongeſt motives; nor is it then a welcome gueſt, affording only an uneaſy ſenſation, and brings always with it a mixture of concern and compaſſion.

We will now proceed to inferior criminals in ſociety. Theoretus conceiving that the aſſembly is only met to ſee and admire him, is uneaſy unleſs he engroſſes

engroſſes the eyes of the whole company. The giant doth not take more pains to be viewed; and as he is unfortunately not ſo tall, he carefully depoſits himſelf in the moſt conſpicuous place; nor will that ſuffice, he muſt walk about the room, though to the great diſturbance of the company; and if he can purchaſe general obſervations at no leſs rate, will condeſcend to be ridiculous; for he prefers being laughed at to being taken little notice of.

On the other ſide, Duſopius is ſo baſhful that he hides himſelf in a corner; he hardly bears being looked at, and never quits the firſt chair he lights upon, leſt he ſhould expoſe himſelf to public view. He trembles when you bow to him at a diſtance, is ſhocked at hearing his own voice, and would almoſt ſwoon at the repetition of his name.

The audacious Anedes, who is extremely amorous in his inclinations, never likes a woman, but his eyes aſk her the queſtion, without conſidering the confuſion he often occaſions to the object; he ogles and languiſhes at every pretty woman in the room. As there is no law of morality which he would not break to ſatisfy his deſires, ſo is there no form of civility which he doth not violate to communicate them. When he gets poſſeſſion of a woman's hand, which thoſe of ſtricter decency never give him but with reluctance, he conſiders himſelf as its maſter. Indeed, there is ſcarce a familiarity which he will abſtain from, on the ſlighteſt acquaintance, and in the moſt public place. Seraphina herſelf can make no impreſſion on the rough temper of Agroicus; neither her quality, nor her beauty, can exact the leaſt complacence from him; and he would let her lovely limbs ach, rather than offer her his chair; while the gentle Lyperus tumbles over benches, and overthrows tea-tables, to take up a fan or a glove; he forces you as a good parent doth his child, for your own good; he is abſolute

abſolute maſter of a lady's will, nor will allow her the election of ſtanding or ſitting in his company. In ſhort, the impertinent civility of Lyperus is as troubleſome, though, perhaps, not ſo offenſive, as the brutiſh rudeneſs of Agroicus.

Thus we have hinted at moſt of the common enormities committed in public aſſemblies, to our equals; for it would be tedious and difficult to enumerate all: nor is it needful; ſince from this ſketch we may trace all others, moſt of which, I believe, will be found to branch out from ſome of the particulars here ſpecified.

I am now, in the laſt place, to conſider our behaviour to our inferiors; in which condeſcenſion can never be too ſtrongly recommended; for as a deviation on this ſide is much more innocent than on the other, ſo the pride of man renders us much leſs liable to it. For beſides that we are apt to overrate our own perfections, and undervalue the qualifications of our neighbours, we likewiſe ſet too high an eſteem on the things themſelves, and conſider them as conſtituting a more eſſential difference between us than they really do. The qualities of the mind do, in reality, eſtabliſh the trueſt ſuperiority over one another; yet ſhould not theſe ſo far elevate our pride, as to inflate us with contempt, and make us look down on our fellow-creatures, as on animals of an inferior order; but that the fortuitous accident of birth, the acquiſition of wealth, with ſome outward ornaments of dreſs, ſhould inſpire men with an inſolence capable of treating the reſt of mankind with diſdain, is ſo prepoſterous, that nothing leſs than daily experience could give it credit.

If men were to be rightly eſtimated, and divided into ſubordinate claſſes, according to the ſuperior excellence of their ſeveral natures, perhaps the loweſt claſs of either ſex would be properly aſſigned to thoſe two diſgracers of the human ſpecies, commonly

monly called a beau, and a fine lady; for if we rate men by the faculties of the mind, in what degree muſt theſe ſtand? nay, admitting the qualities of the body were to give the pre-eminence, how many of thoſe whom fortune hath placed in the loweſt ſtation, muſt be ranked above them? If dreſs is their only title, ſure even the monkey, if as well dreſſed, is on as high a footing as the beau.—— But, perhaps, I ſhall be told, they challenge their dignity from birth: that is a poor and mean pretence to honour, when ſupported with no other. Perſons who have no better claim to ſuperiority, ſhould be aſhamed of this; they are really a diſgrace to thoſe very anceſtors from whom they would derive their pride, and are chiefly happy in this, that they want the very moderate portion of underſtanding which would enable them to deſpiſe themſelves.

And yet, who ſo prone to a contemptuous carriage as theſe! I have myſelf ſeen a little female thing which they have called My Lady, of no greater dignity in the order of beings than a cat, and of no more uſe in ſociety than a butterfly; whoſe mien would not give even the idea of a gentlewoman, and whoſe face would cool the looſeſt libertine; with a mind as empty of ideas as an opera, and a body fuller of diſeaſes than an hoſpital. I have ſeen this thing expreſs contempt to a woman who was an honour to her ſex, and an ornament to the creation.

To confeſs the truth, there is little danger of the poſſeſſor's ever undervaluing this titular excellence. Not that I would withdraw from it that deference which the policy of government hath aſſigned it. On the contrary, I have laid down the moſt exact compliance with this reſpect, as a fundamental in good-breeding; nay, I inſiſt only that we may be admitted to pay it, and not treated with a diſdain even beyond what the eaſtern monarchs ſhew to

their

their ſlaves. Surely it is too high an elevation, when, inſtead of treating the loweſt human creature, in a chriſtian ſenſe, as our brethren, we look down on ſuch as are but one rank, in the civil order, removed from us, as unworthy to breathe even the ſame air, and regard the moſt diſtant communication with them as an indignity and diſgrace offered to ourſelves. This is conſidering the difference not in the individual, but in the very ſpecies; a height of inſolence impious in a chriſtian ſociety, and moſt abſurd and ridiculous in a trading nation.

I have now done with my firſt head, in which I have treated of good-breeding, as it regards our actions. I ſhall, in the next place, conſider it with reſpect to our words; and ſhall endeavour to lay down ſome rules, by obſerving which our well bred man may, in his diſcourſe as well as actions, contribute to the happineſs and well-being of ſociety.

Certain it is, that the higheſt pleaſure which we are capable of enjoying in converſation, is to be met with only in the ſociety of perſons whoſe underſtanding is pretty near on an equality with our own; nor is this equality only neceſſary to enable men of exalted genius, and extenſive knowledge, to taſte the ſublimer pleaſures of communicating their refined ideas to each other; but it is likewiſe neceſſary to the inferior happineſs of every ſubordinate degree of ſociety, down to the very loweſt. For inſtance; we will ſuppoſe a converſation between Socrates, Plato, Ariſtotle, and three dancing-maſters. It will be acknowledged, I believe, that the heel ſophiſts would be as little pleaſed with the company of the philoſophers, as the philoſophers with theirs.

It would be greatly, therefore, for the improvement and happineſs of converſation, if ſociety could be formed on this equality; but as men are not ranked in this world by the different degrees of their underſtanding, but by other methods, and conſequently

quently all degrees of underſtanding often meet in the ſame claſs, and muſt *ex neceſſitate* frequently converſe together, the impoſſibility of accompliſhing any ſuch Utopian ſcheme very plainly appears. Here therefore is a viſible, but unavoidable imperfection in ſociety itſelf.

But as we have laid it down as a fundamental, that the eſſence of good-breeding is to contribute as much as poſſible to the eaſe and happineſs of mankind, ſo will it be the buſineſs of our well bred man to endeavour to leſſen this imperfection to his utmoſt, and to bring ſociety as near to a level at leaſt as he is able.

Now there are but two ways to compaſs this, viz. by raiſing the lower, and by lowering what is higher.

Let us ſuppoſe then, that very unequal company I have before mentioned met; the former of theſe is apparently impracticable. Let Socrates, for inſtance, inſtitute a diſcourſe on the nature of the ſoul, or Plato reaſon on the native beauty of virtue, and Ariſtotle on his occult qualities.—What muſt become of our dancing-maſters? Would they not ſtare at one another with ſurpriſe? and, moſt probably, at our philoſophers with contempt? Would they have any pleaſure in ſuch ſociety? or would they not rather wiſh themſelves in a dancing-ſchool, or a green-room at the playhouſe? What, therefore, have our philoſophers to do, but to lower themſelves to thoſe who cannot riſe to them?

And ſurely there are ſubjects on which both can converſe. Hath not Socrates heard of harmony? Hath not Plato, who draws virtue in the perſon of a fine woman, any idea of the gracefulneſs of attitude? and hath not Ariſtotle himſelf written a book on motion? In ſhort, to be a little ſerious, there are many topics on which they can at leaſt be intelligible to each other.

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How abſurd then muſt appear the conduct of Cenodoxus, who, having had the advantage of a liberal education, and having made a pretty good progreſs in literature, is conſtantly advancing learned ſubjects in common converſation? He talks of the Claſſics before the ladies, and of Greek criticiſms among fine gentlemen. What is this leſs than an inſult on the company, over whom he thus affects a ſuperiority, and whoſe time he ſacrifices to his vanity?

Wiſely different is the amiable conduct of Sophronus; who, though he exceeds the former in knowledge, can ſubmit to diſcourſe on the moſt trivial matters, rather than introduce ſuch as his company are utter ſtrangers to. He can talk of faſhions and diverſions among the ladies; nay, can even condeſcend to horſes and dogs with country gentlemen. This gentleman, who is equal to diſpute on the higheſt and abſtruſeſt points, can likewiſe talk on a fan, or a horſe-race; nor had ever any one, who was not himſelf a man of learning, the leaſt reaſon to conceive the vaſt knowledge of Sophronus, unleſs from the report of others.

Let us compare theſe together. Cenodoxus propoſes the ſatisfaction of his own pride from the admiration of others; Sophronus thinks of nothing but their amuſement. In the company of Cenodoxus, every one is rendered uneaſy, laments his own want of knowledge, and longs for the end of the dull aſſembly; with Sophronus all are pleaſed, and contented with themſelves in their knowledge of matters which they find worthy the conſideration of a man of ſenſe. Admiration is involuntarily paid the former; to the latter it is given joyfully. The former receives it with envy and hatred; the latter enjoys it as the ſweet fruit of good-will. The former is ſhunned; the latter courted by all.

This

This behaviour in Cenodoxus may, in ſome meaſure, account for an obſervation we muſt have frequent occaſion to make; that the converſation of men of very moderate capacities, is often preferred to that with men of ſuperior talents; in which the world act more wiſely than at firſt they may ſeem; for beſides that backwardneſs in mankind to give their admiration, what can be duller, or more void of pleaſure, than diſcourſes on ſubjects above our comprehenſion? It is like liſtening to an unknown language; and if ſuch company is ever deſired by us, it is a ſacrifice to our vanity, which impoſes on us to believe that we may by theſe means raiſe the general opinion of our own parts and knowledge, and not from that cheerful delight which is the natural reſult of an agreeable converſation.

There is another very common fault, equally deſtructive of this delight, by much the ſame means; though it is far from owing its original to any real ſuperiority of parts and knowledge: this is diſcourſing on the myſteries of a particular profeſſion, to which all the reſt of the company, except one or two, are utter ſtrangers. Lawyers are generally guilty of this fault, as they are more confined to the converſation of one another; and I have known a very agreeable company ſpoilt, where there have been two of theſe gentlemen preſent, who have ſeemed rather to think themſelves in a court of juſtice, than in a mixed aſſembly of perſons, met only for the entertainment of each other.

But it is not ſufficient that the whole company underſtand the topic of their converſation; they ſhould be likewiſe equally intereſted in every ſubject not tending to their general information or amuſement; for theſe are not to be poſtponed to the relation of private affairs, much leſs of the particular

cular grievance or misfortune of a ſingle perſon. To bear a ſhare in the afflictions of another, is a degree of friendſhip not to be expected in a common acquaintance; nor hath any man a right to indulge the ſatisfaction of a weak and mean mind by the comfort of pity, at the expence of the whole company's diverſion. The inferior and unſucceſsful members of the ſeveral profeſſions, are generally guilty of this fault; for as they fail of the reward due to their great merit, they can ſeldom refrain from reviling their ſuperiors, and complaining of their own hard and unjuſt fate.

Farther; as a man is not to make himſelf the ſubject of the converſation, ſo neither is he to engroſs the whole to himſelf. As every man had rather pleaſe others by what he ſays, than be himſelf pleaſed by what they ſay; or, in other words, as every man is beſt pleaſed with the conſciouſneſs of pleaſing, ſo ſhould all have an equal opportunity of aiming at it. This is a right which we are ſo offended at being deprived of, that though I remember to have known a man reputed a good companion, who ſeldom opened his mouth in company, unleſs to ſwallow his liquor; yet I have ſcarce ever heard that appellation given to a very talkative perſon, even when he hath been capable of entertaining, unleſs he hath done this with buffoonry, and made the reſt amends, by partaking of their ſcorn, together with their admiration and applauſe.

A well-bred man, therefore, will not take more of the diſcourſe than falls to his ſhare; nor in this will he ſhew any violent impetuoſity of temper, or exert any loudneſs of voice, even in arguing; for the information of the company, and the conviction of his antagoniſt, are to be his apparent motives; not the indulgence of his own pride, or an ambitious deſire of victory; which latter, if a wiſe man ſhould entertain, he will be ſure to

conceal with his utmoſt endeavour; ſince he muſt know, that to lay open his vanity in public, is no leſs abſurd than to lay open his boſom to an enemy, whoſe drawn ſword is pointed againſt it; for every man hath a dagger in his hand, ready to ſtab the vanity of another, wherever he perceives it.

Having now ſhewn, that the pleaſure of converſation muſt ariſe from the diſcourſe being on ſubjects levelled to the capacity of the whole company; from being on ſuch in which every perſon is equally intereſted; from every one's being admitted to his ſhare in the diſcourſe; and laſtly, from carefully avoiding all noiſe, violence, and impetuoſity; it might ſeem proper to lay down ſome particular rules for the choice of thoſe ſubjects which are moſt likely to conduce to the cheerful delights propoſed from this ſocial communication; but as ſuch an attempt might appear abſurd, from the infinite variety, and perhaps too dictatorial in its nature, I ſhall confine myſelf to rejecting thoſe topics only which ſeem moſt foreign to this delight, and which are moſt likely to be attended with conſequences rather tending to make ſociety an evil, than to procure us any good from it.

And firſt, I ſhall mention that which I have hitherto only endeavoured to reſtrain within certain bounds, namely, Arguments; but which, if they were entirely baniſhed out of company, eſpecially from mixed aſſemblies, and where ladies make part of the ſociety, it would, I believe, promote their happineſs: they have been ſometimes attended with bloodſhed, generally with hatred from the conquered party towards his victor; and ſcarce ever with conviction. Here I except jocoſe arguments, which often produce much mirth; and ſerious diſputes between men of learning (when none but ſuch are preſent) which tend to the propagation of knowledge, and the edification of the company.

Secondly, Slander; which, however frequently uſed, or however ſavory to the palate of ill-nature, is extremely pernicious: As it is often unjuſt, and highly injurious to the perſon ſlandered; and always dangerous, eſpecially in large and mixed companies; where ſometimes an undeſigned offence is given to an innocent relation or friend of ſuch perſon, who is thus expoſed to ſhame and confuſion, without having any right to reſent the affront. Of this there have been very tragical inſtances; and I have myſelf ſeen ſome very ridiculous ones, but which have given great pain, as well to the perſon offended, as to him who hath been the innocent occaſion of giving the offence.

Thirdly, All general Reflections on countries, religions, and profeſſions, which are always unjuſt. If theſe are ever tolerable, they are only from the perſons who with ſome pleaſantry ridicule their own country. It is very common among us to caſt ſarcaſms on a neighbouring nation, to which we have no other reaſon to bear an antipathy, than what is more uſual than juſtifiable, becauſe we have injured it: but ſure ſuch general ſatire is not founded on truth; for I have known gentlemen of that nation poſſeſſed with every good quality which is to be wiſhed in a man, or required in a friend. I remember a repartee made by a gentleman of this country, which, though it was full of the ſevereſt wit, the perſon to whom it was directed, could not reſent, as he ſo plainly deſerved it. He had with great bitterneſs inveighed againſt this whole people; upon which, one of them who was preſent, very coolly anſwered, "I don't know, Sir, "whether I have not more reaſon to be pleaſed "with the compliment you pay my country, than "to be angry with what you ſay againſt it; ſince, "by your abuſing us all ſo heavily, you have "plainly implied you are not of it." This expoſed the other to ſo much laughter, eſpecially as he was not

not unexceptionable in his character, that I believe he was ſufficiently puniſhed for his ill-mannered ſatire.

Fourthly, Blaſphemy, and irreverent mention of religion. I will not here debate what compliment a man pays to his own underſtanding, by the profeſſion of infidelity; it is ſufficient to my purpoſe, that he runs a riſque of giving the cruelleſt offence to perſons of a different temper; for if a loyaliſt would be greatly affronted by hearing any indecencies offered to the perſon of a temporal prince, how much more bitterly muſt a man, who ſincerely believes in ſuch a being as the Almighty, feel any irreverence, or inſult ſhewn to his name, his honour, or his inſtitution? And notwithſtanding the impious character of the preſent age, and eſpecially of many among thoſe whoſe more immediate buſineſs it is to lead men, as well by example as precept, into the ways of piety, there are ſtill ſufficient numbers left, who pay ſo honeſt and ſincere a reverence to religion, as may give us a reaſonable expectation of finding one at leaſt of this ſtamp in every large company.

A fifth particular to be avoided, is Indecency. We are not only to forbear the repeating of ſuch words as would give an immediate affront to a lady of reputation; but the raiſing of any looſe ideas tending to the offence of that modeſty, which, if a young woman hath not ſomething more than the affectation of, ſhe is not worthy the regard even of a man of pleaſure, provided he hath any delicacy in his conſtitution. How inconſiſtent with good-breeding it is to give pain and confuſion to ſuch, is ſufficiently apparent; all double-entendres, and obſcene jeſts, are therefore carefully to be avoided before them. But ſuppoſe no ladies preſent, nothing can be meaner, lower, and leſs productive of rational mirth, than this looſe converſation. For my own part, I cannot conceive how

the idea of jeſt or pleaſantry came ever to be annexed to one of our higheſt and moſt ſerious pleaſures. Nor can I help obſerving, to the diſcredit of ſuch merriment, that it is commonly the laſt reſource of impotent wit, the weak ſtrainings of the loweſt, ſillieſt, and dulleſt fellows in the world.

Sixthly, You are to avoid knowingly mentioning any thing which may revive in any perſon the remembrance of ſome paſt accident; or raiſe an uneaſy reflection on a preſent misfortune, or corporal blemiſh. To maintain this rule nicely, perhaps, requires great delicacy; but it is abſolutely neceſſary to a well-bred man. I have obſerved numberleſs breaches of it; many, I believe, proceeding from negligence and inadvertency; yet I am afraid ſome may be too juſtly imputed to a malicious deſire of triumphing in our own ſuperior happineſs and perfections; now, when it proceeds from this motive, it is not eaſy to imagine any thing more criminal.

Under this head I ſhall caution my well-bred reader againſt a common fault, much of the ſame nature; which is, mentioning any particular quality as abſolutely eſſential to either man or woman, and exploding all thoſe who want it. This renders every one uneaſy, who is in the leaſt ſelf-conſcious of the defect. I have heard a boor of faſhion declare in the preſence of women remarkably plain, that beauty was the chief perfection of that ſex; and an eſſential, without which no woman was worth regarding. A certain method of putting all thoſe in the room, who are but ſuſpicious of their defect that way, out of countenance.

I ſhall mention one fault more, which is, not paying a proper regard to the preſent temper of the company, or the occaſion of their meeting, in introducing a topic of converſation, by which as great an abſurdity is ſometimes committed, as it would

would be to ſing a dirge at a wedding, or an epithalamium at a funeral.

Thus I have, I think, enumerated moſt of the principal errors which we are apt to fall into in converſation; and though, perhaps, ſome particulars worthy of remark may have eſcaped me, yet an attention to what I have here ſaid, may enable the reader to diſcover them. At leaſt I am perſuaded, that if the rules I have now laid down were ſtrictly obſerved, our converſation would be more perfect, and the pleaſure reſulting from it purer, and more unſullied, than at preſent it is.

But I muſt not diſmiſs this ſubject without ſome animadverſions on a particular ſpecies of pleaſantry, which, though I am far from being deſirous of baniſhing from converſation, requires, moſt certainly, ſome reins to govern, and ſome rule to direct it. The reader may perhaps gueſs, I mean Raillery; to which I may apply the fable of the lap-dog and the aſs; for while in ſome hands it diverts and delights us with its dexterity and gentleneſs, in others, it paws, daubs, offends and hurts.

The end of converſation being the happineſs of mankind, and the chief means to procure their delight and pleaſure; it follows, I think, that nothing can conduce to this end, which tends to make a man uneaſy and diſſatisfied with himſelf, or which expoſes him to the ſcorn and contempt of others. I here except that kind of raillery therefore, which is concerned in toſſing men out of their chairs, tumbling them into water, or any of thoſe handicraft jokes which are exerciſed on thoſe notable perſons, commonly known by the name of buffoons; who are contented to feed their belly at the price of their br—ch, and to carry off the wine and the p—ſs of a great man together. This I paſs by, as well as all remarks on the genius of the great men themſelves, who are (to fetch a phraſe from ſchool, a place not improperly men-

tioned on this occaſion) great dabs at this kind of facetiouſneſs.

But leaving all ſuch perſons to expoſe human nature among themſelves, I ſhall recommend to my well-bred man, who aims at raillery, the excellent character given of Horace by Perſius.

Omne vafer vitium ridenti Flaccus amico
Tangit, et admiſſus circum præcordia ludit,
Callidus excuſſo populum ſuſpendere naſo.

Thus excellently rendered by the late ingenious tranſlator of that obſcure author:

Yet could ſhrewd Horace, with diſportive wit,
Rally his friend, and tickle while he bit;
Winning acceſs, he play'd around the heart,
And gently touching, prick'd the tainted part.
The crowd he ſneer'd; but ſneer'd with ſuch a grace,
It paſs'd for downright innocence of face.

The raillery which is conſiſtent with good-breeding, is a gentle animadverſion on ſome foible; which, while it raiſes a laugh in the reſt of the company, doth not put the perſon rallied out of countenance, or expoſe him to ſhame and contempt. On the contrary, the jeſt ſhould be ſo delicate, that the object of it ſhould be capable of joining in the mirth it occaſions.

All great vices therefore, misfortunes, and notorious blemiſhes of mind or body, are improper ſubjects of raillery. Indeed, a hint at ſuch is an abuſe, and an affront which is ſure to give the perſon (unleſs he be one ſhameleſs and abandoned) pain and uneaſineſs, and ſhould be received with contempt, inſtead of applauſe, by all the reſt of the company.

Again;

Again; the nature and quality of the perſon are to be conſidered. As to the firſt, ſome men will not bear any raillery at all. I remember a gentleman, who declared, "He never made a jeſt, nor "would ever take one." I do not, indeed, greatly recommend ſuch a perſon for a companion; but at the ſame time, a well-bred man, who is to conſult the pleaſure and happineſs of the whole, is not at liberty to make any one preſent uneaſy. By the quality, I mean the ſex, degree, profeſſion, and circumſtances; on which head I need not be very particular. With regard to the two former, all raillery on ladies and ſuperiors ſhould be extremely fine and gentle; and with reſpect to the latter, any of the rules I have above laid down, moſt of which are to be applied to it, will afford ſufficient caution.

Laſtly, A conſideration is to be had of the perſons before whom we rally. A man will be juſtly uneaſy at being reminded of thoſe railleries in one company, which he would very patiently bear the imputation of in another. Inſtances on this head are ſo obvious, that they need not be mentioned. In ſhort, the whole doctrine of raillery is comprized in this famous line:

"*Quid* de *quoque* viro, et *cui* dicas, ſæpe caveto.
"Be cautious *what* you ſay, *of whom* and *to whom*.

And now methinks I hear ſome one cry out, that ſuch reſtrictions are, in effect, to exclude all raillery from converſation; and, to confeſs the truth, it is a weapon from which many perſons will do wiſely in totally abſtaining; for it is a weapon which doth the more miſchief, by how much the blunter it is. The ſharpeſt wit therefore is only to be indulged the free uſe of it; for no more than a very ſlight touch is to be allowed; no hack-

ing, nor bruiſing, as if they were to hew a carcaſe for hounds, as Shakeſpeare phraſes it.

Nor is it ſufficient that it be ſharp, it muſt be uſed likewiſe with the utmoſt tenderneſs and good-nature; and as the niceſt dexterity of a gladiator is ſhewn in being able to hit without cutting deep, ſo is this of our raillier, who is rather to tickle than wound.

True raillery indeed conſiſts either in playing on peccadillos, which, however they may be cenſured by ſome, are not eſteemed as really blemiſhes in a character in the company where they are made the ſubject of mirth; as too much freedom with the bottle, or too much indulgence with women, &c.

Or, Secondly, in pleaſantly repreſenting real good qualities in a falſe light of ſhame, and bantering them as ill ones. So generoſity may be treated as prodigality; œconomy as avarice; true courage as fool-hardineſs; and ſo of the reſt.

Laſtly; in ridiculing men for vices and faults which they are known to be free from. Thus the cowardice of A——le, the dulneſs of Ch——d, the unpoliteneſs of D——ton, may be attacked without danger of offence; and thus Lyt——n may be cenſured for whatever vice or folly you pleaſe to impute to him.

And however limited theſe bounds may appear to ſome, yet, in ſkilful and witty hands, I have known raillery, thus confined, afford a very diverting, as well as inoffenſive entertainment to the whole company.

I ſhall conclude this eſſay with theſe two obſervations, which I think may be clearly deduced from what hath been ſaid.

Firſt, that every perſon who indulges his ill-nature or vanity, at the expence of others; and in introducing uneaſineſs, vexation, and confuſion into ſociety, however exalted or high-titled he may be, is thoroughly ill-bred.

Secondly,

Secondly, that whoever, from the goodneſs of his diſpoſition or underſtanding, endeavours to his utmoſt to cultivate the good-humour and happineſs of others, and to contribute to the eaſe and comfort of all his acquaintance, however low in rank fortune may have placed him, or however clumſy he may be in his figure or demeanour, hath, in the trueſt ſenſe of the word, a claim to good-breeding.

Secondly, that whoever, from the goodness of his disposition or understanding, endeavours to his utmost to cultivate the good humour and happiness of others, and to contribute to the ease and comfort of all his acquaintance, however low in rank fortune may have placed him, or however clumsy he may be in his figure or demeanour, hath, in the truest sense of the word, a claim to good-breeding.

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I HAVE often thought it a melancholy inſtance of the great depravity of human nature, that whilſt ſo many men have employed their utmoſt abilities to invent ſyſtems, by which the artful and cunning part of mankind may be enabled to impoſe on the reſt of the world; few or none ſhould have ſtood up the champions of the innocent and undeſigning, and have endeavoured to arm them againſt impoſition.

Thoſe who predicate of man in general, that he is an animal of this or that diſpoſition, ſeem to me not ſufficiently to have ſtudied human nature; for that immenſe variety of characters ſo apparent in men even of the ſame climate, religion, and edu-

cation, which gives the poet a ſufficient licence, as I apprehend, for ſaying that,

Man differs more from man, than man from beaſt,

could hardly exiſt, unleſs the diſtinction had ſome original foundation in nature itſelf. Nor is it perhaps a leſs proper predicament of the genius of a tree, that it will flouriſh ſo many years, loves ſuch a ſoil, bears ſuch a fruit, &c. than of man in general, that he is good, bad, fierce, tame, honeſt, or cunning.

This original difference will, I think, alone account for that very early and ſtrong inclination to good or evil, which diſtinguiſhes different diſpoſitions in children, in their firſt infancy; in the moſt uninformed ſavages, who can be thought to have altered their nature by no rules, nor artfully acquired habits; and laſtly, in perſons, who, from the ſame education, &c. might be thought to have directed nature the ſame way; yet, among all theſe, there ſubſiſts, as I have before hinted, ſo manifeſt and extreme a difference of inclination or character, that almoſt obliges us, I think, to acknowledge ſome unacquired, original diſtinction, in the nature or ſoul of one man, from that of another.

Thus, without aſſerting in general, that man is a deceitful animal; we may, I believe, appeal for inſtances of deceit to the behaviour of ſome children and ſavages. When this quality therefore is nouriſhed and improved by education, in which we are taught rather to conceal vices, than to cultivate virtues; when it hath ſucked in the inſtruction of politicians, and is inſtituted in the Art of thriving, it will be no wonder that it ſhould grow to that monſtrous height to which we ſometimes ſee it arrive. This Art of thriving being the very reverſe of that doctrine of the ſtoics; by which men were taught

taught to conſider themſelves as fellow-citizens of the world, and to labour jointly for the common good, without any private diſtinction of their own: whereas this, on the contrary, points out to every individual his own particular and ſeparate advantage, to which he is to ſacrifice the intereſt of all others; which he is to conſider as his *Summum Bonum*, to purſue with his utmoſt diligence and induſtry, and to acquire by all means whatever. Now when this noble end is once eſtabliſhed, deceit muſt immediately ſuggeſt itſelf as the neceſſary means; for as it is impoſſible that any man endowed with rational faculties, and being in a ſtate of freedom, ſhould willingly agree, without ſome motive of love or friendſhip, abſolutely to ſacrifice his own intereſt to that of another; it becomes neceſſary to impoſe upon him, to perſuade him, that his own good is deſigned, and that he will be a gainer by coming into thoſe ſchemes, which are, in reality, calculated for his deſtruction. And this, if I miſtake not, is the very eſſence of that excellent art, called The Art of Politics.

Thus while the crafty and deſigning part of mankind, conſulting only their own ſeparate advantage, endeavour to maintain one conſtant impoſition on others, the whole world becomes a vaſt maſquerade, where the greateſt part appear diſguiſed under falſe vizors and habits; a very few only ſhewing their own faces, who become, by ſo doing, the aſtoniſhment and ridicule of all the reſt.

But however cunning the diſguiſe be which a maſquerader wears; however foreign to his age, degree, or circumſtance, yet, if cloſely attended to, he very rarely eſcapes the diſcovery of an accurate obſerver; for nature, which unwillingly ſubmits to the impoſture, is ever endeavouring to peep forth and ſhew herſelf; nor can the cardinal, the friar, or the judge, long conceal the ſot, the gameſter, or the rake.

In the ſame manner will thoſe diſguiſes which are worn on the greater ſtage, generally vaniſh, or prove ineffectual to impoſe the aſſumed for the real character upon us, if we employ ſufficient diligence and attention in the ſcrutiny. But as this diſcovery is of infinitely greater conſequence to us; and as, perhaps, all are not equally qualified to make it, I ſhall venture to ſet down ſome few rules, the efficacy (I had almoſt ſaid infallibility) of which, I have myſelf experienced. Nor need any man be aſhamed of wanting or receiving inſtructions on this head; ſince that open diſpoſition, which is the ſureſt indication of an honeſt and upright heart, chiefly renders us liable to be impoſed on by craft and deceit, and principally diſqualifies us for this diſcovery.

Neither will the reader, I hope, be offended, if he ſhould here find no obſervations entirely new to him. Nothing can be plainer, or more known, than the general rules of morality, and yet thouſands of men are thought well employed in reviving our remembrance, and enforcing our practice of them. But though I am convinced there are many of my readers whom I am not capable of inſtructing on this head, and who are, indeed, fitter to give than receive inſtructions, at leaſt from me, yet this eſſay may perhaps be of ſome uſe to the young and unexperienced, to the more open, honeſt, and conſidering part of mankind, who, either from ignorance or inattention, are daily expoſed to all the pernicious deſigns of that deteſtable fiend, hypocriſy.

I will proceed therefore, without further preface, to thoſe diagnoſtics which nature, I apprehend, gives us of the diſeaſes of the mind, ſeeing ſhe takes ſuch pains to diſcover thoſe of the body. And firſt, I doubt whether the old adage of *Fronti nulla Fides*, be generally well underſtood; the meaning of which is commonly taken to be, that "no

"truſt

"truſt is to be given to the countenance." But what is the context in Juvenal?

———Quis enim non vicus abundat
Triſtibus obſcœnis?

———What place is not filled with
auſtere libertines?

Now, that an auſtere countenance is no token of purity of heart, I readily concede. So far otherwiſe, it is, perhaps, rather a ſymptom of the contrary. But the ſatiriſt, ſurely, never intended by theſe words, which have grown into a proverb, utterly to depreciate an art, on which ſo wiſe a man as Ariſtotle hath thought proper to compoſe a treatiſe.

The truth is, we almoſt univerſally miſtake the ſymptoms which nature kindly holds forth to us; and err as groſsly as a phyſician would, who ſhould conclude, that a very high pulſe is a certain indication of health; but ſure the faculty would rather impute ſuch a miſtake to his deplorable ignorance, than conclude from it, that the pulſe could give a ſkilful and ſenſible obſerver no information of the patient's diſtemper.

In the ſame manner, I conceive, the paſſions of men do commonly imprint ſufficient marks on the countenance; and it is owing chiefly to want of ſkill in the obſerver, that phyſiognomy is of ſo little uſe and credit in the world.

But our errors in this diſquiſition would be little wondered at, if it was acknowledged, that the few rules, which generally prevail on this head, are utterly falſe, and the very reverſe of truth. And this will perhaps appear, if we condeſcend to the examination of ſome particulars. Let us begin with the inſtance given us by the poet above, of auſterity; which, as he ſhews us, was held to indicate

a chaſtity, or ſeverity of morals, the contrary of which, as himſelf ſhews us, is true.

Among us, this auſterity, or gravity of countenance, paſſes for wiſdom, with juſt the ſame equity of pretenſion. My lord Shaftſbury tells us, that gravity is of the eſſence of impoſture. I will not venture to ſay, that it certainly denotes folly, though I have known ſome of the ſillieſt fellows in the world very eminently poſſeſſed of it. The affections which it indicates, and which we ſhall ſeldom err in ſuſpecting to lie under it, are pride, ill-nature, and cunning. Three qalities, which when we know to be inherent in any man, we have no reaſon to deſire any further diſcovery to inſtruct us, to deal as little and as cautiouſly with him as we are able.

But though the world often pays a reſpect to theſe appearances, which they do not deſerve; they rather attract admiration than love, and inſpire us rather with awe than confidence. There is a countenance of a contrary kind, which hath been called a letter of recommendation; which throws our arms open to receive the poiſon, diveſts us of all kind of apprehenſion, and diſarms us of all caution: I mean that glavering ſneering ſmile, of which the greater part of mankind are extremely fond, conceiving it to be the ſign of good-nature; whereas this is generally a compound of malice and fraud, and as ſurely indicates a bad heart, as a galloping pulſe doth a fever.

Men are chiefly betrayed into this deceit, by a groſs, but common miſtake of good-humour for good-nature. Two qualities, ſo far from bearing any reſemblance to each other, that they are almoſt oppoſites. Good-nature is that benevolent and amiable temper of mind, which diſpoſes us to feel the misfortunes, and enjoy the happineſs of others; and, conſequently, puſhes us on to promote the latter, and prevent the former; and that without any abſtract

ſtract contemplation on the beauty of virtue, and without the allurements, or terrors of religion. Now good-humour is nothing more than the triumph of the mind, when reflecting on its own happineſs, and that, perhaps, from having compared it with the inferior happineſs of others.

If this be allowed, I believe we may admit that glavering ſmile, whoſe principal ingredient is malice, to be the ſymptom of good-humour. And here give me leave to define this word malice, as I doubt, whether it be not in common ſpeech ſo often confounded with envy, that common readers may not have very diſtinct ideas between them; but as envy is a repining at the good of others, compared with our own, ſo malice is a rejoicing at their evil, on the ſame compariſon. And thus it appears to have a very cloſe affinity to that malevolent diſpoſition, which I have above deſcribed under the word good-humour; for nothing is truer, than that obſervation of Shakeſpeare;

——A man may ſmile, and ſmile, and be a villain.

But how alien muſt this countenance be to that heavenly frame of ſoul, of which Jeſus Chriſt himſelf was the moſt perfect pattern; of which bleſſed perſon it is recorded, that he never was once ſeen to laugh, during his whole abode on earth. And what indeed hath good-nature to do with a ſmiling countenance? It would be like a purſe in the hands of a miſer, which he could never uſe. For admitting, that laughing at the vices and follies of mankind is entirely innocent, (which is more, perhaps, than we ought to admit) yet, ſurely, their miſeries and misfortunes are no ſubjects of mirth; and with theſe, *Quis non vicus abundat?* the world is ſo full of them, that ſcarce a day paſſes without inclining a truly good-natured man rather to tears than merriment.

Mr. Hobbes tells us, that laughter ariſes from pride, which is far from being a good-natured paſſion. And though I would not ſeverely diſcountenance all indulgence of it, ſince laughter, while confined to vice and folly, is no very cruel puniſhment on the object, and may be attended with good conſequences to him; yet we ſhall, I believe, find, on a careful examination into its motive, that it is not produced from good-nature. But this is one of the firſt efforts of the mind, which few attend to, or, indeed, are capable of diſcovering; and however ſelf-love may make us pleaſed with ſeeing a blemiſh in another, which we are ourſelves free from, yet compaſſion on the firſt reflection of any unhappineſs in the object, immediately puts a ſtop to it in good minds. For inſtance; ſuppoſe a perſon well-dreſt ſhould tumble in a dirty place in the ſtreet; I am afraid there are few who would not laugh at the accident: Now, what is this laughter, other than a convulſive extaſy, occaſioned by the contemplation of our own happineſs, compared with the unfortunate perſon's? a pleaſure which ſeems to ſavour of ill-nature; but as this is one of thoſe firſt, and as it were ſpontaneous motions of the ſoul, which few, as I have ſaid, attend to, and none can prevent; ſo it doth not properly conſtitute the character. When we come to reflect on the uneaſineſs this perſon ſuffers, laughter, in a good and delicate mind, will begin to change itſelf into compaſſion; and in proportion, as this latter operates on us, we may be ſaid to have more or leſs good-nature; but ſhould any fatal conſequence, ſuch as a violent bruiſe, or the breaking of a bone, attend the fall, the man, who ſhould ſtill continue to laugh, would be entitled to the baſeſt and vileſt appellation with which any language can ſtigmatiſe him.

From what hath been ſaid, I think we may conclude, that a conſtant, ſettled, glavering, ſneering

ſmile

ſmile in the countenance, is ſo far from indicating goodneſs, that it may be with much confidence depended on as an aſſurance of the contrary.

But I would not be underſtood here to ſpeak with the leaſt regard to that amiable, open, compoſed, cheerful aſpect, which is the reſult of a good conſcience, and the emanation of a good heart; of both which, it is an infallible ſymptom; and may be the more depended on, as it cannot, I believe, be counterfeited, with any reaſonable reſemblance, by the niceſt power of art.

Neither have I any eye towards that honeſt, hearty, loud chuckle, which ſhakes the ſides of aldermen and ſquires, without the leaſt provocation of a jeſt; proceeding chiefly from a full belly; and is a ſymptom (however ſtrange it may ſeem) of a very gentle and inoffenſive quality, called dulneſs, than which nothing is more riſible; for as Mr. Pope, with exquiſite pleaſantry, ſays;

——Gentle Dulneſs ever loves a joke:

i. e. one of her own jokes. Theſe are ſometimes performed by the foot; as by leaping over heads, or chairs, or tables, kicks in the b——ch, &c. ſometimes by the hand; as by ſlaps in the face, pulling off wigs, and infinite other dexterities, too tedious to particularize: Sometimes by the voice; as by hollowing, huzzaing, and ſinging merry (i. e. dull) catches, by merry (i. e. dull) fellows.

Laſtly; I do by no means hint at the various laughs, titters, tehes, &c. of the fair ſex, with whom, indeed, this eſſay hath not any thing to do; the knowledge of the characters of women being foreign to my intended purpoſe; as it is in fact a ſcience, to which I make not the leaſt pretenſion.

The ſmile or ſneer, which compoſes the countenance, I have above endeavoured to deſcribe, is extremely different from all theſe; but as I have al-

ready dwelt pretty long on it, and as my reader will not, I apprehend, be liable to miſtake it, I ſhall wind up my caution to him againſt this ſymptom, in part of a line of Horace;

—— *Hic niger eſt; hunc tu caveto.*

There is one countenance, which is the plaineſt inſtance of the general miſunderſtanding of that adage, *fronti nulla fides.* This is a fierce aſpect, which hath the ſame right to ſignify courage, as gravity to denote wiſdom, or a ſmile good-nature; whereas experience teaches us the contrary, and it paſſes amongſt moſt men for the ſymptom only of a bully.

But I am aware, that I ſhall be reminded of an aſſertion which I ſet out with in the beginning of this eſſay, viz. "That nature gives us as ſure "ſymptoms of the diſeaſes of the mind, as ſhe doth "of thoſe of the body." To which, what I have now advanced, may ſeem a contradiction. The truth is, nature doth really imprint ſufficient marks in the countenance, to inform an accurate and diſcerning eye; but as ſuch is the property of few, the generality of mankind miſtake the affectation for the reality; for as Affectation always overacts her part, it fares with her, as with a farcical actor on the ſtage, whoſe monſtrous overdone grimaces are ſure to catch the applauſe of an inſenſible audience; while the trueſt and fineſt ſtrokes of nature, repreſented by a judicious and juſt actor, paſs unobſerved and diſregarded. In the ſame manner, the true ſymptoms being finer, and leſs glaring, make no impreſſion on our phyſiognomiſt; while the groſſer appearances of affectation are ſure to attract his eye, and deceive his judgment. Thus that ſprightly and penetrating look, which is almoſt a certain token of underſtanding; that cheerful compoſed ſerenity, which always indicates good-

nature; and that fiery caſt of the eyes, which is never unaccompanied with courage, are often overlooked; while a formal, ſtately, auſtere gravity; a glavering fawning ſmile, and a ſtrong contraction of the muſcles, paſs generally on the world for the virtues they only endeavour to affect.

But as theſe rules are, I believe, none of them without ſome exceptions; as they are of no uſe, but to an obſerver of much penetration; laſtly, as a more ſubtile hypocriſy will ſometimes eſcape undiſcovered from the higheſt diſcernment; let us ſee if we have not a more infallible guide to direct us to the knowledge of men; one more eaſily to be attained, and on the efficacy of which, we may with the greateſt certainty rely.

And, ſurely, the actions of men ſeem to be the juſteſt interpreters of their thoughts, and the trueſt ſtandards by which we may judge them. By their fruits you ſhall know them, is a ſaying of great wiſdom, as well as authority. And, indeed, this is ſo certain a method of acquiring the knowledge I contend for, that, at firſt appearance, it ſeems abſolutely perfect, and to want no manner of aſſiſtance.

There are, however, two cauſes of our miſtakes on this head; and which leads us into forming very erroneous judgments of men, even while their actions ſtare us in the face, and, as it were, hold a candle to us, by which we may ſee into them.

The firſt of theſe is, when we take their own words againſt their actions. This (if I may borrow another illuſtration from phyſic) is no leſs ridiculous, than it would be of a learned profeſſor of that art, when he perceives his light-headed patient is in the utmoſt danger, to take his word that he is well. This error is infinitely more common than its extreme abſurdity would perſuade us was poſſible. And many a credulous perſon hath been ruined by truſting to the aſſertions of another, who muſt have

preſerved himſelf, had he placed a wiſer confidence in his actions.

The ſecond is an error ſtill more general. This is when we take the colour of a man's actions, not from their own viſible tendency, but from his public character: When we believe what others ſay of him, in oppoſition to what we ſee him do. How often do we ſuffer ourſelves to be deceived, out of the credit of a fact, or out of a juſt opinion of its heinouſneſs, by the reputed dignity or honeſty of the perſon who did it? How common are ſuch ejaculations as theſe? "O! it is impoſſible he ſhould "be guilty of any ſuch thing? he muſt have done "it by miſtake; he could not deſign it. I will "never believe any ill of him. So good a man! "&c." when, in reality, the miſtake lies only in his character. Nor is there any more ſimple, unjuſt, and inſufficient method of judging mankind, than by public eſtimation, which is oftener acquired by deceit, partiality, prejudice, and ſuch like, than by real deſert. I will venture to affirm, that I have known ſome of the beſt ſort of men in the world, (to uſe the vulgar phraſe) who would not have ſcrupled cutting a friend's throat; and a fellow, whom no man ſhould be ſeen to ſpeak to, capable of the higheſt acts of friendſhip and benevolence.

Now it will be neceſſary to diveſt ourſelves of both theſe errors, before we can reaſonably hope to attain any adequate knowledge of the true characters of men. Actions are their own beſt expoſitors; and though crimes may admit of alleviating circumſtances, which may properly induce a judge to mitigate the puniſhment; from the motive, for inſtance, as neceſſity may leſſen the crime of robbery, when compared to wantonneſs or vanity; or from ſome circumſtance attending the fact itſelf, as robbing a ſtranger, or an enemy, compared with committing it on a friend or benefactor; yet the crime

is ſtill robbery, and the perſon who commits it is a robber; though he ſhould pretend to have done it with a good deſign, or the world ſhould concur in calling him an honeſt man.

But I am aware of another objection, which may be made to my doctrine, viz. admitting that the actions of men are the ſureſt evidence of their character, that this knowledge comes too late; that it is to caution us againſt a highwayman, after he hath plundered us, or againſt an incendiary, after he hath fired our houſe.

To which I anſwer, that it is not againſt force, but deceit, which I am here ſeeking for armour, againſt thoſe who can injure us only by obtaining our good opinion. If, therefore, I can inſtruct my reader, from what ſort of perſons he is to withhold this opinion, and inform him of all, or at leaſt the principal arts, by which deceit proceeds to ingratiate itſelf with us, by which he will be effectually enabled to defeat his purpoſe, I ſhall have ſufficiently ſatisfied the deſign of this eſſay.

And here, the firſt caution I ſhall give him is againſt flattery, which I am convinced no one uſes, without ſome deſign on the perſon flattered. I remember to have heard of a certain nobleman, who, though he was an immoderate lover of receiving flattery himſelf, was ſo far from being guilty of this vice to others, that he was remarkably free in telling men their faults. A friend, who had his intimacy, one day told him, He wondered that he, who loved flattery better than any man living, did not return a little of it himſelf, which he might be ſure would bring him back ſuch plentiful intereſt. To which he anſwered, Though he admitted the juſtneſs of the obſervation, he could never think of giving away what he was ſo extremely covetous of. Indeed, whoever knows any thing of the nature of man, how greedy they are of praiſe, and how backward in beſtowing it on others; that it is a debt

ſeldom

ſeldom paid, even to the greateſt merit, till we are compelled to it, may reaſonably conclude, that this profuſion, this voluntary throwing it away on thoſe who do not deſerve it, proceeds, as Martial ſays of a beggar's preſent, from ſome other motive than generoſity or good-will.

But indeed there are few, whoſe vanity is ſo foul a feeder to digeſt flattery, if undiſguiſed; it muſt impoſe on us, in order to allure us; before we can reliſh it, we muſt call it by ſome other name; ſuch as, a juſt eſteem of, and reſpect for our real worth; a debt due to our merit, and not a preſent to our pride.

Suppoſe it ſhould be really ſo, and we ſhould have all theſe great or good qualities which are extolled in us; yet, conſidering, as I have ſaid above, with what reluctance ſuch debts are paid, we may juſtly ſuſpect ſome deſign in the perſon, who ſo readily and forwardly offers it to us. It is well obſerved, that we do not attend, without uneaſineſs, to praiſes in which we have no concern, much leſs ſhall we be eager to utter and exaggerate the praiſe of another, without ſome expectation from it.

A flatterer, therefore, is a juſt object of our diſtruſt, and will, by prudent men, be avoided.

Next to the flatterer, is the profeſſor, who carries his affection to you ſtill farther; and on a ſlight, or no acquaintance, embraces, hugs, kiſſes, and vows the greateſt eſteem for your perſon, parts, and virtues. To know whether this friend is ſincere, you have only to examine into the nature of friendſhip, which is always founded either on eſteem or gratitude, or perhaps on both. Now eſteem, admitting every requiſite for its formation preſent, and theſe are not a few, is of very ſlow growth; it is an involuntary affection, rather apt to give us pain than pleaſure, and therefore meets with no encouragement in our minds, which it creeps into by ſmall and almoſt imperceptible degrees; and, perhaps,

haps, when it hath got an abſolute poſſeſſion of us, may require ſome other ingredient to engage our friendſhip to its own object. It appears then pretty plain, that this muſhroom paſſion here mentioned, owes not its original to eſteem. Whether it can poſſibly flow from gratitude, which may, indeed, produce it more immediately, you will more eaſily judge; for though there are ſome minds, whom no benefits can inſpire with gratitude, there are more, I believe, who conceive this affection without even a ſuppoſed obligation. If, therefore, you can aſſure yourſelf it is impoſſible he ſhould imagine himſelf obliged to you, you may be ſatisfied that gratitude is not the motive to his friendſhip. Seeing then that you can derive it from neither of theſe fountains, you may well be juſtified in ſuſpecting its falſehood; and, if ſo, you will act as wiſely in receiving it into your heart, as he doth who knowingly lodges a viper in his boſom, or a thief in his houſe. Forgive the acts of your enemies, hath been thought the higheſt maxim of morality: Fear the profeſſions of your friends, is, perhaps, the wiſeſt.

The third character, againſt which an open heart ſhould be alarmed, is a Promiſer; one who riſes another ſtep in friendſhip. The man, who is wantonly profuſe of his promiſes, ought to ſink his credit as much as a tradeſman would by uttering great number of promiſſory notes, payable at a diſtant day. The trueſt concluſion in both caſes is, that neither intend, or will be able, to pay. And as the latter, moſt probably, intends to cheat you of your money, ſo the former, at leaſt, deſigns to cheat you of your thanks; and it is well for you, if he hath no deeper purpoſe, and that vanity is the only evil paſſion to which he deſtines you a ſacrifice.

I would not be here underſtood to point at the promiſes of political great men, which they are ſuppoſed to lie under a neceſſity of giving in great abun-

abundance, and the value of them is ſo well known, that few are to be impoſed on by them. The profeſſor I here mean, is he, who on all occaſions is ready, of his own head, and unaſked to promiſe favours. This is ſuch another inſtance of generoſity, as he who relieves his friend in diſtreſs, by a draught on * Aldgate pump. Of theſe there are ſeveral kinds, ſome who promiſe what they never intend to perform; others who promiſe what they are not ſure they can perfom; and others again, who promiſe ſo many, that, like debtors, being not able to pay all their debts, they afterwards pay none.

The man who is inquiſitive into the ſecrets of your affairs, with which he hath no concern, is another object of your caution. Men no more deſire another's ſecrets to conceal them, than they would another's purſe, for the pleaſure only of carrying it.

Nor is a ſlanderer leſs wiſely to be avoided, unleſs you chuſe to feaſt on your neighbour's faults, at the price of being ſerved up yourſelf at the tables of others; for perſons of this ſtamp are generally impartial in their abuſe. Indeed, it is not always poſſible totally to eſcape them; for, being barely known to them, is a ſure title to their calumny; but the more they are admitted to your acquaintance, the more you will be abuſed by them.

I fear the next character I ſhall mention, may give offence to the grave part of mankind; for whoſe wiſdom and honeſty I have an equal reſpect; but I muſt, however, venture to caution my open-hearted reader againſt a ſaint. No honeſt and ſenſible man will underſtand me here, as attempting to declaim againſt ſanctity of morals. The ſanctity I mean, is that which flows from the lips, and ſhines in the countenance. It may be ſaid, per-

* A mercantile phraſe for a bad note.

haps,

haps, that real ſanctity may wear theſe appearances; and how ſhall we then diſtinguiſh with any certainty, the true from the fictitious? I anſwer, That if we admit this to be poſſible, yet, as it is likewiſe poſſible that it may be only counterfeit, and as in fact it is ſo ninety-nine times in a hundred, it is better that one real ſaint ſhould ſuffer a little unjuſt ſuſpicion, than that ninety-nine villains ſhould impoſe on the world, and be enabled to perpetrate their villanies under this maſk.

But, to ſay the truth; a ſour, moroſe, ill-natured, cenſorious ſanctity, never is, nor can be ſincere. Is a readineſs to deſpiſe, to hate, and to condemn, the temper of a chriſtian? Can he who paſſes ſentence on the ſouls of men, with more delight and triumph than the devil can execute it, have the impudence to pretend himſelf a diſciple of one who died for the ſins of mankind? Is not ſuch a ſanctity the true mark of that hypocriſy, which in many places of ſcripture, and particularly in the twenty-third chapter of St. Matthew, is ſo bitterly inveighed againſt?

As this is a moſt deteſtable character in ſociety; and as its malignity is more particularly bent againſt the beſt and worthieſt men, the ſincere and open-hearted, whom it perſecutes with inveterate envy and hatred, I ſhall take ſome pains in the ripping it up, and expoſing the horrors of its inſide, that we may all ſhun it; and at the ſame time will endeavour ſo plainly to deſcribe its outſide, that we ſhall hardly be liable, by any miſtake, to fall into its ſnares.

With regard then to the inſide (if I am allowed that expreſſion) of this character, the ſcripture-writers have employed uncommon labour in diſſecting it. Let us hear our Saviour himſelf, in the chapter above-cited. "It devours widows houſes; "it makes its proſelytes twofold more the chil-"dren of hell; it omits the weightier matters of

" the law, judgment, mercy, and faith; it ſtrains *
" off a gnat, and ſwallows a camel; it is full of
" extortion and exceſs." St. Paul, in his Firſt Epiſtle to Timothy, ſays of them, " That they
" ſpeak lies, and their conſcience is ſeared with a
" red hot iron." And in many parts of the Old Teſtament, as in Job; " Let the hypocrite reign
" not, leſt the people be enſnared:" And Solomon in his Proverbs; " An hypocrite with his
" mouth deſtroyeth his neighbour."

In theſe ſeveral texts, moſt of the enormities of this character are deſcribed; but there is one which deſerves a fuller comment, as pointing at its very eſſence: I mean the thirteenth verſe of the twenty-third chapter of St. Matthew, where Jeſus addreſſes himſelf thus to the Phariſees: " Hypocrites; for
" ye ſhut up the kingdom of Heaven againſt men;
" for ye neither go in yourſelves, neither ſuffer ye
" them that are entering to go in."

This is an admirable picture of ſanctified hypocriſy, which will neither do good itſelf, nor ſuffer others to do it. But if we underſtand the text figuratively, we may apply it to that cenſorious quality of this vice, which, as it will do nothing honeſtly to deſerve reputation, ſo is it ever induſtrious to deprive others of the praiſes due to their virtues. It confines all merit to thoſe external forms which are fully particularized in ſcripture; of theſe it is itſelf a rigid obſerver; hence it muſt derive all honour and reward in this world; nay, and even in the next, if it can impoſe on itſelf ſo far as to imagine itſelf capable of cheating the Almighty, and obtaining any reward there.

* So is the Greek, which the tranſlators have miſtaken; they render it, *ſtrain at a gnat*, i. e. ſtruggle in ſwallowing, whereas, in reality, the Greek word is, to ſtrain through a cullender; and the idea is, that though they pretend their conſciences are ſo fine, that a gnat is with difficulty ſtrained through them, yet they can, if they pleaſe, open them wide enough to admit a camel.

Now

Now a galley-ſlave, of an envious diſpoſition, doth not behold a man free from chains, and at his eaſe, with more envy than perſons in theſe fetters of ſanctity view the reſt of mankind, eſpecially ſuch as they behold without them entering into the kingdom of Heaven. Theſe are, indeed, the objects of their higheſt animoſity, and are always the ſureſt marks of their detraction. Perſons of more goodneſs, than knowledge of mankind, when they are calumniated by theſe ſaints, are, I believe, apt to impute the calumny to an ignorance of their real character; and imagine, if they could better inform the ſaid ſaints of their innate worth, they ſhould be better treated by them; but, alas! this is a total miſtake; the more good a ſanctified hypocrite knows of an open and an honeſt man, the more he envies and hates him, and the more ready he is to ſeize or invent an opportunity of detracting from his real merit.

But envy is not their only motive of hatred to good men; they are eternally jealous of being ſeen through, and, conſequently, expoſed by them. A hypocrite in ſociety, lives in the ſame apprehenſion with a thief, who lies concealed in the midſt of the family he is to rob; for this, fancies himſelf perceived, when he is leaſt ſo; every motion alarms him; he fears he is diſcovered, and is ſuſpicious that every one who enters the room, knows where he is hid, and is coming to ſeize him. And thus, as nothing hates more violently than fear, many an innocent perſon, who ſuſpects no evil intended him, is deteſted by him who intends it.

Now, in deſtroying the reputation of a virtuous and good man, the hypocrite imagines he hath diſarmed his enemy of all weapons to hurt him; and, therefore, this ſanctified hypocriſy is not more induſtrious to conceal its own vices, than to obſcure and contaminate the virtues of others. As the buſineſs of ſuch a man's life is to procure praiſe,

by

by acquiring and maintaining an undeſerved character; ſo is his utmoſt care employed to deprive thoſe who have an honeſt claim to the character himſelf affects only, of all the emoluments which would otherwiſe ariſe to them from it.

The prophet Iſaiah ſpeaks of theſe people, where he ſays, "Woe unto them, who call evil good, "and good evil; that put darkneſs for light, and "light for darkneſs, &c." In his ſermon on which text, the witty Dr. South hath theſe words:—"*Detraction* is that killing poiſonous arrow, drawn "out of the devil's quiver, which is always flying "about, and doing execution in the dark; againſt "which, *no virtue is a defence, no innocence a ſecurity.* "It is a weapon forged in hell, and formed by that "prime artificer and engineer, the devil; and none "but that great God, who knows all things, and "and can do all things, can protect the beſt of men "againſt it."

To theſe, likewiſe, Martial alludes in the following lines:

Ut bene loquatur ſentiatque Mamercus,
Efficere nullis, Aule, moribus poſſis.

I have been ſomewhat diffuſive in the cenſorious branch of this character, as it is a very pernicious one; and (according to what I have obſerved) little known and attended to. I ſhall not deſcribe all its other qualities. Indeed, there is no ſpecies of miſchief which it doth not produce. For, not to mention the private villanies it daily tranſacts, moſt of the great evils which have affected ſociety, wars, murders, and maſſacres, have owed their original to this abominable vice; which is the deſtroyer of the innocent, and protector of the guilty; which hath introduced all manner of evil into the world, and hath almoſt expelled every grain of good out of it. Doth it not attempt to cheat men into the purſuit

purſuit of ſorrow and miſery, under the appearance of virtue, and to frighten them from mirth and pleaſure under the colour of vice, or, if you pleaſe, ſin? Doth it not attempt to gild over that poiſonous portion, made up of malevolence, auſterity, and ſuch curſed ingredients, while it embitters the delightful draught of innocent pleaſure with the nauſeous reliſh of fear and ſhame.

No wonder then that this malignant curſed diſpoſition, which is the diſgrace of human nature, and the bane of ſociety, ſhould be ſpoken againſt with ſuch remarkable bitterneſs, by the benevolent author of our religion, particularly in the thirty-third verſe of the above-cited chapter of St. Matthew.

Ye ſerpents, ye generation of vipers, how can ye eſcape the damnation of hell?

Having now diſpatched the inſide of this character, and, as I apprehend, ſaid enough to make any one void, I am ſure ſufficient to make a chriſtian deteſt it, nothing remains but to examine the outſide, in order to furniſh honeſt men with ſufficient rules to diſcover it. And in this we ſhall have the ſame divine guide, whom we have in the former part followed.

Firſt then, Beware of that ſanctified appearance, " that whited ſepulchre, which looks beautiful " outward, and is within full of all uncleanneſs. " Thoſe who make clean the outſide of the platter, " but within are full of extortion and exceſs."

Secondly, Look well to thoſe " who bind heavy " burdens, and grievous to be borne, and lay them " on mens ſhoulders; but they themſelves will not " move them with one of their fingers."

" Theſe heavy burdens (ſays Burket) were coun- " ſels and directions, rules and canons, auſterities " and ſeverities, which the Phariſees introduced " and impoſed upon their hearers." This requires no further comment; for, as I have before ſaid,

theſe hypocrites place all virtue, and all religon, in the obſervation of thoſe auſterities and ſeverities, without which the trueſt and pureſt goodneſs will never receive their commendation; but how different this doctrine is from the temper of chriſtianity, may be gathered by that total of all chriſtian morality, with which Jeſus ſums up the excellent precepts delivered in his divine ſermon: "*Therefore* "do unto all men as ye would they ſhould do unto "you: *for this is the law and the prophets.*"

Thirdly, Beware of all oſtentation of virtue, goodneſs, or piety. By this oſtentation I mean that of the countenance and the mouth, or of ſome external forms. And this, I apprehend, is the meaning of Jeſus, where he ſays, "They do their "works to be ſeen of men," as appears by the context; "They make broad their phylacteries, "and enlarge the borders of their garments." Theſe phylacteries were certain ſcrowls of parchment, whereon were written the ten commandments, and particular parts of the Moſaic law, which they oſtentatiouſly wore on their garments, thinking by that ceremony to fulfil the precept delivered to them in a verſe of Deuteronomy, though they neglected to fulfil the laws they wore thus about them.

Another inſtance of their oſtentation was—— "making long prayers, i. e. (ſays Burket) mak- "ing long prayers (or, perhaps, pretending to "make them) in the temples and ſynagogues for "widows, and thereupon perſuading them to give "bountifully to the corban, or the common trea- "ſure of the temple, ſome part of which was em- "ployed for their maintenance. Learn, 1. It is "no *new* thing for deſigning hypocrites to cover "the fouleſt tranſgreſſion with the cloke of re- "ligion. The Phariſees make long prayers a "cover for their covetouſneſs. 2. That to make "uſe of religion in policy for worldly advantage "ſake,

" ſake, is the way to be damned with a vengeance " for religion ſake."

Again ſays Jeſus—" in paying tithe of mint " and aniſe and cummin, while they omit the " weightier matters of the law, judgment, mercy, " and faith." By which we are not to underſtand (nor would I be underſtood ſo to mean) any inhibition of paying the prieſt his dues; but, as my commentator obſerves, " an oſtentation of a pre- " ciſe keeping the law in ſmaller matters, and " neglecting weightier duties. They paid tythe of " mint, aniſe, and cumming (i. e. of the minuteſt " and moſt worthleſs things) but at the ſame time " omitted judgment, mercy, and faith; that is, " juſt dealing among men, charity towards the " poor, and faithfulneſs in their promiſes and " covenants one with another. This, ſays our " Saviour, is *to ſtrain at* a gnat, and ſwallow a " camel; a proverbial expreſſion, intimating, that " ſome perſons pretend great niceneſs and ſcrupu- " loſity about ſmall matters, and none, or but " little, about duties of the greateſt moment. " Hence, note, That hypocrites lay the greateſt " ſtreſs upon the leaſt matters in religion, and " place holineſs moſt in theſe things where God " places it leaſt." Ye tythe mint, &c. but neglect the weightier matters of the law. " This is, in- " deed, the bane of all religion and true piety, to " prefer rituals and human inſtitutions before di- " vine commands, and the practice of natural reli- " gion. *Thus to do is a certain ſign of groſs hypo- " criſy.*"

Nothing can, in fact, be more foreign to the nature of virtue than oſtentation. It is truly ſaid of Virtue, that, could men behold her naked, they would be all in love with her. Here it is implied, that this is a ſight very rare or difficult to come at; and, indeed, there is always a modeſt backwardneſs in true Virtue to expoſe her naked beauty. She is

conſcious of her innate worth, and little deſirous of expoſing it to the public view. It is the harlot Vice who conſtantly endeavours to ſet off the charms ſhe counterfeits, in order to attract men's applauſe, and to work her ſiniſter ends by gaining their admiration and their confidence.

I ſhall mention but one ſymptom more of this hypocriſy, and this is a readineſs to cenſure the faults of others. "Judge not," ſays Jeſus, "leſt you "be judged."—And again; "Why beholdeſt "thou the mote that is in thy brother's eye, but "conſidereſt not the beam that is in thine own "eye?" On which the abovementioned commentator rightly obſerves, "That thoſe who are moſt "cenſorious of the leſſer infirmities of others, are "uſually moſt notoriouſly guilty of far greater "failings themſelves." This ſanctified ſlander is, of all, the moſt ſevere, bitter, and cruel; and is ſo eaſily diſtinguiſhed from that which is either the effect of anger or wantonneſs, and which I have mentioned before, that I ſhall dwell no longer upon it.

And here I ſhall diſmiſs my character of a ſanctified hypocrite, with the honeſt wiſh which Shakeſpeare hath launched forth againſt an execrable villain:

—That Heaven would put in every honeſt hand a whip,
To laſh the raſcal naked through the world.

I have now, I think, enumerated the principal methods by which deceit works its ends on eaſy, credulous, and open diſpoſitions; and have endeavoured to point out the ſymptoms by which they may be diſcovered; but while men are blinded by vanity and ſelf-love, and while artful hypocriſy knows how to adapt itſelf to their blind ſides, and to humour their paſſions, it will be difficult for honeſt

and

and undeſigning men to eſcape the ſnares of cunning and impoſition; I ſhall therefore recommend one more certain rule, and which, I believe, if duly attended to, would, in a great meaſure, extirpate all fallacy out of the world; or muſt at leaſt ſo effectually diſappoint its purpoſes, that it would ſoon be worth no man's while to aſſume it, and the character of knave and fool would be more apparently (what they are at preſent in reality) allied or united.

This method is, carefully to obſerve the actions of men with others, and eſpecially with thoſe to whom they are allied in blood, marriage, friendſhip, profeſſion, neighbourhood, or any other connection; nor can you want an opportunity of doing this; for none but the weakeſt of men would raſhly and madly place a confidence which may very materially affect him in any one, on a ſlight or no acquaintance.

Trace then the man propoſed to your truſt, into his private family and neareſt intimacies. See whether he hath acted the part of a good ſon, brother, huſband, father, friend, maſter, ſervant, &c. If he hath diſcharged theſe duties well, your confidence will have a good foundation; but if he hath behaved himſelf in theſe offices with tyranny, with cruelty, with infidelity, with inconſtancy, you may be aſſured he will take the firſt opportunity his intereſt points out to him of exerciſing the ſame ill talents at your expence.

I have often thought mankind would be little liable to deceit (at leaſt much leſs than they are) if they would believe their own eyes, and judge of men by what they actually ſee them perform towards thoſe with whom they are moſt cloſely connected; whereas, how common is it to perſuade ourſelves, that the undutiful, ungrateful ſon, the unkind or barbarous brother; or the man who is void of all tenderneſs, honour, or even humanity,

to his wife or children, ſhall nevertheleſs become a ſincere and faithful friend? but how monſtrous a belief is it, that the perſon whom we find incapable of diſcharging the neareſt duties of relation, whom no ties of blood or affinity can bind; nay, who is even deficient in that goodneſs which inſtinct infuſes into the brute creation; that ſuch a perſon ſhould have a ſufficient ſtock of virtue to ſupply the arduous character of honour and honeſty. This is a credulity ſo abſurd, that it admits of no aggravation.

Nothing indeed can be more unjuſtifiable to our prudence, than an opinion that the man whom we ſee act the part of a villain to others, ſhould on ſome minute change of perſon, time, place, or other circumſtance, behave like an honeſt and juſt man to ourſelves. I ſhall not here diſpute the doctrine of repentance, any more than its tendency to the good of ſociety; but as the actions of men are the beſt index to their thoughts, as they do, if well attended to and underſtood, with the utmoſt certainty demonſtrate the character; and as we are not ſo certain of the ſincerity of the repentance, I think we may with juſtice ſuſpect, at leaſt ſo far as to deny him our confidence, that a man whom we once knew to be a villain, remains a villain ſtill.

And now let us ſee whether theſe obſervations, extended a little further, and taken into public life, may not help us to account for ſome phænomena which have lately appeared in this hemiſphere: for as a man's good behaviour to thoſe with whom he hath the neareſt and cloſeſt connection, is the beſt aſſurance to which a ſtranger can truſt for his honeſt conduct in any engagement he ſhall enter into with him; ſo is a worthy diſcharge of the ſocial offices of a private ſtation, the ſtrongeſt ſecurity which a man can give of an upright demeanour in any public truſt, if his country ſhall repoſe it in him; and we may be well ſatisfied, that the moſt popular

ſpeeches,

ſpeeches, and moſt plauſible pretences of one of a different character, are only gilded ſnares to delude us, and to ſacrifice us, in ſome manner or other, to his own ſiniſter purpoſes. It is well ſaid in one of Mr. Pope's letters, "How ſhall a man "love five millions, who could never love a ſingle "perſon?" If a man hath more love than what centers in himſelf, it will certainly light on his children, his relations, friends, and neareſt acquaintance. If he extends it farther, what is it leſs than general philanthropy, or love to mankind? Now as a good man loves his friend better than a common acquaintance, ſo philanthropy will operate ſtronger towards his own country than any other; but no man can have this general philanthropy who hath not private affection, any more than he who hath not ſtrength ſufficient to lift ten pounds, can at the ſame time be able to throw a hundred weight over his head. Therefore the bad ſon, huſband, father, brother, friend; in a word, the bad man in private, can never be a ſincere patriot.

In Rome and Sparta I agree it was otherwiſe; for there patriotiſm, by education, became a part of the character. Their children were nurſed in patriotiſm; it was taught them at an age when religion in all countries is firſt inculcated. And as we ſee men of all religions ready to lay down their lives for the doctrines of it, (which they often do not know, and ſeldom have conſidered) ſo were theſe Spartans and Romans ready with as implicit faith to die for their country; though the private morals of the former were very depraved, and the latter were the public robbers of mankind.

Upon what foundation their patriotiſm then ſtood, ſeems pretty apparent, and perhaps there can be no ſurer. For I apprehend, if twenty boys were taught from their infancy to believe that the Royal Exchange was the kingdom of heaven, and conſequently inſpired with a ſuitable awe for it; and

laſtly, inſtructed that it was great, glorious, and godlike to defend it, nineteen of them would afterwards cheerfully ſacrifice their lives to its defence, at leaſt, it is impoſſible that any of them would agree, for a paultry reward, to ſet it on fire; not even though they were rogues and highwaymen in their diſpoſition. But if you were admitted to chuſe twenty of ſuch diſpoſitions at the age of manhood, who had never learnt any thing of its holineſs, contracted any ſuch awe, nor imbibed any ſuch duty, I believe it would be difficult to bring them to venture their lives in its cauſe; nor ſhould I doubt, could I perſuade them of the ſecurity of the fact, of bribing them to apply the firebrand to any part of the building I pleaſed.

But a worthy citizen of London, without borrowing any ſuch ſuperſtition from education, would ſcarce be tempted by any reward, to deprive the city of ſo great an ornament, and what is ſo uſeful and neceſſary to its trade; at the ſame time to endanger the ruin of thouſands, and perhaps the deſtruction of the whole.

The application ſeems pretty eaſy, that as there is no ſuch paſſion in human nature as patriotiſm, conſidered abſtractedly, and by itſelf, it muſt be introduced by art, and that while the mind of man is yet ſoft and ductile, and the unformed character ſuſceptible of any arbitrary impreſſion you pleaſe to make on it; or, ſecondly, it muſt be founded on philanthropy, or univerſal benevolence; a paſſion which really exiſts in ſome natures, and which is neceſſarily attended with the excellent quality abovementioned; for as it ſeems granted, that the man cannot love a million who never could love a ſingle perſon, ſo will it, I apprehend, appear as certain, that he who could not be induced to cheat or to deſtroy a ſingle man, will never be prevailed on to cheat or to deſtroy many millions.

Thus

Thus I have endeavoured to ſhew the ſeveral methods by which we can propoſe to get any inſight into the characters of thoſe with whom we converſe, and by which we may fruſtrate all the cunning and deſigns of hypocriſy. Theſe methods I have ſhewn to be threefold, viz. by the marks which nature hath imprinted on the countenance, by their behaviour to ourſelves, and by their behaviour to others. On the firſt of theſe I have not much inſiſted, as liable to ſome incertainty; and as the latter ſeem abundantly ſufficient to ſecure us, with proper caution, againſt the ſubtle devices of hypocriſy, though ſhe be the moſt cunning as well as malicious of all the vices which have ever corrupted the nature of man.

But however uſeleſs this treatiſe may be to inſtruct, I hope it will be at leaſt effectual to alarm my reader; and ſure no honeſt undeſigning man can ever be too much on his guard againſt the hypocrite, or too induſtrious to expoſe and expel him out of ſociety.

THE

Covent-Garden Journal.

By Sir ALEXANDER DRAWCANSIR, Knt.

Cenſor of GREAT-BRITAIN.

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Numb. 3. *Saturday* January 11.

Majores nuſquam rhonci; juveneſque, ſeneſque,
Et pueri naſum rhinocerotis habent. Martial.

In Engliſh.

No town can ſuch a gang of critics ſhow,
Even boys turn up that noſe they cannot blow.

BY a record in the cenſor's office, and now in my cuſtody, it appears that at a cenſorial inquiſition, taken *Triceſimo qto. Eliz.* by one of my illuſtrious predeceſſors, no more than nineteen critics were enrolled in the cities of London and Weſtminſter; whereas, at the laſt inquiſition taken by

by myſelf, 25° *Geo. 2di.* the number of perſons claiming a right to that order, appears to amount to 276,302.

This immenſe encreaſe is, I believe, to be no otherwiſe accounted for, than from the very blameable negligence of the late cenſors, who have, indeed, converted their office into a mere ſinecure, no inquiſition, as I can find, having been taken ſince the cenſorſhip of Iſaac Bickerſtaffe, Eſq; in the latter end of the reign of Queen Anne.

To the ſame neglect are owing many encroachments on all the other orders of the ſociety. That of gentlemen in particular, I obſerve to have greatly increaſed, and that of ſharpers to have decreaſed in the ſame proportion within theſe few years.

All theſe irregularities it is my firm purpoſe to endeavour at reforming, and to reſtore the high office with which I am inveſted to its ancient uſe and dignity. This, however, muſt be attempted with prudence and by ſlow degrees; for habitual and inveterate evils are to be cured by ſlow alteratives, and not by violent remedies. Of this the good emperor Pertinax will be a laſting example. "This worthy man," ſays Dion Caſſius, "periſhed "by endeavouring too haſtily to reform all the evils "which infeſted his country. He knew not, it "ſeems, though otherwiſe a man of very great "knowledge, that it is not ſafe, nor indeed poſſible, "to effect a reformation in too many matters at "once. A rule which, if it holds true in private "life, is much more ſo when it is applied to thoſe "evils that affect the public."

I thought it, therefore, not prudent, in the hurry of my above inquiſition to make any exceptions, but admitted all who offered to be enrolled. This is a method which I ſhall not purſue hereafter, being fully reſolved to enquire into the qualifications of every pretender.

And that all perſons may come prepared to prove their right to the order of critics, I ſhall here ſet down thoſe ſeveral qualifications which will be inſiſted on before any will be admitted to that high honour. In doing this, however, I ſhall ſtrictly purſue the excellent rule I have cited, and ſhall act with moſt perfect moderation; for I am willing to throw open the door as wide as I can, ſo that as few as poſſible may be rejected.

It is, I think, the ſentiment of Quinctilian, that no man is capable of becoming a good critic on a great poet, but he who is himſelf a great poet. This would, indeed, confine the critics on poetry, at leaſt, to a very ſmall number; and would, indeed, ſtrike all the ancients, except only Horace and Longinus, off the roll; of the latter of whom, though he was no poet, Mr. Pope finely ſays,

Thee, great Longinus, all the nine inſpire,
And bleſs their critic with a poet's fire.

But with reſpect to ſo great a name as that of Quinctilian, this rule appears to me much too rigid. It ſeems, indeed, to be little leſs ſevere than an injunction, that no man ſhould criticize on cookery but he who was himſelf a cook.

To require what is generally called learning in a critic, is altogether as abſurd as to require genius. Why ſhould a man in this caſe, any more than in all others, be bound by any opinions but his own? Or why ſhould he read by rule any more than eat by it? If I delight in a ſlice of bullock's liver, or of Oldmixon, why ſhall I be confined to turtle or to Swift?

The only learning, therefore, that I inſiſt upon is, that my critic *be able to read*; and this is ſurely very reaſonable; for I do not ſee how he can otherwiſe be called a reader; and if I include every reader in the name of critic, it is ſurely very juſt

to

to confine every critic within the number of readers.

Nor do I only require the capacity of reading, but the actual exerciſe of that capacity; I do here ſtrictly forbid any perſons whatever to paſs a definitive ſentence on a book *before they have read at leaſt ten pages in it*, under the penalty of being for ever rendered incapable of admiſſion to the order of critics.

Thirdly, all critics who, from and after the firſt day of February next, ſhall condemn any book, ſhall be ready to give ſome reaſon for their judgment; nor ſhall it be ſufficient for ſuch critic to drivel out, "I don't know not I, but all that I "know is, I don't like it." Provided, nevertheleſs, that any reaſon, how fooliſh or frivolous ſoever, ſhall be allowed a good and full juſtification; except only the words *poor ſtuff*, *wretched ſtuff*, *bad ſtuff*, *ſad ſtuff*, *low ſtuff*, *paultry ſtuff*. All which *ſtuffs* I do for ever baniſh from the mouths of all critics.

Provided alſo, that the laſt-mentioned clauſe do extend only to ſuch critics as openly proclaim their cenſures; for it is our intention, that all perſons ſhall be at liberty to diſlike privately whatever book they pleaſe, without underſtanding or reading one word of it, any thing therein or herein contained to the contrary notwithſtanding.

But as it is reaſonable to extend this power of judging for themſelves, no farther in this caſe of criticiſm, than it is allowed to men in ſome others, I do here declare, that I ſhall not, for the future, admit any males to the office of criticiſm till they be of the full age of eighteen, that being the age when the laws allow them to have a capacity of diſpoſing perſonal chattles; for, before that time, they have only the power of diſpoſing of themſelves in the trifling article of marriage. Females, perhaps, I ſhall admit ſomewhat earlier, provided they be either

either witty or handſome, or have a fortune of five thouſand pounds and upwards.

Together with childhood, I exclude all other civil incapacities; and here I mean not only legal but real lunatics, and idiots. In this number I include all perſons who, from the whole tenour of their conduct, appear to be incapable of diſcerning good from bad, right from wrong, or wiſdom from folly, in any inſtance whatever.

There are again ſome perſons whom I ſhall admit only to a partial exerciſe of this office; as, for inſtance, rakes, beaux, ſharpers, and fine ladies, are ſtrictly forbidden, under penalty of perpetual excluſion, to preſume to criticiſe on any works of religion or morality. All lawyers, phyſicians, ſurgeons, and apothecaries, are ſtrictly forbidden to paſs any judgment on thoſe authors who attempt any reformation in law or phyſic. Officers of ſtate, and would-be officers of ſtate, (honeſt men only excepted) with all their attendants, and dependents, their placemen, and would-be placemen, pimps, ſpies, paraſites, informers, and agents, are forbidden, under the penalty aforeſaid, to give their opinions of any work in which the good of the kingdom in general is deſigned to be advanced; but as for all pamphlets which anywiſe concern the great cauſe of Woodall Out, and Takeall In, Eſqrs. full liberty is left to both parties, and the one may univerſally cry up, and commend, and the other may univerſally cenſure and condemn, as uſual. All critics offending againſt this clauſe, are to be deemed infamous, and their ſeveral criticiſms are hereby declared to be entirely void, and of none effect.

No author is to be admitted into the order of critics, until he hath read over, and underſtood, Ariſtotle, Horace, and Longinus, in their original language; nor then without a teſtimonial that he

hath ſpoken well of ſome living author beſides himſelf.

Laſtly, all perſons are forbidden, under the penalty of our higheſt diſpleaſure, to preſume to criticiſe upon any of thoſe works with which *we ourſelves* ſhall think proper to oblige the public; and any perſon who ſhall preſume to offend in this particular, will not only be expunged from the roll of critics, but will be degraded from any other order to which he ſhall belong; and his name will be forthwith entered in the records of Grubſtreet.

ALEXANDER DRAWCANSIR.

Numb. 4. *Tueſday*, January 14.

——Nanum cujuſdam Atlanta vocamus:
Æthiopem Cygnum: parvam extortamque puellam
Europen. Canibus pigris ſcabieque vetuſta
Lævibus, et ſiccæ lambentibus ora lucernæ,
Nomen erit Pardus, Tigris, Leo; ſi quid adhuc eſt
Quod fremat in terris violentius.——

Juv. Sat. viii.

'ONE may obſerve,' ſays Mr. Locke, 'in 'all languages, certain words, that, if they 'be examined, will be found, in their firſt original, 'and their appropriated uſe, not to ſtand for any 'clear and diſtinct ideas.' Mr. Locke gives us the inſtances of wiſdom, glory, grace. 'Words 'which are frequent enough (ſays he) in every 'man's mouth; but if a great many of thoſe who 'uſe them, ſhould be aſked what they mean by 'them, they would be at a ſtand, and not know 'what to anſwer; a plain proof, that though they 'have learned thoſe ſounds, and have them ready 'at their tongue's end; yet there are no deter-

'mined

'mined ideas laid up in their minds, which are to 'be expreſſed to others by them.'

Beſides the ſeveral cauſes by him aſſigned of the abuſe of words, there is one, which, though the great philoſopher hath omitted it, ſeems to have contributed not a little to the introduction of this enormous evil. This is that privilege which divines and moral writers have aſſumed to themſelves of doing violence to certain words, in favour of their own hypotheſes, and of uſing them in a ſenſe often directly contrary to that which cuſtom (the abſolute lord and maſter, according to Horace, of all the modes of ſpeech) hath allotted them.

Perhaps, indeed, this fault may be ſeen in ſomewhat a milder light (and I would always ſee the blemiſhes of ſuch writers in the mildeſt). It may not, perhaps, be ſo juſtly owing to any deſigned oppoſition to cuſtom as a total ignorance of it. An ignorance which is almoſt inſeparably annexed to a collegiate life, and which any man, indeed, may venture to own without bluſhing.

But whatever may be the cauſe of this abuſe of words, the conſequence is certainly very bad; for whilſt the author and the world receive different ideas from the ſame words, it will be pretty difficult for them to comprehend each other's meaning; and hence, perhaps, it is, that ſo many gentlemen and ladies have contracted a general odium to all works of religion or morality; and that many others have been readers in this way all their lives without underſtanding what they read, conſequently without drawing from it any practical uſe.

It would, perhaps, be an office very worthy the labour of a good commentator to explain certain hard words which frequently occur in the works of Barrow, Tillotſon, Clark, and others of this kind. Such are heaven, hell, judgment, righteouſneſs, ſin, &c. All which, it is reaſonable to believe, are at preſent very little underſtood.

Inſtead, however, of undertaking this taſk myſelf, at leaſt, at preſent, I ſhall apply the reſidue of this paper to the uſe of ſuch writers only. I ſhall here give a ſhort Gloſſary of ſuch terms as are at preſent greatly in uſe, and ſhall endeavour to fix to each thoſe exact ideas which are annexed to every of them in the world; for while the learned in colleges do, as I apprehend, conſider them all in a very different light, their labours are not likely to do much ſervice to the polite part of mankind.

A modern Gloſſary.

ANGEL. The name of a woman, commonly of a very bad one.

AUTHOR. A laughing-ſtock. It means likewiſe a poor fellow, and in general an object of contempt.

BEAR. A country gentleman; or, indeed, any animal upon two legs that doth not make a handſome bow.

BEAUTY. The qualification with which women generally go into keeping.

BEAU. With the article A before it, means a great favourite of all women.

BRUTE. A word implying plain-dealing and ſincerity; but more eſpecially applied to a philoſopher.

CAPTAIN. } Any ſtick of wood with a head to
COLONEL. } it, and a piece of black ribband upon that head.

CREATURE. A quality expreſſion of low contempt, properly confined only to the mouths of ladies who are right honourable.

CRITIC. Like Homo, a name common to all human race.

COX-

COXCOMB. A word of reproach, and yet, at the ſame time, ſignifying all that is moſt commendable.

DAMNATION. A term appropriated to the theatre; though ſometimes more largely applied to all works of invention.

DEATH. The final end of man; as well of the thinking part of the body, as of all the other parts.

DRESS. The principal accompliſhment of men and women.

DULNESS. A word applied by all writers to the wit and humour of others.

EATING. A ſcience.

FINE. An adjective of a very peculiar kind, deſtroying, or, at leaſt, leſſening the force of the ſubſtantive to which it is joined; as fine gentleman, fine lady, fine houſe, fine clothes, fine taſte;—in all which fine is to be underſtood in a ſenſe ſomewhat ſynonymous with uſeleſs.

FOOL. A complex idea, compounded of poverty, honeſty, piety, and ſimplicity.

GALLANTRY. Fornication and adultery.

GREAT. Applied to a thing, ſignifies bigneſs; when to a man, often littleneſs, or meanneſs.

GOOD. A word of as many different ſenſes as the Greek word Ἔχω, or as the Latin *Ago*: for which reaſon it is but little uſed by the polite.

HAPPINESS. Grandeur.

HONOUR. Duelling,

HUMOUR. Scandalous lies, tumbling and dancing on the rope.

JUDGE. } An old woman.
JUSTICE. }

KNAVE. The name of four cards in every pack.

KNOWLEDGE. In general, means knowledge of the town, as this is, indeed, the only kind

of knowledge ever ſpoken of in the polite world.

LEARNING. Pedantry.

LOVE. A word properly applied to our delight in particular kinds of food; ſometimes metaphorically ſpoken of the favourite objects of all our appetites.

MARRIAGE. A kind of traffic carried on between the two ſexes, in which both are conſtantly endeavouring to cheat each other, and both are commonly loſers in the end.

MISCHIEF. Fun, ſport, or paſtime.

MODESTY. Aukwardneſs, ruſticity.

NO BODY. All the people in Great Britain, except about 1200.

NONSENSE. Philoſophy, eſpecially the philoſophical writings of the ancients, and more eſpecially of Ariſtotle.

OPPORTUNITY. The ſeaſon of cuckoldom.

PATRIOT. A candidate for a place at court.

POLITICS. The art of getting ſuch a place.

PROMISE. Nothing.

RELIGION. A word of no meaning; but which ſerves as a bugbear to frighten children with.

RICHES. The only thing upon earth that is really valuable, or deſirable.

ROGUE. } A man of a different party from
RASCAL. } yourſelf.

SERMON. A ſleeping-doſe.

SUNDAY. The beſt time for playing at cards.

SHOCKING. An epithet which fine ladies apply to almoſt every thing. It is, indeed, an interjection (if I may ſo call it) of delicacy.

TEMPERANCE. Want of ſpirit.

TASTE. The preſent whim of the town, whatever it be.

TEASING. Advice; chiefly that of a huſband.

VIRTUE. } Subjects of diſcourſe.
VICE. }

WIT.

WIT. Prophaneneſs, indecency, immorality, ſcurrility, mimickry, buffoonry. Abuſe of all good men, and eſpecially of the clergy.
WORTH. Power. Rank. Wealth.
WISDOM. The art of acquiring all three.
WORLD. Your own acquaintance.

Numb. 8. *Tueſday*, January 28.

Ambubaiarum collegia, pharmacopolæ,
Mendici, mimi, balatrones; hoc genus omne.
HOR.

A motley mixture! in long wigs, in bags,
In ſilks, in crapes, in garters, and in rags.
Dunciad.

THE following is a literal copy of the fragment mentioned in my ſixth paper. In what language it was originally writ, is impoſſible to determine. To determine this, would be, indeed, to aſcertain who theſe Robinhoodians were; a point, as we ſhall ſhew in our comment, of the utmoſt difficulty. From the apparent difference in the ſtyle, and ſpelling of the tranſlation, it ſeems to have been done into Engliſh by ſeveral hands, and probably in diſtant ages. I have placed my conjectures concerning ſome doubtful words, at the bottom of the page, without venturing to diſturb the text.

* *Importinent queſtions cunſarning* relidgin *and* gubermint, *handyled by the Robinhoodians.*

March 8, 1751.

THIS evenin the queſtin at the Robinhood was, Whether relidgin was of any youſe to a ſoſyaty; baken † bifor mee To'mmas Whytebred, baker.

James Skotchum, barber, ſpak as floweth: Sir, I ham of upinion, that relidgin can be of no youſe to any mortal ſole; bycauſe as why, relidgin is no youſe to trayd, and if relidgin be of no youſe to trayd, how ist it is youſefool to ſoſyaty. Now no body can deny but that a man maye kary on his trayd very wel without relidgin; nay, and better two, for then he maye wurk won day in a wik mor than at preſent; whereof no body can ſaye but that ſeven is mor than ſix: beſides, if we haf no relidgin we ſhall haf no pairſuns ‡, and that will be a grate ſavin to the ſoſyaty; and it is a makſum § in trayd, that a peny ſav'd is a peny got. Whereof——The end of this ſpeech ſeems to be wanting, as doth the beginning of the next.

——different opinion from the learned gentleman who ſpoke firſt to the queſtion: Firſt, I deny that trade can be carried on without religion; for how often is the ſanction of an oath neceſſary in contracts, and how can we have oaths without religion? As to the gaining one day in ſeven, which the gentleman ſeems to lay much ſtreſs upon, I do admit it to be an argument of great force; but I queſtion, as the people have been long uſed to idleneſs on that day, whether it would be eaſy to make

* Perhaps impertinent.

† I think this ſhould be read *taken*, and the baker's being intent on his trade occaſioned the corruption.

‡ Read *parſons*. § Read *maxim*.

them

them work upon it; and, conſequently, if they had no churches to go to, whether they would not reſort to ſome worſe place? As to the expence of parſons, I cannot think it is prejudicial to the ſociety in general; for the parſons are members of this ſociety; and whether they who do but little, or others who do nothing at all for their livelihood, poſſeſs their revenues, is a matter of no manner of concern to the public. Indeed, what the gentleman ſays concerning the Dutch, I ſhall own is highly to the honour of thoſe induſtrious people; and I queſtion not but if religion was to interfere with any branch of our trade, there is ſtill ſo much good ſenſe left in this nation, that we ſhould preſently ſacrifice the ſhadow to the ſubſtance. But though ſome inſtances ſhould occur, in which religion may be prejudicial, it cannot be fairly argued from thence, that religion is therefore of no uſe to the ſociety; and till that can be proved, I ſhall not give my vote for its abolition. But at preſent——— *hammer down.*

Mr. Mac Flouriſh, ſtudent. I ſhall with grate reedineſs undertake that toſk upon my feel.—Sir, the queeſtion, as I tak it, is, whether relegion be of any uſe to ſociety? And, Sir, this is a queeſtion of that degnity, that grete emportance, that when I conſeder the matter of wheech I am to ſpeke, the degnity of the odience before whom I am to ſpeke, when I reflecct on the ſmallneſs of my own abeelities, weel may I be ſtruck with the greeteſt awe and reveerence; for, Sir, neither Demoſthenes, nor Eſchines, nor Cecero, nor Hortenſuis, ever handled a more emportant queeſtion; and, Sir, ſhould any thing miſbecoming drop from me on this grete occaſion, though your candour, your beneevolence, might encline you to extend an unmeerited attention, yet, ſir, theſe walls, theſe ſtones, theſe boards, theſe very bracks, withute ears, withute a tongue, would tacitly expreſs their endeegnation. Sir, it

is

is a queeſtion, that whoever hath rede hiſtory, or deeved at all into the oxceelent myſtery of politics, muſt confees, that all the grete pheeloſophers, poets, oraters, hiſtorians——*hammer down*——

Mr. Ocurry, ſolicitor. Upon my ſhoul, I am very ſorry now that the rules of this grate ſociety forced the laſt very learned gentleman to ſit down before he told us his opinion; but, whatever it be, I am after being of the ſaame. It is very true, upon my ſhoul, what he ſaid, that it is a very great queſtion, and I do not well know fether I underſtand it as yet, or no; but this I think, that if religion be a great hurt to the nation, I cannot for my ſhoul ſee where the good of it is. This I know very well, that there is a very good religion in Ireland, and they do call it the Roman Catholic religion, and I am of it myſelf, though I don't very well know what it is. There is ſomething about beads and maſſes, and patty noſters, and ivy marys, and I will fight for it as long as I am alive, and longer.—And, upon my ſhoul, I will tell you a good thing; if you are afraid of your own religion, you may ſend for ours, for I know it will come; for father Patrick Ocain did tell me, he would bring it along with him. Nay, he tould me, that he had brought it hither before he did come himſelf. [At which there was a laugh.]

Mr. Giles Shuttle, weaver.—I hope no gentleman will treat this thing as a jeſt, whereof I thinks it to be a very great matter of earneſt. Whereof I don't much underſtand your ſpeech-making ſort of work, but this I thinks, that I am as a good judge of theſe ſort of matters, for I am worth a hundred pounds, and owes no man a farthing. Whereof I thinks, I am as good a man as another; for why ſhould not any other man have as much ſenſe as a gentleman? I thinks I knows ſomething of trade, that to be ſure, is the main article in every trading nation, whereby —— Here the

firſt paper was broke off. The ſecond is as follows:

Queſtion. Whether infinite power could make the world out of nothing?

The ſpeakers to this queſtion were, Mr. Thomas Tinderbox, the chandler; Mr. George White, boatſwain's mate; Mr. Edward Peacock, victualler; Mr. Buge, the ſhoemaker; Mr. Gooſe, the taylor; Mr. Halt, the maker of pattins; and one great ſcholar, whoſe name I do not know.

It was urged on the behalf of infinite power, that we have no very adequate idea of it. That there are many things which we ſee are, and yet we cannot, with any great certainty, tell how they came to be. That ſo far from our reaſon being able to comprehend every thing, ſome wiſe men have doubted, whether we do, with certainty, comprehend any thing. That whatever we may think we know, we do not know how we think. That either every thing was made by ſomething, out of nothing, or elſe nothing made every thing, either out of ſomething or nothing. And, laſtly; that infinite power might more reaſonably be ſuppoſed to create every thing out of nothing, than no power at all could be ſuppoſed to make every thing out of any thing.

On the contrary, it was well argued, that nothing can be made out of nothing, for, *ex nihil, O nothing is fit.* That every day's experience muſt convince us of this; that, by infinite power, we only meant a very great degree of power; but that, if the thing to be done be not the ſubject of power, the ſmalleſt degree will be equal to the greateſt. And it was urged with great force of wit and eloquence, by Mr. Gooſe, that the beſt tailor, and the worſt, were alike unable to make a coat without materials. That, in this caſe, a tailor with infinite power, would be in the ſame condition with a tailor who had no power at all. And if ſo ſmall

a thing

a thing as a coat could not be made out of nothing, how could ſo large a thing as the world be cut out of the ſame no materials? The ſcholar gave a very good anſwer to what had been offered concerning our ignorance of infinite power, and ſaid, If he had no adequate idea of it, it was a good cauſe of diſbelieving it; for, as reaſon was to be judge of all things, what was not the object of reaſon, ought to be rejected by it. He admitted, that there were ſome things which did exiſt, and that we did not as yet know the manner in which they came to exiſt; but it did not follow that ſuch cauſes were above the reach of human reaſon, becauſe ſhe had not yet diſcovered them; for, he made no doubt, but that this ſociety, by means of their free enquiry after truth, would, in the end, diſcover the whole; and that the manner in which a man was made, would be no more a myſtery to poſterity, than it is to the preſent age, how they make a pudding. He concluded with ſaying, that ſome very wiſe and learned men, who lived near three thouſand years ago, had aſſerted that the world had exiſted from all eternity, which opinion ſeemed to ſolve all difficulties, and was, as it appeared, highly agreeable to the ſentiments of the whole ſociety.

Queſtion. Whether, in the opinion of this ſociety, the government did right in——

Here ends this valuable fragment, on which I ſhall give my comment in my next paper.

Numb. 9. *Saturday*, February 1.

Dic quibus in terris, et eris mihi magnus Apollo.
VIRG.

Tell in what clime theſe people did appear,
And you ſhall be the laureat of next year.

IT will be a very difficult matter to fix with any certainty, at what place, and amongſt what people, the Robinhood ſociety was held, as we have not the leaſt light to gueſs from what language the fragment which now remains to us, was originally tranſlated. Two things may be averred, that this ſociety was held in ſome country where the people were extremely free; and, ſecondly, that it was in a country, where that part of the community, which the French called *la Canaille*, was at the head of public affairs.

From the latter of theſe circumſtances, it appears that theſe Robinhoodians cannot be placed among the Egyptians; for Diodorus Siculus, ſpeaking of theſe people, tells us, that, "Whereas in "all democracies great injury is done to the ſtate "by the populace interfering in the public councils, "the Egyptians very ſeverely puniſhed theſe artificers who preſumed to meddle with matters of "government *."

Nor can I ever believe, that the queſtion, Whether religion was of any uſe to the ſociety, would ever have been ſupported amongſt a people ſo highly devoted to ſuperſtition, that religion was indeed the foundation of their civil ſociety.

* Diod. Sic. fol. 68. Edit. Rhod. Hannov. Πλείστοι δὲ ταῖς δημοκρατουμέναις πόλεσιν, κ τ. λ.

The

The ſame objection will recur againſt placing this ſociety in Athens; for though Pericles, in his ſpeech to the Athenians, recorded in Thucydides, compliments his countrymen with being all politicians, "Among us," ſays he, "even the mechanics are not inferior to their fellow-citizens in "political knowledge *." Yet in a country where Socrates was put to death, for attempting an innovation in religious matters, it is hard to believe that the dregs of the people would have been permitted to have queſtioned the very firſt principles of all religion with impunity.

And this objection will, I apprehend, hold likewiſe againſt all other ſtates, not only thoſe which we call civilized, but even the Tartars, Goths, Vandals, and Picts, &c. from the time they are recorded in hiſtory. None of theſe having been found without their deities, and without a very ſtrong perſuaſion of the truth of ſome religion or other. And ſo far were they all from doubting whether religion was of any uſe, or, as the fragment hath it, youſe to the ſociety, that they carried the images of their gods with them to war, and relied upon their favours and aſſiſtance for ſucceſs in all affairs.

To ſay the truth, the only people now upon earth, among whoſe anceſtors I can ſuppoſe ſuch an aſſembly to have been held, are the inhabitants of a certain tract of land in Africa, bordering on the Cape of Good Hope, commonly known unto us by the name of the Hottentots.

I am, however, well aware that there are many objections to this opinion. Firſt, that theſe Hottentots are ſuppoſed not to have any knowledge of religion at all, nor ever to have heard the name of the divinity; whereas it appears manifeſtly that the Robinhoodians had ſome kind of religion even eſta-

† Thucyd. lib. ii. c. 40. Καὶ ἑτέροις πρὸς ἔργα τετραμμένοις, κ. τ. λ.

bliſhed

bliſhed in their country, and that the name of G— was at leaſt known among them.

It is unneceſſary to obſerve, likewiſe, that the members of this ſociety had more of the uſe of letters, and were better ſkilled in the rules of oratory than the Hottentots can be conceived to have been; for as to the ſpeech of Mr. Mac Flouriſh, as well for the matter as for the eloquence of it, it might be ſpoken with great applauſe in many of our politeſt aſſemblies.

Upon the whole, therefore, I muſt confeſs myſelf intirely at a loſs in forming any probable conjecture as to what part of the earth theſe Robinhoodians inhabited; not being able to trace the leaſt footſteps of them in any hiſtory I have ever ſeen.

As to the time in when they flouriſhed, the fragment itſelf will lend us ſome little aſſiſtance. It is dated 1 51; which figures, I make no doubt, ſhould be all joined together, and then the only doubt will be from what æra this reckoning begun.

And here, I think, there can be no doubt, but that the æra intended was that of the general flood in the time of Noah, and that the Robinhoodians were ſome party of thoſe people, who are ſaid, after the diſperſion at Babel, to have been ſcattered over the face of the earth.

Thoſe imperfect notions of religion which they appear to have entertained, admirably well agree with this opinion; for it is very reaſonable to ſuppoſe that ſuch immediate interpoſitions of providence, or, to ſpeak more adequately, ſuch denunciations of divine vengeance, as were exemplified in the deluge, and the diſperſion at Babel, could ſcarce be ſo immediately eradicated as not to leave ſome little impreſſion, ſome ſmall ſparks of religious veneration in the grandchildren and great-grandchildren of thoſe who had been ſpectators of ſuch dreadful ſcenes; as, on the other hand, both ſacred

and

and profane hiſtory aſſures us, that theſe ſparks were very faint, and not ſufficient to kindle any true devotion among them.

Again, as the fragment very plainly appears to have been tranſlated by ſeveral hands, ſo may we very reaſonably infer that it was tranſlated out of as many various languages: Another reaſon to fix the date of this aſſembly ſoon after the abovementioned diſperſion.

Laſtly, the name of Robinhood puts the matter beyond all doubt or queſtion; this word being, as a learned etymologiſt obſerved to me, clearly derived from the Tower of Babel; for the firſt, Robin and Bobin are allowed to be the ſame word; the firſt ſyllable then is Bob, change o into a, which is only a metatheſis of one vowel for another, and you have Bab; then ſupply the termination el inſtead of ing (for both are only terminations) and you have clearly the word Babel.

As for h in hood, it is known to be no letter at all, and therefore an etymologiſt may there place what letter he pleaſes, and why not a t as well as any other. Then change the final d into an r, and you have toor, which hath a better pretence, than the known word, tor, to ſignify tower.—Thus, by a few inconſiderable changes, the Robin-hood and Babel-Tower, appear to be one and the ſame word.

Two objections have been made to the great antiquity of this fragment; the firſt is, that Ireland is mentioned in it, which, as Camden and others would make us believe, was not peopled till many ages after the æra I have above mentioned; but theſe learned men are certainly in a miſtake; for I am well aſſured that ſeveral Iriſh beggars, whoſe anceſtors were diſpoſſeſſed in the wars of the laſt century, are after having now in their poſſeſſion the title-deeds of their ſaid eſtates from long before the times of Noah.

The other objection is, that the Dutch are likewiſe mentioned in the fragment, a people, as they are generally ſuppoſed, of a much later riſe in the world than the period of time which I have endeavoured to aſſign to this ſociety.

To this I anſwer, that though that body of people, who threw off the Spaniſh yoke in the time of the Duke of Alva, are extremely modern, yet are the Dutch themſelves of very great antiquity, as hath been well proved by the learned Goropius Becanus from the hiſtory of Herodotus.

That hiſtorian tells us, that one of the Aſſyrian kings being deſirous to diſcover who were the moſt ancient people, confined two children, a boy and a girl, till they were at the age of maturity, without ſuffering either of them to hear one articulate ſound; having determined, I know not for what reaſon, that whatever language could claim their firſt word, the people ſpeaking that language ſhould be deemed the moſt ancient.

The word which was firſt pronounced by one of them was Beker, which in the Phœnician tongue ſignifies bread; the Phœnicians were therefore concluded to have been the firſt planters of mankind.

Under this miſtake the world continued many ages, till at laſt the learned Goropius diſcovered that the word Beker, which in the Phœnician tongue ſignifies bread, did in the Dutch language ſignify a baker, and that before bread was, a baker was. *Ergo, &c.*

And here I cannot help obſerving, that this quotation, as it proves the antiquity of the Dutch, ſo it proves the great antiquity of bakers, to whoſe honour we may likewiſe read in Diodorus, that Iſis the wife of Oſyris was immortalized among the Egyptians, for having taught them the art of baking.

Succeeding ages being unwilling to aſcribe ſo great an honour to a woman, transferred it from

her to her huſband, and called him Bacchus, or, as it is more commonly by modern authors writ, Bakkus, and Bakus, which being literally done into Engliſh by the change of the Latin termination, is Baker.

Indeed, it is very reaſonable to imagine that before the invention of cookery, the bakers were held in the higheſt honours, as the people derived from their art the greateſt dainty of which their ſimple taſte gave them any idea. And the great eſteem, in which cookery is held now, may very well account for the preference given to bakers in thoſe early ages, when theſe were the only cooks.

But if none of theſe reaſons ſhould be thought ſatisfactory, to fix, with any abſolute certainty, the exact æra of this aſſembly, the following concluſions muſt be, I think, allowed by every reader:

Firſt, That ſome religion had a kind of eſtabliſhment amongſt theſe people.

Secondly, That this religion, whatever it was, could not have the leaſt ſway over their morals or practice.

Thirdly, That this ſociety, in which the firſt principles of religion and government were debated was the chief aſſembly, in this country, and Mr. Whitebread, the baker, the greateſt man in it.

And laſtly, I think it can create no manner of ſurpriſe in any one, that ſuch a nation as this hath been long ſince ſwept away from the face of the earth, and the very name of ſuch a people expunged out of the memory of man.

Numb. 10. *Tueſday*, February 4.

At noſtri proavi Plautinos et numeros, et
Laudavere ſales; nimium patienter utrumque,
Ne dicam ſtultè, mirati.

Modernized.

In former times this taſtleſs, ſilly town
Too fondly prais'd Tom D'Urfey and Tom Brown.

THE preſent age ſeems pretty well agreed in an opinion, that the utmoſt ſcope and end of reading is amuſement only; and ſuch, indeed, are now the faſhionable books, that a reader can propoſe no more than mere entertainment, and it is ſometimes very well for him if he finds even this in his ſtudies.

Letters, however, were ſurely intended for a much more noble and profitable purpoſe than this. Writers are not, I preſume, to be conſidered as mere jackpuddings, whoſe buſineſs it is only to excite laughter: this, indeed, may ſometimes be intermixed, and ſerved up, with graver matters, in order to titillate the palate, and to recommend wholeſome food to the mind; and, for this purpoſe, it hath been uſed by many excellent authors: "for "why (as Horace ſays) ſhould not any one pro-"mulgate truth with a ſmile on his countenance? "Ridicule, indeed, as he again intimates, is com-"monly a ſtronger and better method of attack-"ing vice, than the ſeverer kind of ſatire."

When wit and humour are introduced for ſuch good purpoſes, when the agreeable is blended with the uſeful, then is the writer ſaid to have ſucceeded in every point. Pleaſantry, (as the ingenious author of Clariſſa ſays of a ſtory) ſhould be made

only the vehicle of inſtruction; and thus romances themſelves, as well as Epic Poems, may become worthy the peruſal of the greateſt of men; but when no moral, no leſſon, no inſtruction is conveyed to the reader, where the whole deſign of the compoſition is no more than to make us laugh, the writer comes very near to the character of a buffoon; and his admirers, if an old Latin proverb be true, deſerve no great compliments to be paid to their wiſdom.

After what I have here advanced, I cannot fairly, I think, be repreſented as an enemy to laughter, or to all thoſe kinds of writing that are apt to promote it. On the contrary, few men, I believe, do more admire the works of thoſe great maſters who have ſent their ſatire (if I may uſe the expreſſion) laughing into the world. Such are that great Triumvirate, Lucian, Cervantes, and Swift. Theſe authors I ſhall ever hold in the higheſt degree of eſteem; not indeed for that wit and humour alone which they all ſo eminently poſſeſt, but becauſe they all endeavoured, with the utmoſt force of their wit and humour, to expoſe and extirpate thoſe follies and vices which chiefly prevailed in their ſeveral countries.

I would not be thought to confine wit and humour to theſe writers. Shakeſpeare, Moliere, and ſome other authors, have been bleſſed with the ſame talents, and have employed them to the ſame purpoſes. There are ſome, however, who, though not void of theſe talents, have made ſo wretched a uſe of them, that, had the conſecration of their labours been committed to the hands of the hangman, no good man would have regretted their loſs; nor am I afraid to mention Rabelais, and Ariſtophanes himſelf in this number. For, if I may ſpeak my opinion freely of theſe two laſt writers, and of their works, their deſign appears to me very plainly to have been to ridicule all ſobriety, modeſty, decen-

cy, virtue and religion, out of the world. Now, whoever reads over the five great writers firſt mentioned in this paragraph, muſt either have a very bad head, or a very bad heart, if he doth not become both a wiſer and a better man.

In the exerciſe of the mind, as well as in the exerciſe of the body, diverſion is a ſecondary conſideration, and deſigned only to make that agreeable, which is at the ſame time uſeful, to ſuch noble purpoſes as health and wiſdom. But what ſhould we ſay to a man who mounted his chamber hobby, or fought with his own ſhadow for his amuſement only? how much more abſurd and weak would he appear, who ſwallowed poiſon becauſe it was ſweet?

How differently did Horace think of ſtudy from our modern readers?

Quid verum atque decens curo et rogo, et omnis in hoc ſum:
Condo et compono, quæ mox depromere poſſim.

"Truth and decency are my whole care and enquiry. In this ſtudy I am entirely occupied; theſe I am always laying up, and ſo diſpoſing, that I can at any time draw forth my ſtores for my immediate uſe." The whole epiſtle indeed, from which I have paraphraſed this paſſage, is a comment upon it, and affords many uſeful leſſons of philoſophy.

When we are employed in reading a great and good author, we ought to conſider ourſelves as ſearching after treaſures, which, if well and regularly laid up in the mind, will be of uſe to us on ſundry occaſions in our lives. If a man, for inſtance, ſhould be overloaded with proſperity or adverſity, (both of which caſes are liable to happen to us) who is there ſo very wiſe, or ſo very fooliſh, that, if he was a maſter of Seneca and Plutarch,

could not find great matter of comfort and utility from their doctrines? I mention theſe rather than Plato and Ariſtotle, as the works of the latter are not, I think, yet completely made Engliſh; and, conſequently, are leſs within the reach of moſt of my countrymen.

But, perhaps, it may be aſked, will Seneca or Plutarch make us laugh? perhaps not; but if you are not a fool, my worthy friend, which I can hardly with civility ſuſpect, they will both, (the latter eſpecially) pleaſe you more than if they did. For my own part, I declare, I have not read even Lucian himſelf with more delight than I have Plutarch; but ſurely it is aſtoniſhing, that ſuch ſcriblers as Tom Brown, Tom D'Urfey, and the wits of our age ſhould find readers, whilſt the writings of ſo excellent, ſo entertaining, and ſo voluminous an author as Plutarch remain in the world, and, as I apprehend, are very little known.

The truth I am afraid is, that real taſte is a quality with which human nature is very ſlenderly gifted. It is indeed ſo very rare, and ſo little known, that ſcarce two authors have agreed in their notions of it; and thoſe who have endeavoured to explain it to others, ſeem to have ſucceeded only in ſhewing us that they knew it not themſelves. If I might be allowed to give my own ſentiments, I ſhould derive it from a nice harmony between the imagination and the judgment; and hence perhaps it is, that ſo few have ever poſſeſſed this talent in any eminent degree. Neither of theſe will alone beſtow it; nothing is indeed more common than to ſee men of very bright imaginations, and of very accurate learning (which can hardly be acquired without judgment) who are entirely devoid of taſte; and Longinus, who of all men ſeems moſt exquiſitely to have poſſeſſed it, will puzzle his reader very much if he ſhould

ſhould attempt to decide, whether imagination or judgment ſhine the brighter in that inimitable critic.

But as for the bulk of mankind, they are clearly void of any degree of taſte. It is a quality in which they advance very little beyond a ſtate of infancy. The firſt thing a child is fond of in a book, is a picture; the ſecond is a ſtory; and the third a jeſt. Here then is the true Pons Aſinorum, which very few readers ever get over.

From what I have ſaid, it may perhaps be thought to appear, that true taſte is the real gift of nature only; and if ſo, ſome may aſk, to what purpoſe have I endeavoured to ſhow men that they are without a bleſſing, which it is impoſſible for them to attain?

Now, though it is certain that to the higheſt conſummation of taſte, as well as of every other excellence, nature muſt lend much aſſiſtance; yet great is the power of art almoſt of itſelf, or at beſt with only ſlender aids from nature; and to ſay the truth, there are very few who have not in their minds ſome ſmall ſeeds of taſte. "All men (ſays "Cicero) have a ſort of tacit ſenſe of what is right "or wrong in arts and ſciences, even without the "help of arts." This ſurely it is in the power of art very greatly to improve. That moſt men therefore proceed no farther than as I have above declared, is owing either to the want of any, or (which is perhaps yet worſe) to an improper education.

I ſhall, probably, therefore, in a future paper, endeavour to lay down ſome rules by which all men may acquire, at leaſt, ſome degree of taſte. In the mean while, I ſhall, (according to the method obſerved in inoculation) recommended to my readers, as a preparative for their receiving my inſtructions, a total abſtinence from all bad books. I do therefore moſt earneſtly intreat all my young readers, that they would cautiouſly avoid the per-

uſal of any modern book till it hath firſt had the ſanction of ſome wiſe and learned man; and the ſame caution I propoſe to all fathers, mothers, and guardians.

" Evil conmunications corrupt good manners," is a quotation of St. Paul from Menander. *Evil books corrupt at once both our manners and our taſte.*

Numb. 17. *Saturday*, February 29.

Credite, Poſteri. HOR.

Let poſterity take my word for it.

IT is a common expreſſion with hiſtorians " That ſuch and ſuch facts will hardly be be-" lieved by poſterity;" and yet theſe facts are delivered by them as undoubted truths, and very often affirmed upon their own knowledge.

But, what is much more aſtoniſhing, many of thoſe very inſtances, which are repreſented as difficult articles of truth by future ages, did moſt probably paſs as common occurrences at the time when they happened, and might ſeem ſcarce worthy of any notice to the generality of people who were eye-witneſſes to the tranſactions.

The cardinal de Retz, after relating the almoſt incredible diſtreſs of the then queen of England, who was likewiſe the daughter of France, and had not credit at Paris for a faggot to warm herſelf in the month of January, proceeds thus: " Nous " avons horreur, en liſant les hiſtoires de lachetez " moins monſtreuſes que celle-la; & le peu de ſen-" timent que je trouvais dans la plupart des eſprits " ſur ce fait m'a obligé de faire, je crois, plus de " mille fois cette reflexion: que les exemples du

" paſsé

« paſſé touchent ſans comparaiſon plus les hom-
« mes que ceux de leurs ſiecles. Nous nous ac-
« coutumons à tout ce que nous voions; & je
« vous ai dit quelquefois, que je ne ſais ſi le con-
« ſulat du cheval de Caligula nous auroit autant
« ſurprit que nous nous l'imaginons." ' We are
' ſhocked, in reading hiſtory, at many leſs ſcanda-
' lous inſtances than this; and the little impreſſion
' which I obſerved this made in the generality of
' mens minds at that time, hath cauſed this re-
' flection to recur to me a thouſand times. That
' the examples of former ages do beyond all com-
' pariſon more ſenſibly affect us, than thoſe of our
' own times. Cuſtom blinds us with a kind of
' glare to thoſe objects before our eyes, and I have
' often doubted whether we ſhould have been as
' much ſurpriſed at Caligula, when he made his
' horſe a conſul, as we are apt to imagine we ſhould
' have been.'

I can with truth declare, that I have a thouſand times reflected on the judicious diſcernment of this uncommon obſervation; the juſtice and excellence of which I will endeavour to illuſtrate to my reader, by taking once more a ſurvey of that opinion, which poſterity may be reaſonably ſuppoſed to entertain of the preſent times; and as I have formerly ſhewn that they will probably in ſome inſtances believe much more than ourſelves, ſo in others, it is altogether as probable, that they will believe leſs.

Without further preface, then, let us ſuppoſe ſome great and profound critic, in the fortieth century, undertaking to comment on thoſe hiſtorical materials relating to this kingdom, with which that age may poſſibly furniſh him; and in what manner may we conceive him more likely to write than in the following?

Abſtract

Abſtract from Humphrey Newmixon's obſervations on the hiſtory of Great-Britain.

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Deſunt multa.

THOUGH it is impoſſible to deliver any thing with great certainty of thoſe fabulous ages, which a little preceded the time, when univerſal ignorance began to overſpread the face of the earth; and more eſpecially prevailed in this iſland, till the reſtoration of learning, which firſt began in the thirty-ſixth century; ſome few monuments of antiquity have however triumphed over the rage of Barbariſm, which may ſerve us to confute the horrid forgeries of that Legendary, Geoffry Bechard, who wrote about the year 3000.

This Geoffry writing of the year 1751, hath the following words: 'The Inglis hat ſet temps ware 'ſoe dicted to gamein, ſo that ſeverl off the grate 'menn yous'd to mak yt thee ſoal biſens off thayr 'lifs; hand knot unli thee meſſirs, butt alſo theyre 'ems yous'd to ſpind a hole dais, hand knits hatt 'thayr cartes. Les ems auſſi bien aſs meſſirs 'cheept thayre l'aſſemble forr thatt propos, hat 'whitch les fems hat perdus mundoy quelle thayres 'meſſirs rop koontri for get.'

So far this biſhop, who was reputed to be one of the moſt learned men of his age, *quia legire & ſcribire potebat*, ſays a cotemporary author; but thoſe who contend the moſt for his learning, will be able, I am afraid, to ſay but little for his honeſty; ſince all muſt allow that he was either deceived himſelf, or hath endeavoured to deceive his readers; for I have now by me a record of undoubted antiquity, by which it appears, that all kinds of gaming were, within a very few years before this period,

period, of which this Geoffry writes, abſolutely prohibited under the ſevereſt penalties. This law might indeed be infringed by ſome of the loweſt of the people; and there is ſome reaſon to think it was ſo; for in a ſpeech of George the Good, delivered from the throne in that very year 1751, a ſevere execution of the laws in this reſpect is recommended to the magiſtrate.

But that the great men, as the biſhop ſays, ſhould fly thus in the face, not only of thoſe laws which they themſelves made, but of their ſovereign too, is too incredible to be impoſed even on children.

Again, here is a reflection not only on the great men, but on the great ladies of thoſe times, who are repreſented in a light, which I ſhall not affront the preſent virtuous and prudent matrons, their great granddaughters in the ſeventieth deſcent, by mentioning. But how inconſiſtent is this character with what we find in the writings of Sir Alexander Drawcanſir, the only annaliſt of whoſe works any part hath deſcended to us, who, in one of his annals or journals, acquaints us, that there was not a ſingle lady in his time married, who was not poſſeſſed of every qualification to make the marriage ſtate happy?

The ſame authority is ſufficient to contradict the abſurd account which this Geoffry gives in another place of the ladies of thoſe days; where he ſays that women of the firſt quality uſed to make nightly riots in their own houſes. One paſſage is ſo ridiculous, that I cannot omit it. The ladies of St. James's pariſh, ſays he, uſed to treat their company with Drums; and this was thought one of their moſt elegant entertainments; ſome copies, I know, read Drams, but the former is the true reading, nor would the latter much cure the abſurdity.

A learned critic indeed of my acquaintance ſuſpects, that the above paſſage is corrupt, and propoſes, inſtead of St. James's, to read St. Giles's, and

and inſtead of Drum, to read Dram; and then he ſays the above account will agree with a record of that age, by which it appears, that the women of St. Giles's pariſh were notoriouſly addicted to dram-drinking at that time. And as for the word Lady, he urges, that it did not then, as it doth now, ſignify a woman of great rank and diſtinction, but was applied promiſcuouſly to the whole female ſex; to ſupport which he produces a paſſage from Sir Alexander Drawcanſir, where the wife of a low mechanic is called a lady of great merit.

Another legend recorded by our Geoffry, is ſufficient of itſelf to deſtroy his credit. He tells us, that a *herd of bucks* uſed to frequent all the public places; nay, he ſays, that two or three ſuch animals would ſometimes venture among ſeveral thouſands of gentlemen and ladies, and put them all into confuſion and diſorder. This is a very ſcandalous reflection on the gentlemen of thoſe days; but it is at the ſame time ſo incredible, that it needs no refutation.

The truth I believe is, that the biſhop was a weak and credulous man, and very eaſily impoſed upon; eſpecially in thoſe matters with which his function prevented him from being well acquainted. What he writes of their theatrical entertainments is beyond all meaſure ridiculous. De vurſt a nite of le play, (ſays he) d'author was a put a de ſtake ſur on de theatre ſtage, dare des criticats dey palt at him, hyeſs him, catadecall him; off, off him, vor too dree heures. Dis be dam playe. Des criticats be de a perentice, klarque, boo, buccuk and gamambler.

Now I will refer it to any one whether the hiſtorian can be conceived here to write of a civilized people, and ſuch the Britons are allowed on all hands to have been at that time.

Monſieur de Belle Lettre in his Melange Critique, which he publiſhed in the year 3892, treats the

the whole hiſtory of this Geoffry as a romance; and, indeed, what is recorded in it concerning dogs, ſeems ſufficiently to favour this opinion. At this time, ſays Bechard, the chief learning among thoſe people, was among the dogs. Learned was then a common epithet to ſeveral of the canine ſpeeches, and a great diſpute was for a long time carried on between a French and Engliſh individual of this ſpecies. We know not in whoſe favour it was determined; but it is agreed on all hands, that the queſtion was, which was the moſt learned of the two. The hiſtorian adds, that ſeveral of the moſt eminent writers were of the canine kind; and were univerſally called ſad dogs.*

The biſhop concludes his hiſtory with theſe words: Monſtr. incred ten touſand pip. ſiffi nit. up got zee ooſtryche tap tonnobus, is pregados. dat zocurn hypor hoperad abun, idelonycus quinto pur zin inmus fi fadon addili.

Which is ſo ridiculous a ſuppoſition, that I ſhall leave it with the reader without any remark.

Numb. 21. *Saturday*, March 14.

Eſt miſerorum, ut malevolentes ſint atque invideant bonis. PLAUTUS.

It is a miſerable ſtate to be malevolent and to envy good men.

I SHALL publiſh the following letter with the ſame deſign, that the Spartans expoſed drunken men to the view of their children. Examples may perhaps have more advantage over precepts, in

* "Sad is ſynonymous with grave, wiſe. The judges were "formerly called ſad men of the law."

teach-

teaching us to avoid what is odious, than in impelling us to purſue what is amiable. If the reader will peruſe it with attention, he will, I conceive, diſcover in it a very uſeful moral; of which I ſhall give no further hint, than by deſiring the reader not to be offended at the contradictions that occur in it.

MR. CENSOR,

WHEN I firſt read the name of Axylus to a letter in your paper, though I eaſily perceived the writer to be a ſilly fellow, I little gueſt who was the individual perſon; but in his ſecond performance he hath been pleaſed to acquaint me who he is.

This fellow, Sir, you are to know, I have employed every means in my power to perſecute, ever ſince I was acquainted with him; not becauſe he is a fool (for I have no fixed quarrel with ſo numerous a body) but becauſe he is in reality a good man.

You will perhaps think this a very ſtrange confeſſion; and ſo it would be, if there was any poſſibility of your gueſſing from whom it came; but I have the ſatisfaction to be aſſured, that though I am actually known both to you and to your friend Axylus, I ſhall be the laſt perſon in the world to whom either of you will impute the character I ſhall here lay open. I well know that I paſs upon you both, and a thouſand other ſuch wiſe people, for one of the beſt and worthieſt men alive; for, as a late orator at the Robinhood ſaid, "he had "the honour to be an atheiſt;" ſo I, Sir, have the honour to be a moſt profound hypocrite. By which means I have univerſally obtained a good character, and perhaps a much better than what the ſilly Axylus hath acquired by really deſerving it; for, as Plato remarks in the ſecond book of his republic, the

the juſt man and the unjuſt man are often reciprocally miſtaken by mankind, and do frequently paſs in the world the one for the other. The reaſon of which, as I take it, and as he in Plato indeed intimates, is, that the former are for the moſt part fools, and the latter are men of ſenſe.

If I could ſo far prevail, however, as to deprive this Axylus of all the praiſe which he receives from his actions, and to ſhew him in an opprobrious light to the world, I might perhaps be contented, and wiſh him ill no longer. And yet I am not poſitive that this would be the caſe; for what amends can it make to a man who ſees his miſtreſs in his rival's arms, that the world in general are perſuaded that he himſelf alone enjoys her; or could all the flattery of his courtiers, and all the Te Deums of of his prieſts, ſatisfy Lewis the Fourteenth, and prevent his envying the Duke of Marlborough. I am well apprized that the reputation of goodneſs is all which I aim at, and is all which a wiſe man would deſire, notwithſtanding which, I am convinced that praiſe ſounds moſt harmonious to that ear where it finds an echo from within; nay, who knows the ſecret comforts which a good heart may dictate from within, even when all without are ſilent! I perceive ſymptoms of ſuch inward ſatisfaction in Axylus, and for that reaſon I envy and hate him from the bottom of my ſoul.

You will perhaps ſay, why then do you not imitate him? Your ſervant, Sir; ſhall I imitate a fool becauſe I ſee him happy in his folly? for folly I am convinced it is to intereſt yourſelf in the happineſs, or in the concerns of others. Horace, who was a ſenſible writer, and knew the world, adviſes every man to roll himſelf up in himſelf, as a poliſhed bowl, which admits of no rubs from without; and the old Greek, like a wiſe rogue, exclaims; "When I am dead, let the earth be con-

"ſumed

" ſumed by fire. It is no concern of mine; all " my affairs are well ſettled."

Here again it may be objected, why do you envy one whom you condemn as a fool? To this, I own it is not eaſy to give an anſwer. In fact, nature hath moulded up with the wiſeſt clay of man ſome very ſimple ingredients. Hence we covet thoſe commendations which we know are ſeldom beſtowed without a ſneer, and which are annexed to characters that we deſpiſe. The truth I am afraid is, that I would willingly be this very man. That I have ſometimes ſuch a fear, I confeſs to you, as I think it impoſſible you ſhould ever gueſs from whence the confeſſion comes; for I would not for ten thouſand pounds, that any man ſhould know, I had ever ſuch a wiſh; nay, I would not for an equal ſum know myſelf that I had it.

And from this fear, this ſuſpicion (for I once more aſſure you, and myſelf, that it is no more than a ſuſpicion) I heartily deteſt this Axylus. For this reaſon, I have hitherto purſued him with the moſt inveterate hatred; have induſtriouſly taken every occaſion to plague him, and have let ſlip no opportunity of ruining his reputation.

I am aware I may have let drop ſomething which may lead you into an opinion, that I really eſteem this character, which I would endeavour to perſuade you I deſpiſe; but, before I finiſh this letter, I flatter myſelf I ſhall place this fellow in ſo contemptible a light, that I ſhall have no reaſon to apprehend your drawing any ſuch concluſion.

Firſt, Notwithſtanding all the ſecret comforts which Axylus pretends to receive from the energies of benevolence, as he calls them, I cannot perſuade myſelf, that there is really any pleaſure in a good action. I muſt own to you, I do not ſpeak this abſolutely on my own knowledge, for I do not remember to have done one truly good, benevolent action in my whole life. Indeed, I ſhould heartily

heartily deſpiſe myſelf, if I had any ſuch recollection.

And if there be no pleaſure in goodneſs, I am ſure there is no profit in it. This, Axylus himſelf will, I doubt not, be ready to confeſs. No man hath ever made or improved, though many have injured, and ſome have deſtroyed their fortunes this way.

In the laſt place, as to the motives which ariſe from our vanity, and which, as that very wiſe writer, Dr. Mandevil, obſerves, are much the ſtrongeſt ſupports of what is generally called benevolence, I think to make the folly of doing good from ſuch motives very plainly appear. I am far from being an enemy to praiſe, or from expreſſing that contempt for a good character, which ſome have affected. But, ſurely, it becomes a man to purchaſe every thing as cheap as he can; now, why ſhould he be at the pains and expence of being good in reality, when he may ſo certainly obtain all the applauſe he aims at, merely by pretending to be ſo.

An inſtance of this I give you in myſelf, who, without having ever done a ſingle good action, have univerſally a good character; and this I have acquired, by only taking upon me the trouble of ſupporting one conſtant ſeries of hypocriſy all my days.

Axylus, on the contrary, for want of undergoing this trouble, hath miſſed the praiſes he deſerves. While he careleſsly doth a hundred good actions, without being at the pains of diſplaying them, they are all overlooked by the world; nay, often by my means (for I am always watchful on ſuch occaſions) his moſt diſintereſted benevolence is ſeen in a diſadvantageous light; and his goodneſs, inſtead of being commended, turns to his diſhonour.

An example of this I ſaw the other day, when you publiſhed his laſt letter, where all that is ſaid of an unhappy woman, drawn in to be guilty of the higheſt degree of wickedneſs, by the moſt wicked

and profligate of men, I am convinced flowed immediately from that compaſſion which is the conſtant energy of theſe good hearts. Now, Sir, even this I turned againſt him. I repreſented it as a barbarous attempt, to revile the character of a man before he had undergone his trial; and, can you believe it? ſuch is the nature of man. I found ſome perſons who could not, or would not, ſee the difference between concluding a perſon guilty, who is in cuſtody, and who is to undergo a legal diſquiſition into his crimes, and concluding one to be guilty of a fact, for which he hath fled from juſtice, and who, even by the evidence given on oath in the ſolemn trial of another, appears to all the world to be guilty.

But perhaps it may be ſaid, though the world in general do not commend your actions, ſtill you are repaid for them ſufficiently, by having the eſteem, the love, the gratitude, of thoſe to whom they are done. To this purpoſe, I will tell you a ſhort ſtory. The fact is true, and happened to Mr. Axylus himſelf.

That ſilly, good man had done many great ſervices to a private family. Indeed, the very bread they eat, was for a long time owing to his fooliſh generoſity, and, at length, by his advice and aſſiſtance, this family was brought from a ſtate of poverty and diſtreſs, to what might be called affluence in their condition. I was acquainted with the whole ſcene, and often preſent at it, and, indeed, it was one of the pleaſanteſt I ever ſaw; for while the good man was rejoicing in his own goodneſs, and feeding his fooliſh vanity with fond conceits of the grateful returns which were made to him in the boſoms of the obliged, they, on the other ſide, were continually laughing at his folly amongſt themſelves, and flattering their own ingenuity with their conſtant impoſitions on his good-nature, and aſcribing every thing which they obtained of him,

to their own ſuperior cunning and power of over-reaching him.

When I had enjoyed this ſcene, till I was weary of it, I was reſolved to work myſelf another ſatisfaction out of it, by tormenting the man I hate. I accordingly communicated the ſecret to Axylus, and gave him almoſt demonſtration of the truth of what I told him. He anſwered with a ſmile, He hoped I was miſtaken; but if not, he was anſwerable for the means only, and not for the end; and the very ſame day did a new favour to one of the family.

I will conclude by telling you, that it was I who ſent him the trial of Miſs Blandy to vex him, and I hope you will print this letter, that he may have the plague of gueſſing at me, for I am ſure he will gueſs wrong; and, perhaps, may fix on one of his beſt friends; which will be doing him a very great injury, and will, conſequently, give great pleaſure to,

SIR, your's,

IAGO.

I cannot diſmiſs this letter without obſerving, that if there be really ſuch a perſon as this writer deſcribes himſelf, the poſſeſſion of his own bad mind is a worſe curſe to him, than he himſelf will ever be able to inflict on the happy Axylus.

Numb. 23. *Saturday*, March 21.

Οὐκ ἀγαθὸν πολυκοιρανίη· εἷς κοίρανος ἔστω,
Εἷς Βασιλεύς, ᾧ ἔδωκε Κρόνου παῖς ἀγκυλομήτεω
Σκῆπτρόν τ' ἠδὲ θέμιστας, ἵνα σφίσιν ἐμβασιλεύῃ.

HOMER.

——— *Here is not allow'd,*
That worſt of tyrants, an uſurping crowd.
To one ſole monarch Jove commits the ſway;
His are the laws, and him let all obey. POPE.

THOUGH of the three forms of government acknowledged in the ſchools, all have been very warmly oppoſed, and as warmly defended; yet, in this point, the different advocates will, I believe, very readily agree, that there is not one of the three which is not greatly to be preferred to a total anarchy; a ſtate in which there is no ſubordination, no lawful power, and no ſettled government; but where every man is at liberty to act in whatever manner it pleaſeth him beſt.

As this is, in reality, a moſt deplorable ſtate, I have long lamented, with great anguiſh of heart, that it is at preſent the caſe of a very large body of people in this kingdom. An aſſertion which, as it may ſurprize moſt of my readers, I will make haſte to explain, by declaring, that I mean the fraternity of the quill, that body of men to whom the public aſſign the name of authors.

However abſurd politicians may have been pleaſed to repreſent the *imperium in imperio*, it will here, I doubt not, be found on a ſtrict examination to be extremely neceſſary. The commonwealth of literature being, indeed, totally diſtinct from the greater commonwealth, and no more dependent upon it, than the kingdom of England is on that of France.

Of this our legiſlature ſeems to have been at all times ſenſible, as they have never attempted any proviſion for the regulation or correction of this body. In one inſtance, it is true, there are (I ſhould rather, I believe, ſay there were) ſome laws to reſtrain them; for writers, if I am not miſtaken, have been formerly puniſhed for blaſphemy againſt God, and libels againſt the government; nay, I have been told, that to ſlander the reputation of private perſons, was once thought unlawful here as well as among the Romans, who, as Horace tells us, had a ſevere law for this purpoſe.

In promulging theſe laws (whatever may be the reaſon of ſuffering them to grow obſolete) the ſtate ſeems to have acted very wiſely; as ſuch kind of writings are really of moſt miſchievous conſequence to the public; but alas! there are many abuſes, many horrid evils, daily ſpringing up in the commonwealth of literature, which appear to affect only that commonwealth, at leaſt immediately, of which none of the political legiſlators have ever taken any notice; nor hath any civil court of judicature ever pretended to any cognizance of them. Nonſenſe and dulneſs are no crimes in *foro civili*: No man can be queſtioned for bad verſes in Weſtminſter Hall; and amongſt the many indictments for battery, not one can be produced for breaking poor Priſcian's head, though it is done almoſt every day.

But though immediately, as I have ſaid, theſe evils do not affect the greater commonwealth; yet as they tend to the utter ruin of the leſſer, ſo they have a remote evil conſequence, even on the ſtate itſelf; which ſeems by having left them unprovided for, to have remitted them, for the ſake of convenience, to the government of laws, and to the ſuperintendence of magiſtrates of this leſſer commonwealth; and never to have foreſeen or ſuſpected that dreadful ſtate of anarchy, which at preſent

prevails in this leſſer empire; an empire which hath formerly made ſo great a figure in this kingdom, and that, indeed, almoſt within our own memories.

It may appear ſtrange, that none of our Engliſh hiſtorians have ſpoken clearly and diſtinctly of this leſſer empire; but this may be well accounted for, when we conſider that all theſe hiſtories have been written by two ſorts of perſons; that is to ſay, either politicians or lawyers. Now the former of theſe have had their imaginations ſo entirely filled with the affairs of the greater empire, that it is no wonder the buſineſs of the leſſer ſhould have totally eſcaped their obſervation. And as to the lawyers, they are well known to have been very little acquainted with the commonwealth of literature, and to have always acted and written in defiance to its laws.

From theſe reaſons it is very difficult to fix, with certainty, the exact period when this commonwealth firſt began among us. Indeed, if the originals of all the greater empires upon earth, and even of our own, be wrapped in ſuch obſcurity that they elude the enquiries of the moſt diligent ſifters of antiquity, we cannot be ſurprized that this fate ſhould attend our little empire, oppoſed as it hath been by the pen of the lawyer, overlooked by the eye of the hiſtorian, and never once ſmelt after by the noſe of the antiquarian.

In the earlieſt ages, the literary ſtate ſeems to have been an eccleſiaſtical democracy; for the clergy are then ſaid to have had all the learning among them; and the great reverence paid at that time to it by the laity, appears from hence, that whoever could prove in a court of juſtice that he belonged to this ſtate, by only reading a ſingle verſe in the Teſtament, was veſted with the higheſt privileges, and might do almoſt what he pleaſed;

even

even commit murder with impunity. And this privilege was called the benefit of the clergy.

This commonwealth, however, can ſcarce be ſaid to have been in any flouriſhing ſtate of old time, even among the clergy themſelves; inaſmuch as we are told, that a rector of a pariſh going to law with his pariſhioners, about paving the church, quoted this authority from St. Peter, *Paveant illi, non paveam ego.* Which he conſtrued thus: "They "are to pave the church, and not I." And this by a judge, who was likewiſe an eccleſiaſtic, was allowed to be very good law.

The nobility had clearly no ancient connection with this commonwealth, nor would ſubmit to be bound by any of its laws, witneſs, that proviſion in an old act of parliament; "That a nobleman ſhall "be entitled to the benefit of his clergy (the pri- "vilege above-mentioned) even though he cannot "read." Nay, the whole body of the laity, though they gave ſuch honours to this commonwealth, appear to have been very few of them under its juriſdiction; as appears by a law cited by judge Rolls in his Abridgment, with the reaſon which he gives for it: "The command of the "ſheriff," ſays this writer, "to his officer, by word "of mouth, and without writing, is good; for it "may be, that neither the ſheriff nor his officer "can write or read."

But not to dwell on theſe obſcure times, when ſo very little authentic can be found concerning this commonwealth, let us come at once to the days of Henry the Eighth, when no leſs a revolution happened in the leſſer than in the greater empire; for the literary government became abſolute, together with the political, in the hands of one and the ſame monarch; who was himſelf a writer, and dictated, not only law, but common ſenſe too, to all his people; ſuffering no one to write or ſpeak, but according to his own will and pleaſure.

After this King's demiſe, the literary commonwealth was again ſeparated from the political; for I do not find that his ſucceſſor on the greater throne, ſucceeded him likewiſe in the leſſer. Nor did either of the two Queens, as I can learn, pretend to any authority in this empire, in which the Salique law hath univerſally prevailed; for though there have been ſome conſiderable ſubjects of the female ſex in the literary commonwealth, I never remember to have read of a Queen.

It is not eaſy to ſay with any great exactneſs, what form of government was preſerved in this commonwealth, during the reigns of Edward VI. Queen Mary, and Queen Elizabeth; for though there were ſome great men in thoſe times, none of them ſeemed to have affected the throne of wit: Nay, Shakeſpeare, who flouriſhed in the latter end of the laſt reign, and who ſeemed ſo juſtly qualified to enjoy this crown, never thought of challenging it.

In the reign of James I. the literary government was an ariſtocracy, for I do not chuſe to give it the evil name of oligarchy, though it conſiſted only of four, namely, Maſter William Shakeſpeare, Maſter Benjamin Johnſon, Maſter John Fletcher, and Maſter Francis Beaumont. This quadrumvirate, as they introduced a new form of government, thought proper, according to Machiavel's advice, to introduce new names; they therefore called themſelves *The Wits*, a name which hath been affected ſince by the reigning monarchs in this empire.

The laſt of this quadrumvirate enjoyed the government alone, during his life; after which the troubles that ſhortly after enſued, involved this leſſer commonwealth in all the confuſion and ruin of the greater, nor can any thing be found of it with ſufficient certainty, till the *wits*, in the reign of Charles the Second, after many ſtruggles among them-

themſelves for ſuperiority, at laſt agreed to elect John Dryden to be their king.

This King John had a very long reign, though a very unquiet one; for there were ſeveral pretenders to the throne of wit in his time, who formed very conſiderable parties againſt him, and gave him great uneaſineſs, of which his ſucceſſor hath made mention in the following lines:

Pride, folly, malice, againſt Dryden roſe,
In various ſhapes of parſons, critics, beaus.

Beſides which, his finances were in ſuch diſorder, that it is affirmed, his treaſury was more than once entirely empty.

He died, nevertheleſs, in a good old age, poſſeſſed of the kingdom of wit, and was ſucceeded by King Alexander, ſurnamed Pope.

This prince enjoyed the crown many years, and is thought to have ſtretched the prerogative much farther than his predeceſſor: He is ſaid to have been extremely jealous of the affections of his ſubjects, and to have employed various ſpies, by whom, if he was informed of the leaſt ſuggeſtion againſt his title, he never failed of branding the accuſed perſon with the word *dunce* on his forehead in broad letters; after which the unhappy culprit was obliged to lay by his pen for ever; for no bookſeller would venture to print a word that he wrote.

He did indeed put a total reſtraint on the liberty of the preſs; for no perſon durſt read any thing which was writ without his licence and approbation; and this licence he granted only to four during his reign, namely, to the celebrated Dr. Swift, to the ingenious Dr. Young, to Dr. Arbuthnot, and to one Mr. Gay, four of his principal courtiers and favourites.

But without diving any deeper into his character, we muſt allow that King Alexander had great merit

as

as a writer, and his title to the kingdom of wit was better founded at leaſt than his enemies have pretended.

After the demiſe of King Alexander, the literary ſtate relapſed again into democracy, or rather, indeed, into downright anarchy; of which, as well as of the conſequences, I ſhall treat in a future paper.

Numb. 24. *Tueſday*, March 24.

Nimirum ſapere eſt abjectis utile nugis,
Et tempeſtivum pueris concedere ludum. HOR.

Trifling purſuits true wiſdom caſts away;
And leaves to children all their childiſh play.

THE mind of man is compared by Montaigne to a fertile field, which, though it be left entirely uncultivated, ſtill retains all its genial powers; but inſtead of producing any thing lovely or profitable, ſends forth only weeds and wild herbs of various kinds, which ſerve to no uſe or emolument whatſoever.

The human mind is, indeed, of too active a nature to content itſelf with a ſtate of perfect reſt or ſloth. There are few men ſuch arrant ſtocks or ſtones as to be always ſatisfied with idleneſs, or to come up to that deſcription in Lucretius:

Mortua cui vita eſt prope jam vivo, atque videnti,
Qui ſomno partem majorem conterit ævi,
Et vigilans ſtertit.

St. Paul deſcribes theſe men better, when, writing to the Theſſalonians, he ſays ſome of them are μηδὲν ἐργαζόμενοι, ἀλλὰ περιεργαζόμενοι: "Doing no "work,

" work, but buſying themſelves in impertinence." Or, as the Latin author expreſſes the ſame ſentiment; *Gratis anhelans multa agendo nihil agens:* " Puffing and ſweating to no purpoſe; employed " about many things, and doing nothing."

The original of diverſions is certainly owing to this active temper; for to what purpoſe were they calculated, but, as the very word in our language implies, to caſt off idleneſs? than which, to the generality of mankind, there is not, I believe, a much heavier burthen.

But if we look a little deeper into this matter, we ſhall find, that there is implanted in our nature a great love of buſineſs, and an equal abhorrence of idleneſs. This diſcovers itſelf very early in children; moſt of whom, as I have obſerved, are never better pleaſed, than when they are employed by their elders.

The ſame diſpoſition we may perceive in men; in thoſe particularly to whom fortune hath made buſineſs unneceſſary, and whom nature very plainly appears never to have deſigned for any. And yet, how common is it to ſee theſe men playing at buſineſs, if I may uſe the expreſſion, and pleaſing themſelves all their lives with the imagination that they are not idle?

From this buſy temper may be derived almoſt all the works with which great men have obliged the world. Hence it was that the great artifex, Nero, arrived at ſo great ſkill, as he himſelf tells us he did, in muſic; to which he applied with ſuch unwearied induſtry on the ſtage, that ſeveral perſons counterfeited death, in order to be carried out of the theatre from hearing him; for it would have been very unſafe for the *town* of Rome to damn his performances.

If Domitian had not been of a buſy, as well as a cruel temper, he would never have employed ſo many hours in the ingenious employment of fly-

ſpitting,

ſpitting, which he is ſuppoſed to have brought to the higheſt degree of perfection, of which the art is capable. Hence it is ſo many induſtrious critics have ſpent their lives in all ſuch reading as was never read, at Mr. Pope hath it; witneſs the laborious, and all read Dr. Zachary Grey, who, to compile thoſe wonderful notes to his Hudibras, muſt have ranſacked not only all the ſtalls, but all the trunks and bandboxes in the world.

Didymus, the grammarian, was another labourer of this kind. Seneca tells us, 'That he writ four 'thouſand books; in ſome of which he enquires 'into the country of Homer; in others, who was 'the true mother of Æneas; whether Anacreon 'loved wenching or drinking moſt; whether Sap-'pho was a common proſtitute;' with other ſuch learning, with which, if you had already ſtuffed your head, your ſtudy ought to be how to get it out again.

Tiberius, wiſe as he was in policy, had a great inclination to this kind of knowledge. 'He pur-'ſued it,' ſays Suetonius, 'uſque ad ineptias & 'deriſum, &c. to a degree of folly and ridicule; for 'he uſed to aſk the grammarians, of whoſe com-'pany he was very fond, ſuch kind of queſtions 'as theſe: Who was the mother of Hecuba? 'By what name Achilles paſt among the daughters 'of Lycomedes? What ſongs the Syrens uſed to 'ſing? &c.'

Cardinal Chigi, who was afterwards Pope Alexander the Seventh, was a genius of this kind. He proclaimed a public prize for that learned man who could find a Latin word for the word Chaize. He likewiſe ſpent ſeven or eight days in ſearching whether Muſca, a fly, came from Moſco, or Moſco from Muſca. De Retz, from whoſe memoirs I have taken this ſtory, ſays, That he had formerly diſcovered that the cardinal was *Homme de minutiis*; for that the ſaid cardinal, in a diſcourſe on the

the ſtudies of his youth, had told De Retz, that he had writ two years with the ſame pen.

I cannot omit the excellent remark of my author, though not to my preſent purpoſe. 'It is true,' ſays he, 'this is but a trifle; but I have often obſerved, that little things afford us truer ſymptoms of the diſpoſitions of men, than great ones.'

What, but the utmoſt impatience of idleneſs, could prompt men to employ great pains and trouble, and expence too, in making large collections of butterflies, pebbles, and ſuch other wonderful productions; while others, from the ſame impatience, have been no leſs buſy in hunting after monſters of every kind, as if they were at enmity with nature, and deſirous of expoſing all her errors.

The Greeks have a word for this induſtry. They call it Κενοσπεδία; and oftener Πολυπραξμοσύνη. Neither of which words I can tranſlate without a periphraſis. By both is meant a vain curioſity and diligence in trifles.

I make no doubt, but that the ſame induſtry would often make a man of a moderate capacity a very competent maſter of ſome notable ſcience, which hath made him a proficient in ſome contemptible art, or rather knack. The dexterous juggler might have made a complete mechanic. The ſame labour, and, perhaps, the ſame genius, which brings a man to a perfection at the game of cheſs, would make a great proficiency in the mathematics. Many a beau might have been a ſcholar, if he had conſulted books with the ſame attention with which he hath conſulted a looking-glaſs; and many a fox-hunter might, to his great honour, have purſued the enemies of his country with leſs labour and with leſs danger than he hath encountered in the purſuit of foxes.

I am almoſt inclined to think, that if a complete hiſtory could be compiled of the eminent works of the Κενόσπεδοι, the triflers, it would manifeſtly appear,

pear, that more labour and pains, more time (I had almoſt ſaid, more genius) have been employed in the ſervice of folly, than have been employed by the greateſt men in inventing and perfecting the moſt erudite and conſummate works of art or wiſdom.

I will conclude this paper with a paſſage from the excellent and truly learned Doctor Barrow, which gives a very ſerious, but very juſt turn to this ſubject.

'*Aliud agere*, to be impertinently buſy, doing 'that which conduceth to no good purpoſe, is in 'ſome reſpect worſe than to do nothing, or to for-'bear all action; for it is a poſitive abuſe of our 'faculties, and trifling with God's gifts; it is 'throwing away labour and care, things valuable 'in themſelves; it is often a running out of the 'way, which is worſe than ſtanding ſtill; it is a 'debaſing our reaſon, and declining from our man-'hood; nothing being more fooliſh or childiſh, 'than to be ſolicitous and ſerious about trifles; 'for who are more buſy and active than children? 'Who are fuller of thoughts and deſigns, or more 'eager in proſecution of them than they? But 'all is about ridiculous toys, the ſhadows of buſi-'neſs, ſuggeſted to them by apiſh curioſity and 'imitation. Of ſuch induſtry we may underſtand 'that of the preacher, "The labour of the fooliſh "wearieth every one of them;" for that a man 'ſoon will be weary of that labour which yieldeth 'no profit or beneficial return.'

Numb. 33. *Saturday*, April 23.

Odi profanum vulgus. HOR.

I hate profane raſcals.

SIR,

IN this very learned and enlightened age, in which authors are almoſt as numerous as bookſellers, I doubt not but your correſpondents furniſh you with a ſufficient quantity of waſte paper. I, perhaps, may add to the heap; for as men do not always know the motive of their own actions, I may poſſibly be induced by the ſame ſort of vanity as other puny authors have been, to deſire to be in print. But I am very well ſatisfied with you for my judge, and if you ſhould not think proper to take any notice of the hint I have here ſent you, I ſhall conclude, that I am an impertinent correſpondent, but that you are a judicious and impartial critic. In my own defence, however, I muſt ſay, that I am never better pleaſed than when I ſee extraordinary abilities employed in the ſupport of His honour and religion, who has ſo bountifully beſtowed them. It is for this reaſon that I wiſh you would take ſome notice of the character, or rather ſtory here ſent you. In my travels weſtward laſt ſummer, I lay at an inn in Somerſetſhire, remarkable for its pleaſant ſituation, and the obliging behaviour of the landlord, who, though a downright ruſtic, had an aukward ſort of politeneſs, ariſing from his good-nature, that was very pleaſing, and, if I may be allowed the expreſſion, was a ſort of good-breeding undreſt. As I intended to make a pretty long journey the next day, I roſe time enough to behold that glorious luminary the ſun ſet out on his

his courſe, which, by the bye, is one of the fineſt ſights the eye can behold; and as it is a thing ſeldom ſeen by people of faſhion, unleſs it be at the theatre at Covent-Garden, I could not help laying ſome ſtreſs upon it here. The kitchen in this inn was a very pleaſant room; I therefore called for ſome tea, ſat me in the window, that I might enjoy the proſpect which the country afforded, and a more beautiful one is not in the power of imagination to frame. This houſe was ſituated on the top of a hill; and for two miles below it meadows, enlivened with variety of cattle, and adorned with a greater variety of flowers, firſt caught my ſight. At the bottom of this vale ran a river, which ſeemed to promiſe coolneſs and refreſhment to the thirſty cattle. The eye was next preſented with fields of corn that made a kind of an aſcent, which was terminated by a wood, at the top of which appeared a verdant hill, ſituate as it were in the clouds, where the ſun was juſt arrived, and peeping o'er the ſummit, which was at this time covered with dew, gilded it over with his rays, and terminated my view in the moſt agreeable manner in the world. In a word, the elegant ſimplicity of every object round me, filled my heart with ſuch gratitude, and furniſhed my mind with ſuch pleaſing meditations, as made me thank Heaven I was born. But this ſtate of joyous tranquillity was not of long duration: I had ſcarce begun my breakfaſt, when my ears was ſaluted with a genteel whiſtle, and the noiſe of a pair of ſlippers deſcending the ſtaircaſe; and ſoon after I beheld a contraſt to my former proſpect, being a very beauiſh gentleman, with a huge laced hat on, as big as Piſtol's in the play; a wig ſomewhat diſhevelled, and a face, which at once gave you a perfect idea of emptineſs, aſſurance, and intemperance. His eyes, which before was ſcarce open, he fixt on me with a ſtare, which teſtified ſurprize, and his coat was immediately thrown open

to

to diſplay a very handſome ſecond-hand gold laced waiſtcoat. In one hand, he had a pair of ſaddle-bags, and in the other a hanger of mighty ſize, both of which, with a graceful G—d d—mn you, he placed upon a chair. Then advancing towards the landlord, who was ſtanding by me, he ſaid, "By "G— landlord, your wine is damnably ſtrong." "I don't know," replied the landlord; "it is general-"ly reckoned pretty good, for I have it all from "London." "Pray, who is your wine-merchant?" ſays the man of importance. "A very great man," ſays the landlord, "in his way; perhaps you may "know him, Sir, his name is Kirby." "Ah! "what honeſt Tom; he and I have cracked many "a bottle of claret together; he is one of the moſt "conſiderable merchants in the city; the dog is "helliſh poor, damnable poor; for I don't ſup-"poſe he is worth a farthing more than a hundred "thouſand pound; only a plumb, that's all; he is "to be our lord-mayor next year." "I aſk pardon, "Sir, that is not the man, for our Mr. Kirby's name "is not Thomas, but Richard." "Ay!" ſays the gentleman, "that's his brother; they are partners "together." "I believe," ſays the landlord, "you "are out, Sir, for that gentleman has no brother." "D—mn your nonſenſe, with you and your outs," ſays the beau, "as if I ſhould not know better than "you country puts; I who have lived in London "all my lifetime." "I aſk a thouſand pardons," ſays the landlord, "I hope no offence, Sir." "No, "no," cries the other, "we gentlemen know how "to make allowance for your country-breeding." Then ſtepping to the kitchen-door, with an audible voice he called the oſtler, and in a very graceful accent, ſaid, "D—mn your blood, you cock-ey'd "ſon of a bitch, bring me my boots; did not you "hear me call?" Then turning to the landlord, ſaid, "Faith! that Mr. What-de-callum, the exciſe-"man, is a damn'd jolly fellow." "Yes, Sir," ſays

the landlord, "he is a merryiſh ſort of a man." "But," ſays the gentleman, "as for that ſchool-"maſter, he is the queereſt bitch I ever ſaw; he "looks as if he could not ſay boh to a gooſe." "I "don't know, Sir," ſays the landlord, "he is reckon-"ed to be a deſperate good ſcollard about us, and "the gentry likes him vaſtly, for he underſtands "the meaſurement of land and timber, knows "how to make dials and ſuch things; and for "cyphering, few can out-do'en." "Ay!" ſays the gentleman, "he does look like a cypher, indeed; "for he did not ſpeak three words all laſt night." The oſtler now produced the boots, which the gentleman taking in his hand, and having placed himſelf in the chair, addreſſed in the following ſpeech: "My good friends, Mr. Boots, I tell "you plainly, that if you plague me ſo damnably "as you did yeſterday morning, by G— I'll com-"mit you to the flames; ſtap my vituals, as my "Lord Huntington ſays in the play:" He then looked full in my face, and aſked the landlord, If he had ever been at Drury-Lane playhouſe? which he anſwered in the negative. "What," ſays he, "did you never hear talk of Mr. Garrick and "King Richard?" "No, Sir," ſays the landlord. "By G—," ſays the gentleman, "he is the clever-"eſt fellow in England;" he then ſpouted a ſpeech out of King Richard, which begins, Give me an horſe, &c. "There," ſays he, "that, that is juſt "like Mr. Garrick." Having pleaſed himſelf vaſtly with this performance, he ſhook the land-lord by the hand with great good-humour, and ſaid, "By G— you ſeem to be an honeſt fellow, "and good blood; if you'll come and ſee me in "London, I'll give you your ſkin-full of wine, "and treat you with a play and a whore every "night you ſtay. I'll ſhow you how it is to live, "my boy. But here, bring me ſome paper, my "girl; come, let's have one of your love-letters to

"air

" air my boots." Upon which, the landlord pre-ſented him with a piece of an old news-paper, " D—n you," ſays the gent. " this is not half enough, " have you never a Bible or Common-prayer-book " in the houſe? Half a dozen chapters of Geneſis, " with a few prayers, make an excellent fire in a " pair of boots." " Oh! Lord forgive you," ſays the landlord, " ſure you would not burn ſuch books " as thoſe." " No!" cries the ſpark, " where was " you born? go into a ſhop of London, and buy " ſome butter, or a quartern of tea, and then " you'll ſee what uſe is made of theſe books." " Ay!" ſays the landlord, " we have a ſaying here in " our country, that 'tis as ſure as the devil is in " London, and if he was not there, they could not " be ſo wicked as they be." Here a country-fel-low who had been ſtanding up in one corner of the kitchen, eating of cold bacon and beans, and who, I obſerved, trembled at every oath this ſpark ſwore, took his diſh and pot, and marched out of the kitchen, fearing, as I afterwards learnt, that the houſe would fall down about his ears, for he was ſure, he ſaid, " That man in the gold-laced-hat " was the devil." The young ſpark, having now diſplayed all his wit and humour, and exerted his talents to the utmoſt, thought he had ſufficiently recommended himſelf to my favour, and convinced me he was a gentleman. He therefore with an air addreſſed himſelf to me, and aſked me, which way I was travelling? To which I gave him no anſwer. He then exalted his voice; but at my continuing ſilent, he aſked the landlord if I was deaf? Upon which, the landlord told him, he did not believe the gentleman was dunch, for that he talked very well juſt now. The man of wit whiſpered in the land-lord's ear, and ſaid, I ſuppoſe he is either a parſon or a fool. He then drank a dram, obſerving that a man ſhould not cool too faſt; paid ſixpence more than his reckoning, called for his horſe, gave the

oſtler a ſhilling, and galloped out of the inn, thoroughly ſatisfied that we all agreed with him in thinking him a clever fellow, and a man of great importance. The landlord ſmiling, took up his money, and ſaid he was a comical gentleman, but that it was a thouſand pities he ſwore ſo much; if it was not for that, he was a very good cuſtomer, and as generous as a prince, for that the night before, he had treated every body in the houſe. I then aſked him, if he knew that comical gentleman as he called him? No, really, Sir, ſaid the landlord, though a gentleman was ſaying laſt night, that he was a ſort of rider, or rideout, to a linen-draper at London. This, Mr. Cenſor, I have ſince found to be true; for having occaſion to buy ſome cloth, I went laſt week into a linen-draper's ſhop, in which I found a young fellow, whoſe decent behaviour, and plain dreſs, ſhewed he was a tradeſman. Upon looking full in his face, I thought I had ſeen it before, nor was it long before I recollected where it was, and that this was the ſame beau I had met with in Somerſetſhire. The difference in the ſame man in London, where he was known, and in the country where he was a ſtranger, was beyond expreſſion; and was it not impertinent to make obſervations to you, I could inlarge upon this ſort of behaviour; for I am firmly of opinion, that there is neither ſpirit nor good ſenſe in oaths, nor any wit or humour in blaſphemy. But as vulgar errors require an abler pen than mine to correct them, I ſhall leave that taſk to you, and am, Sir,

Your humble ſervant,

R. S.

Numb. 34. *Tueſday, April* 28.

Natio comœda eſt. JUVENAL.

We are a nation of players.

IT is the advice of Solomon, to train up a child in the way he ſhall go; and this, in the opinion of Quintilian, can never be undertaken too early. He, indeed, begins his inſtitution even with the very nurſe.

The wiſe man here, very plainly ſuppoſes a previous determination in the parent in what way he intends his child ſhall go; for without having fixed this with certainty, it will be impoſſible for any man to fulfil the precept.

Now all the ways of life, in which, in this country, men walk themſelves, and in which they ſo manifeſtly intend to train their children, ſeem to me, to be reducible to two; viz. the way of ſpending an eſtate, and the way of getting one. Theſe may, indeed, in this ſenſe, be called the two great high roads in this kingdom.

As to the former, it is much the leſs beaten and frequented track, as it requires a certain viaticum obvious to the reader, which is not in the poſſeſſion of every one; in this way, therefore, the eldeſt ſons of great families, and heirs of great eſtates, can only be trained. The methods of training here, are no more than twofold, both very eaſy and appoſite; it is therefore no wonder that they are both purſued with very little deviation by almoſt every parent. The one, which is univerſally practiſed in the country, contains very few rules, and theſe extremely ſimple; ſuch as drinking, racing, cock-fighting, hunting, with other rural exerciſes. The other, which is proper to the town, and indeed, to

the higher people, is ſomewhat more complex. This includes dancing, fencing, whoring, gaming, travelling, dreſſing, French connoiſſeurſhip, and perhaps two or three other leſs material articles.

But the great and difficult point is that of training youth in the other great road, namely, in the way to get an eſtate. Here, as in our journey over vaſt and wide plains, the many different tracks are apt to beget incertainty and confuſion, and we are often extremely puzzled which of theſe to chuſe for ourſelves, and which to recommend to our children.

The moſt beaten tracks in this road are thoſe of the profeſſions, ſuch as the church, the law, the army, &c. In ſome one of theſe, the younger children of the nobility and gentry have uſually been trained, often with very ill ſucceſs; ariſing ſometimes from a partial opinion of the talents of the child, and more often from flattering ourſelves with hopes of more intereſt with the great, than we have really had.

To all theſe profeſſions many things may be objected, as we ſhall preſently ſee, when we compare them with a path in life, which I am about to recommend to my reader, and which we ſhall find clear from moſt of the objections that may be raiſed againſt any other.

Without further preface, the way of life which I mean to recommend, is that of the ſtage, in which, I ſhall hope for the future, to ſee ſeveral of our young nobility and gentry trained up, and particularly thoſe of the moſt promiſing parts.

In the firſt place then, the ſtage at preſent promiſes a much better proviſion than any of the profeſſions; for though perhaps it is true that there are in the church, the law, the ſtate, the army, &c. ſome few poſts which yield the poſſeſſors greater profit than is to be acquired on the ſtage; yet theſe bear no proportion to the infinite numbers who

who are trained in the ſeveral profeſſions, and who almoſt literally ſtarve. The income of an actor of any rank, is from ſix to twelve hundred a year; whereas, that of two-thirds of the gentlemen of the army is conſiderably under one hundred; the income of nine-tenths of the clergy is leſs than fifty pounds a year; and the profits in the law, to ninety-nine in a hundred, amount not to a ſingle ſhilling.

And as for thoſe few poſts of great emolument, upon which we all caſt our eyes, as the adventurers in a lottery do on the few great prizes, if we impartially examine our own abilities, how few of us ſhall dare to aſpire ſo high? whereas on the ſtage, ſcarce any abilities are required, and we ſee men, whom nobody allows to deſerve the name of actors, enjoying ſalaries of three, four, and five hundred a year.

Again, if we conſider the great pains and time, the headachs, and the heartachs, which lead up to the top of either the army or the law;

Qui ſtudet optatam curſu contingere metam,
Multa tulit, fecitque puer:

this conſideration will ſufficiently diſcourage our attempts, eſpecially when, on the other hand, we may on the ſtage leap all at once into eminence; and if we expect no more than four or five hundred pounds for the firſt year of our acting, our demands will be thought modeſt.

And further, in any of the profeſſions, all our abilities will be thrown away, and all our time and labour loſt, unleſs we have other ingredients to recommend us. Unleſs we have ſome powerful friend or relation, or ſome beautiful wife or ſiſter, we ſhall never procure an opportunity of ſhewing the world what we are; whereas to the ſtage no intereſt is neceſſary to introduce you. The publiſhing the name of a gentleman who never acted

before in the play-bills, will fill the houſe as ſurely as if he propoſed to get into a bottle, and no manager is aſhamed of putting you at firſt into any of his principal parts.

And if we view this in the light of ambition, the ſtage will have no leſs advantage over the profeſſions. To perſonate a great character three hours in the twenty-four, is a matter of more conſequence than it is generally eſteemed. The world itſelf is commonly called a ſtage; and in the eye of the greateſt philoſophers, the actions in both appear to be equally real, and of equal conſequence. Where then is the mighty difference between perſonating a great man on the great theatre, or on the leſs? In both caſes we often aſſume that character when it doth not really belong to us, and a very indifferent player acts it ſometimes better than his Right honourable brother, and with ten thouſand times the applauſe.

It was not therefore without reaſon that our worthy Laureat, in the excellent apology for his life, gave thanks to providence that he did not in his youth betake himſelf either to the gown or the ſword. Wiſe, indeed, as well as happy was his choice, as many of his cotemporaries, whoſe ill ſtars led them to the way of thoſe profeſſions, had the queſtion been put to them on their death-bed, muſt have acknowledged. How many of theſe his cotemporaries, who have profeſſed the laws or religion of their country; how many others who have fought its battles, after an obſcure and wretched life of want and miſery, have bequeathed their families to the ſtalls and the ſtreets?

That the reverſe hath been the fate of this gentleman I need not mention, and am pleaſed to think. And yet in the days of his acting, nothing like to the preſent encouragement was given on the ſtage. Mrs. Oldfield herſelf (as I have been informed) had not half the theatrical income of our preſent

preſent principal actreſſes. To what greater height it may riſe I know not; but from the preſent flouriſhing condition of the ſtage, and from the proportionable decline of the learned profeſſions, I think it may be propheſied, that it will be as common hereafter to ſay, that ſuch a particular eſtate was got by the ſtage, as it was formerly to ſee great houſes riſe by the law.

Numb. 35. *Saturday*, May 2.

Ἀπόλοιο πρῶτος αὐτὸς
Ὁ τὸν ἄργυρον φιλήσας.
Διὰ τοῦτον οὐκ ἀδελφοὺς,
Διὰ τοῦτον οὐ τοκῆας·
Πόλεμοι, φόνοι δι' αὐτόν. ANACREON.

[See the tranſlation afterwards.]

TO

Sir ALEXANDER DRAWCANSIR.

Bedlam, April 1, 1752.

SIR,

I Make no queſtion but before you have read half through my letter, you will be ſurpriſed at its being dated as above; and may perhaps agree with the concluſion which I have made long ago, that this place is ſet apart by the Engliſh for the confinement of all thoſe who have more ſenſe than the reſt of their countrymen.

However that be, I ſhall begin by telling you very bluntly, that if you really intend to bring about any reformation in this kingdom, you will certainly

certainly miſs your end, and for this ſimple reaſon, becauſe you are abſolutely miſtaken in the means.

Phyſicians affirm, that before any vicious habits can be repaired in the natural conſtitution, it is neceſſary to know and to remove their cauſe. The ſame holds true in the political. Without this, in both inſtances we may poſſibly patch up and palliate, but never can effectually cure.

Now, Sir, give me leave to ſay, you do not appear to me to have in the leaſt gueſſed at the true ſource of all our political evils, neither do you ſeem to be in any likelihood of ever acquiring even a glimpſe of any ſuch knowledge. It is no wonder therefore, that, inſtead of purſuing the true method of cure, you ſhould more than once, in the courſe of your lucubrations, have thrown out hints which would actually tend to heighten the diſeaſe.

Know then, Sir, that it is I alone who have penetrated to the very bottom of all the evil. With infinite pains and ſtudy I have diſcovered the certain cauſe of all that national corruption, luxury, and immorality, which have polluted our morals; and of conſequence it is I alone who am capable of preſcribing the cure.

But when I lay this ſole claim to ſuch diſcovery, I would be underſtood to have reſpect only to the moderns. To the philoſophers among the ancients, and to ſome of their poets, I am well appriſed that this invaluable ſecret was well known, as I could prove by numberleſs quotations. It occurs, indeed, ſo very often in their works, that I am not a little ſurpriſed how it came to eſcape the obſervation of a gentleman who ſeems to have been ſo converſant with thoſe illuſtrious lamps of real knowledge and learning.

Without further preface then, what is the true fountain of that complication of political diſeaſes which infeſts this nation, but money? Money! which,

which, as the Greek poet ſays in my motto, "May "he periſh that firſt invented; for this it is which "deſtroys the relation of brother and of parent, "and which introduces wars and every kind of "bloodſhed into the world."

If this be granted, as it ſurely muſt, where is the remedy? Is it not to remove the fatal cauſe, by extirpating this poiſonous metal, this Pandora's box out of the nation.

But though the advantages ariſing from this abolition, are, in my opinion, extremely ſelf-evident; yet as they may poſſibly not ſtrike with equal force upon the minds of others, ſince no man hath in my memory given the leaſt obſcure hint of ſuch a project, I ſhall mention ſome few of the greateſt; and to avoid a common place of thoſe authors I have above mentioned, I ſhall confine myſelf to ſuch inſtances as particularly affect this country.

Firſt then, it would effectually put an end to all that corruption which every man almoſt complains of, and of which every man almoſt partakes; for by theſe means thoſe contentions which have begun and continued this corruption, and which always will continue it, will immediately ſubſide. The ſtruggle will be then, not who ſhall ſerve their country in great and difficult poſts and employments; but who ſhall be excuſed from ſerving it: and the people being left to themſelves, will always fix upon the moſt capable, who, by the fundamental laws of our conſtitution, will be compelled to enter into their ſervice. Thus a certain method called election, which is of very ſingular uſe in a nation of freedom, will be again revived; otherwiſe it may poſſibly ſink only to a name.

For though I admit it poſſible, that bare ambition may incite ſome perſons to attempt employments for which they are utterly unfit, yet the very powers of bribery would be thus taken away, or would be rendered ſo public, that it would then be

be eaſily within the power of law to ſuppreſs it; for no man could diſtribute a herd of cattle, or a flock of ſheep in private.

Secondly, this method would effectually put a ſtop to luxury, or would reduce it to that which was the luxury of our anceſtors, and which may more properly be called hoſpitality.

Thirdly, it would be of the higheſt advantage to trade, for it would prevent our dealing any longer with thoſe bloodſucking nations, who take not our own commodities in barter for theirs. This kind of traffic, I might perhaps be expected to ſpeak more favourably of, as it ſo plainly tends to remove the evil of which I complain, and in proceſs of time would poſſibly effect that excellent purpoſe. But I muſt obſerve, that, however advantageous the end may be, the means are not ſo adviſable; nay, if we ſuffer any money to remain among us, I think there may be good reaſons ſhewed, why we ſhould retain as much as we can. It is often, indeed, miſchievous to do that by halves, which it would be highly uſeful to do effectually; for this muſt certainly be allowed, that while money is permitted to be the repreſentative of all things, as it is at preſent, none but a nation of idiots would conſtantly put it into the hands of their enemies.

Fourthly, it would reſtore certain excellent things, ſuch as piety, virtue, honour, goodneſs, learning, &c. all which are totally aboliſhed by money, or ſo counterfeited by it, that no one can tell the true from the falſe; the word rich, indeed, is at preſent conſidered to ſignify them all; but of this enough may be found in the old philoſophers and poets, whom I have before mentioned.

Again, how deſirous would the lawyers be to put a ſpeedy end to a ſuit, or the phyſical people to a diſeaſe, if once my ſcheme ſhould take place? It may be ſaid, indeed, that they would then carry away men's goods and chattles, as they do now

from thoſe who have no money; but I anſwer, that this is done in order to convert them into money; for otherwiſe, they would hardly admit the ragged and louſy bed of a poor wretch into their houſes.

For the ſame reaſon my ſcheme would effectually put an end to all robberies; a matter which ſeems ſo much to puzzle the legiſlature; for though our goods are ſometimes ſtolen as well as our money, yet the former are only taken in order to convert them into the latter. It is not the uſe, but the value of a watch, ſnuff-box or ring, that is conſidered by the robber, who always thinks with Hudibras,

What is the worth of any thing,
But ſo much money as 'twill bring?

I ſhall add but one particular more; which is, that my ſcheme would moſt certainly provide for the poor, and that by an infallible (perhaps the only infallible) method, by removing the rich. Where there are no rich, there will of conſequence be found no poor; for providence hath in a wonderful manner provided in every country, a plentiful ſubſiſtence for all its inhabitants; and where none abound, none can want.

Having long meditated on this excellent ſcheme, ſo long that, if you will believe ſome people, I have cracked my brain, I was reſolved to acquit myſelf, and to ſhew by way of example, how fully I was convinced of the truth of my principles. I therefore converted an eſtate of three hundred pounds a year into money; of this I put a competent ſum in my pocket, and took my next heir with me upon the Thames, where I began to unload my pockets into the water. But I had ſcarce diſcharged three handfuls, before my heir ſeized me, and with the aſſiſtance of the waterman, conveyed me back to ſhore. I was for a day ſecured in an

apartment

apartment of my own houſe; and thence the next morning, by a conſpiracy among my relations, brought hither, where I am like to remain, till the reſt of mankind return to their ſenſes.

I am, SIR,

Your moſt obedient ſervant,

MISARGURUS.

Numb. 37. *Saturday*, May 9.

Scilicet in vulgus manent exempla regentum.

CLAUDIAN.

The creatures *will endeavour to ape their betters.*

THERE are many phraſes that cuſtom renders familiar to our ears, which, when looked into, and cloſely examined, will appear extremely ſtrange, and of which it muſt greatly puzzle a very learned etymologiſt to account for the original.

Of this ſort is the term, *People of Faſhion.* An expreſſion of ſuch very common uſe, and ſo univerſally underſtood, that it is entirely needleſs to ſet down here what is meant by it; but how it firſt acquired its preſent meaning, and became a title of honour and diſtinction, is a point, I apprehend, of no ſmall difficulty to determine.

I have on this occaſion conſulted ſeveral of my friends, who are well ſkilled in etymology. One of theſe traces the word Faſhion through the French language up to the Latin. He brings it from the verb *facio*, which, among other things, ſignifies *to do.* Hence he ſuppoſes *People of Faſhion*, according to the old derivation of *lucus a non lucendo*, to be ſpoken of thoſe who do nothing. But this is

too

too general, and would include all the beggars in the nation.

Another carries the original no farther than the French word *Façon*, which is often uſed to ſignify affectation. This likewiſe will extend too far, and will comprehend attornies clerks, apprentices, milliners, mantuamakers, and an infinite number of the lower people.

A third will bring Faſhion from Φάσις. This in the genitive plural makes Φάσεων, which in Engliſh is the very word. According to him, by People of Faſhion, are meant people whoſe eſſence conſiſteth in appearances, and who, while they ſeem to be ſomething, are really nothing.

But though I am well appriſed that much may be ſaid to ſupport this derivation, there is a fourth opinion, which, to ſpeak in the proper language, hath yet a more ſmiling aſpect. This ſuppoſes the word Faſhion to be a corruption from Faſcination, and that theſe people were formerly believed by the vulgar to be a kind of conjurers, and to poſſeſs a ſpecies of the black art.

In ſupport of this opinion, my friend urges the uſe which theſe people have always made of the word Circle, and the pretence to be encloſed in a certain circle, like ſo many conjurers, and by ſuch means to keep the vulgar at a diſtance from them.

To this purpoſe likewiſe he quotes the phraſes, a polite circle, the circle of one's acquaintance, people that live within a certain circle, and many others. From all which he infers, that in thoſe dark and ignorant ages, when conjurers were held in more eſtimation than they are at preſent, the credulous vulgar believed theſe people to be of the number, and conſequently called them *People of Faſcination*, which hath been ſince corrupted into *People of Faſhion*.

However whimſical this opinion may ſeem, or however far-fetched the derivation may ſound to

thoſe who have not much conſidered the barbarous corruption of language, I muſt obſerve in its favour, how difficult it is, by any other method, to account not only for that odd phraſe, People of Faſhion; but likewiſe for that circle within which thoſe people have always affected to live.

Even now, when conjurers have been long laughed out of the world, the pretence to the circle is nevertheleſs maintained, and within the circle the People of Faſcination do actually inſiſt upon living at this day.

It is moreover extremely pleaſant to obſerve what wonderful care theſe people take to preſerve their circle ſafe and inviolate, and with how jealous an eye they guard againſt any intruſion of thoſe whom they are pleaſed to call the vulgar; who are on the other hand as vigilant to watch, and as active to improve every opportunity of invading this circle, and breaking into it.

Within the memory of many now living, the circle of the People of Faſcination included the whole pariſh of Covent-Garden, and great part of St. Giles's in the fields; but here the enemy broke in, and the circle was preſently contracted to Leiceſter-Fields, and Golden-Square. Hence the People of Faſhion again retreated before the foe to Hanover-Square; whence they were once more driven to Groſvenor-Square, and even beyond it, and that with ſuch precipitation, that, had they not been ſtopped by the walls of Hyde-Park, it is more than probable they would by this time have arrived at Kenſington.

In many other inſtances we may remark the ſame flight of theſe people, and the ſame purſuit of their enemies. They firſt contrived a certain vehicle called a hackney-coach, to avoid the approach of the foe in the open ſtreets. Hence they were ſoon routed, and obliged to take ſhelter in coaches of their own. Nor did this protect them long. The enemy

enemy likewiſe in great numbers mounted into the ſame armed vehicles *. The People of Faſcination then betook themſelves to chairs; in which their exempt privileges being again invaded, I am informed that ſeveral ladies of quality have beſpoke a kind of couch ſomewhat like the Lectica of the Romans; in which they are next winter to be carried through the ſtreets upon men's ſhoulders.

The reader will be pleaſed to obſerve, that, beſide the local circle which I have deſcribed above, there is an imaginary or figurative one, which is invaded by every imitation of the vulgar.

Thus thoſe People of Faſcination, or, if they like it better, of Faſhion, who found it convenient to remain ſtill in coaches, obſerving that ſeveral of the enemy had lately exhibited arms on their vehicles, by which means thoſe ornaments became vulgar and common, immediately ordered their own arms to be blotted out, and a cypher ſubſtituted in their room; perhaps cunningly contriving to repreſent themſelves inſtead of their anceſtors.

Numberleſs are the devices made uſe of by the People of Faſhion of both ſexes, to avoid the purſuit of the vulgar, and to preſerve the purity of the circle. Sometimes the perriwig covers the whole beau, and he peeps forth from the midſt like an owl in an ivy-buſh; at other times his ears ſtand up behind half a dozen hairs, and give you the idea of a different animal. Sometimes a large black bag, with wings ſpread as broad as a raven's, adorns his back; at other times, a little lank ſilk appears like a dead black-bird in his neck. To-day he borrows the tail of a rat, and to-morrow that of a monkey; for he will transform himſelf into the likeneſs of the vileſt animal, to avoid the reſemblance of his own ſpecies.

* Rather coat of arms.

Nor are the ladies leſs watchful of the enemy's motions, or leſs anxious to avoid them. What hoods and hats and caps and coifs have fallen a ſacrifice in this purſuit! Within my memory the ladies of the circle covered their lovely necks with a cloke; this being routed by the enemy, was exchanged for the manteel; this again was ſucceeded by the pelorine; the pelorine by the neckatee; the neckatee by the capuchine; which hath now ſtood its ground a long time, but not without various changes of colour, ſhape, ornaments, &c.

And here I muſt not paſs by the many admirable arts made uſe of by theſe ladies, to deceive and dodge their imitators; when they are hunted out in any favourite mode, the method is to lay it by for a time, and then to reſume it again all at once, when the enemy leaſt expect it. Thus patches appear and diſappear ſeveral times in a ſeaſon. I have myſelf ſeen the enemy in the pit, with faces all over ſpotted like the leopard, when the circle in the boxes have with a conſcious triumph diſplayed their native alabaſter, without a ſimple blemiſh, though they had a few evenings before worn a thouſand; within a month afterwards the leopards have appeared in the boxes to the great mortification of the fair faces in the pit.

In the ſame manner the ruff, after a long diſcontinuance, ſometime ſince began to revive in the circle, and advanced downwards, till it almoſt met the tucker. But no ſooner did the enemy purſue, than it vaniſhed all at once, and the boxes became a collection of little hills of ſnow, extremely delightful to the eyes of every beholder.

Of all the articles of diſtinction the hoop hath ſtood the longeſt, and with the moſt obſtinate reſiſtance. Inſtead of giving way, this, the more it hath been puſhed, hath increaſed the more; till the enemy hath been compelled to give over the purſuit from mere neceſſity; it being found impoſſible

poſſible to convey ſeven yards of hoop into a hackney-coach, or to ſlide with it behind a counter.

But as I have mentioned ſome of the arts of the circle, it would not be fair to be ſilent as to thoſe of the enemy, among whom a certain citizen's wife diſtinguiſhed herſelf very remarkably, and appeared long in the very top of the mode. It was at laſt however diſcovered that ſhe uſed a very unfair practice, and kept a private correſpondence with one of thoſe milliners who were entruſted with all the ſecrets of the circle.

Numb. 42. *Tueſday*, May 26.

——*Me literulas ſtulti docuere parentes.* MART.

My father was a fool,
When he ſent me to ſchool.

Mr. CENSOR,

IT hath been a common obſervation, "That "great ſcholars know nothing of the world." The reaſon of this is not, as generally it is imagined, that the Greek and Latin languages have a natural tendency to vitiate the human underſtanding; but in ſolemn truth, gentlemen who obtain an early acquaintance with the manners and cuſtoms of the ancients, are too apt to form their ideas of their own times, on the patterns of ages which bear not the leaſt reſemblance to them. Hence they have fallen into the greateſt errors and abſurdities; and hence, I ſuppoſe, was derived the obſervation abovementioned.

Numberleſs are the inſtances which may be produced of theſe errors of the literati; ſo many indeed, that I have often thought there is no leſs diffe-

rence between thoſe notions of the world which are drawn from letters, and thoſe which are drawn from men, than there is between the ideas of the human complexion, which are conceived by one in perfect health, and one in the jaundice.

Let us ſuppoſe a man, poſſeſſed of this jaundice of literature, conveyed into the levees of the great. What notion will he be likely to entertain of the ſeveral perſons who compoſe that illuſtrious aſſembly, from their behaviour? How will he be puzzled when he is told that he hath before his eyes a number of freemen? How much more will he be amazed when he hears that all the ſervility he there beholds, ariſes only from an eager deſire of being permitted to ſerve the public?

Again, convey the ſame gentleman to a hunting-match, a horſe-race, or any other meeting of patriots; will he not immediately conclude from all the roaring and ranting, the hallowing and huzzaing, the gaming and drinking, which he will there obſerve, that he is actually preſent at the orgia of Bacchus, or the celebration of ſome ſuch feſtival? How then will he be aſtoniſhed to find that he is in the company of a ſet of honeſt fellows, who are the guardians of liberty, and are actually getting drunk in the ſervice of their country.

Introduce him next to a drum or a rout, and if the blaze of beauty doth not blind him to any other contemplation, how greatly ſuperior will he think the Britiſh ladies to all thoſe of Greece and Rome——at their needles? when he views all the exquiſite decorations of art which ſet off the perſons of his fair countrywomen, how will he deſpiſe all the compliments paid heretofore to the perſonages of the Greek and Roman ladies of quality, who claimed a preference over each other from their ſuperior ſkill in handling their needles? But what muſt be his amazement, when he is aſſured that not one of theſe ladies ever handled any ſuch inſtru-

inſtrument; that all the ornaments of the beſt dreſt woman there are owing to the handywork of others, and that the whole buſineſs of the lives of all preſent, is only to toſs about from the one to the other certain pieces of painted paper, being a paſtime common to grown perſons and children; with this difference only, that the former play for the higher wagers!

What idea can we ſuppoſe ſuch a perſon could conceive of the word beau; and if he could have no adequate notion of the word, much leſs would he be able to obtain any ſuch notion of the thing! ſhould he behold a little dapper effeminate ſpark, carried through the ſunſhine in a ſoft machine by two labourers; his body dreſt in all the tinſel which ſerves to trick up a harlot, and his hair appearing to have been decked by the ſame tire-woman with hers. Would ſuch a ſight as this recall to the mind of our learned friend, any image of a Greek and Roman ſoldier; or could he be eaſily perſuaded, that the inſect before his eyes was a military commander; in rank a centurion, or perhaps a tribune?

In one particular, and in one alone, it is poſſible he might form a true judgment. The many eulogiums on the chaſtity of the ancient Spartan and Roman dames, and on the extraordinary modeſty of their young females of rank, muſt give him a perfect idea of our preſent ladies of faſhion.

With this ſingle exception, I think I may aver, that a ſcholar, when he firſt comes to this town from the univerſity, comes among a ſet of people, as entirely unknown to him, and of whom he hath no more heard or read, than if he was to be at once tranſlated into one of the planets; the world in the town, and that in the moon being equally ſtrange to him, and equally unintelligible.

How wiſe therefore is the conduct of the preſent age, in laying aſide that fooliſh cuſtom of our anceſtors,

ceſtors, who uſed to throw away many of the moſt precious years of their ſons lives by confining them to ſchools and univerſities; where what they learnt, was ſo far from being of any uſe to them upon their coming into the world, as it is called, that it ſerved only to puzzle and miſlead them. They were indeed obliged to unlearn all that had been taught them, before they could acquire that uſeful knowledge mentioned in the beginning of my paper.

Whereas by the preſent method of bringing youth to town, about the age of fifteen or ſixteen, and entering them immediately in thoſe ſeveral ſchools, where the knowledge of the world is taught; ſuch as the play-houſes, gaming-houſes, and bawdy-houſes; a young gentleman of any tolerable docility, becomes at the age of eighteen, a perfect maſter of all the knowledge of the world at home; and it is then a proper time for him to ſet out on his travels into foreign parts, and to make himſelf acquainted with the world abroad.—This completes his education; and he returns at one-and-twenty, a moſt accompliſhed fine gentleman; having viſited all the principal courts of Europe, and become verſed in all their faſhions, at a ſeaſon of life when our dull forefathers knew nothing of thoſe foreign people but from hiſtory, nor even of their countries but from geography.

It was my misfortune however to have a father of the antique way of thinking; by which means, I loſt the beſt part of my youth in turning over thoſe books, in which I have ſaid there is little uſeful to be learnt. I remember a paſſage out of Horace, who is the beſt of them, and who ſeems to be very particularly a favourite of yours. His words are theſe,

Vitæ ſummæ brevis
Spem nos vetat inchoare longam.

Which

Which may be thus rendered after your paraphraſtical manner: "The ſhortneſs of life affords no "time for a tedious education." How many indeed of my own acquaintance have I known to die of old age at twenty-five! ſo that by the ancient method of educating our ſons at ſchools and univerſities, a great part of them will be in danger of going out of the world before they know any thing of it.

Life (ſays Mr. Pope) can little more ſupply,
Than juſt to look about us and to die.

Is it not therefore the duty of a father to give his ſon an opportunity of looking about him as ſoon as he can?

I am, SIR,
Your moſt humble ſervant,
TOM TELLTRUTH.

Numb. 44. *Tueſday*, June 2.

—O bone, ne te
Fruſtrere, inſanis et tu.— HOR.

My good friend, do not deceive thyſelf; for with all thy charity, thou alſo art a ſilly fellow.

I HAVE in a former paper endeavoured to ſhew, that a rich man without charity is a rogue; and perhaps it would be no difficult matter to prove, that he is alſo a fool. If a man, who doth not know his true intereſt, may be thought to deſerve that appellation; in what light ſhall we behold a chriſtian, who neglects the cultivation of a virtue which is in ſcripture ſaid *to waſh away his ſins*, and

without which all his other good deeds cannot render him acceptable in the ſight of his Creator and Redeemer.

Even in this world, it is ſurely much too narrow a view to confine a man's intereſt merely to that which loads his coffers. To purſue that which is moſt capable of giving him happineſs, is indeed the intereſt of every man; and there are many who find great pleaſure in emptying their purſes with this view, to one who hath no other ſatisfaction than in filling it. Now what can give greater happineſs to a good mind, than the reflection on having relieved the miſery, or contributed to the well-being, of his fellow-creature. It was a noble ſentiment of the worthy Mr. Thomas Firmin, 'That 'to relieve the poor, and to provide work and 'ſubſiſtence for them, gave to him the ſame plea-'ſure, as magnificent buildings, pleaſant walks, 'well-cultivated orchards and gardens, the jollity of 'muſic and wine, or the charms of love and ſtudy 'gave to others.' This is recorded in the life of a plain citizen of London, and it as well deſerves to be quoted, as any one apophthegm that is to be found in all the works of Plutarch.

A chriſtian therefore, or a good man, though no chriſtian, who is void of charity, is ignorant of his own intereſt, and may with great propriety be called a ſilly fellow. Nay, if we will believe all the great writers whom I cited in my former paper, to which I might add Plato and many more, a mere human being who places all his happineſs in ſelfiſh conſiderations, without any relative virtues, any regard to the good of others, is, in plain truth, a downright fool.

I have been encouraged to treat the want of charity with the more freedom, as I am certain of giving little offence to any of my readers by ſo doing. Charity is in fact the very characteriſtic of this nation at this time.——I believe we may chal-

challenge the whole world to parallel the examples which we have of late given of this ſenſible, this noble, this chriſtian virtue.

We cannot therefore ſurely be arraigned of folly, from the want of charity; but is our wiſdom altogether as apparent in the manner of exerting it? I am afraid the true anſwer here would not be ſo much to our advantage. Are our private donations generally directed by our judgment, to thoſe who are the propereſt objects? Do not vanity, whim, and weakneſs, too often draw our purſeſtrings? Do we not ſometimes give becauſe it is the faſhion, and ſometimes becauſe we cannot long reſiſt importunity? May not our charity be often termed extravagance or folly; nay, is it not often vicious, and apparently tending to the encreaſe and encouragement of idle and diſſolute perſons?

It would be almoſt endleſs to attempt to be particular on this head. I ſhall mention therefore only one inſtance, namely, the giving our money to common beggars. This kind of bounty is a crime againſt the public. It is aſſiſting in the continuance and promotion of a nuſance. Our wiſe anceſtors prohibited it by a law, which would probably have remained in force and uſe to this day, had not the legiſlature conceived, that, after the ſevere penalties which have been ſince inflicted on beggars, none would have the boldneſs to become ſuch; and that, after the ſufficient legal proviſion which hath been made for the poor, no perſons would have ſo little regard, either to common ſenſe, or to the public, as to relieve them.

But inſtead of ſtaying to argue with ſuch people, I ſhall haſten to the other branch of charity, which is of a public nature; of which there are many ſpecies in this kingdom.

The origin of this kind of charity, was no better than prieſtcraft and ſuperſtition. When men began to perceive the near approach of that great

enemy

enemy of human nature, who was to deprive them of all their ill-gotten poſſeſſions, and not only ſo, but might, as they apprehended, deliver them into the hands of an Almighty juſtice, to puniſh them for all thoſe knaviſh arts, by which theſe poſſeſſions were acquired; the prieſt ſtept in, took advantage of the terrors of their conſciences, and perſuaded them, that by conſigning over a great part (ſometimes the whole) of their acquiſitions to the uſe of the church, a pardon for all kind of villany was ſure to be obtained.

In this attempt, the prieſt found but little difficulty when he had to do with a mind tainted with ſuperſtition, and weakened with diſeaſe; eſpecially when he could back all his other arguments with one truth at leaſt, namely,—Give us that *which you can by no poſſible means keep any longer yourſelf.*

Thus the unwilling will, as Dr. Barrow pleaſantly calls it, was at laſt ſigned. The fruits of fraud and rapine were truſted to the uſe of the church, and the greateſt raſcals died very good ſaints, and their memories were conſecrated to honour and good example.

How notably theſe attempts ſucceeded, is well known to all who are verſed either in our law or our hiſtory. So common was it for men to expiate their crimes in this manner; and to finiſh all their other robberies, by robbing their heirs; that had not the legiſlature often and ſtoutly interfered in cruſhing theſe ſuperſtitious (or as they were called charitable) uſes, they ſeemed to have bid fair for ſwallowing up the whole property of the nation.

In proceſs of time, however, the lawyer came to the aſſiſtance of the prieſt; (for, like the devil, he is always ready at hand when called for) and formed a diſtinction between the ſuperſtitious and charitable uſe. Henceforward, inſtead of robbing their relations for the uſe of the church, a method was deviſed of robbing them for the uſe of the poor. Hence

poor-houſes, alms-houſes, colleges and hoſpitals began to preſent themſelves to the view of all travellers, being always ſituated in the moſt public places, and bearing the name and title of the generous founder in vaſt capital letters; a kind of KTHMA ΕΣ AEI, a monument of his glory to all generations.

Thus we ſee the foundation of this kind of charity, and a very ſtrong one it is, being indeed no other than fear and vanity, the two ſtrongeſt paſſions which are to be found in human nature.

It may be thought perhaps, that I have omitted a third, which ſome may imagine to be the ſtrongeſt, and greateſt of all, and this is benevolence, or the love of doing good; but that theſe charitable legacies have no ſuch motive, appears to me from the following conſiderations:

Firſt, If a man was poſſeſſed of real benevolence, and had (as he muſt then have) a delight in doing good, he would no more defer the enjoyment of this ſatisfaction to his deathbed, than the ambitious, the luxurious, or the vain, would wait till that period, for the gratification of their ſeveral paſſions.

Secondly, If the legacy be, as it often is, the firſt charitable donation of any conſequence, I can never allow it poſſible to ariſe from benevolence; for he who hath no compaſſion for the diſtreſſes of his neighbours, whom he hath ſeen, how ſhould he have any pity for the wants of poſterity which he will never ſee?

Thirdly, If the legacy be, as is likewiſe very common, to the injury of his family, or to the diſappointment of his own friends in want, this is a certain proof, that his motive is not benevolence; for he who loves not his own friends and relations, moſt certainly loves no other perſon.

Laſtly, If a man hath lived any time in the world, he muſt have obſerved ſuch horrid and notorious

abuſes

abuſes of all public charities, that he muſt be convinced (with a very few exceptions) that he will do no manner of good by contributing to them. Some, indeed, are ſo very wretchedly contrived in their inſtitution, that they ſeem not to have had the public utility in their view; but to have been mere jobs *ab initio*. Such are all hoſpitals whatever, where it is a matter of favour to get a patient admitted, and where the forms of admiſſion are ſo troubleſome and tedious, that the propereſt objects, (thoſe I mean, who are moſt wretched and friendleſs) may as well aſpire at a place at court, as at a place in the hoſpital.

From what I have here advanced, I know I have rendered myſelf liable to be repreſented by malice and ignorance as an enemy to all public charity: I hope to obviate this opinion effectually in a future paper, in which I ſhall endeavour to point out who are really the objects of our benevolence, as well as to propoſe ſome expedients by which the obſtructions which attend ſome of our beſt calculated charities of the public kind may be removed. I cannot, however, conclude this, without paying a compliment to the preſent age for two glorious benefactions, I mean that to the uſe of the Foundling infants, and that for the accommodation of poor women in their lying-in.

Numb. 47. *Saturday*, June 13.

—— *heu plebes ſcelerata!* SIL. ITAL.

—— *O ye wicked raſcallions!*

IT may ſeem ſtrange that none of our political writers, in their learned treatiſes on the Engliſh conſtitution, ſhould take notice of any more than three

three eſtates, namely, King, Lords, and Commons, all entirely paſſing by in ſilence that very large and powerful body which form the fourth eſtate in this community, and have been long dignified and diſtinguiſhed by the name of *The Mob*.

And this will ſeem ſtill the more ſtrange, when we conſider that many of the great writers abovementioned have moſt inconteſtably belonged to this very body.

To ſay preciſely at what time this fourth ſtate began firſt to figure in this commonwealth, or when the footſteps of that power which it enjoys at this day were firſt laid, muſt appear to be a matter of the higheſt difficulty, perhaps utterly impoſſible, from that deplorable ſilence which I have juſt mentioned. Certain however it is, that at the time of the Norman conqueſt, and long afterwards, the condition of this eſtate was very low and mean, thoſe who compoſed it being in general called villains; a word which did not then bear any very honourable idea, though not ſo bad a one perhaps as it hath ſince acquired.

The part which this fourth eſtate ſeems anciently to have claimed, was to watch over and control the other three. This, indeed, they have ſeldom aſſerted in plain words, which is poſſibly the principal reaſon why our hiſtorians have never explicitly aſſigned them their ſhare of power in the conſtitution, though this eſtate have ſo often exerciſed it, and ſo clearly aſſerted their right to it by force of arms; to wit, by fiſts, ſtaves, knives, clubs, ſcythes, and other ſuch offenſive weapons.

The firſt inſtance which I remember of this was in the reign of Richard I, when they eſpouſed the cauſe of religion; of which they have been always ſtout defenders, and deſtroyed a great number of Jews.

In the ſame reign we have another example in William Fitz Oſborne, alias Longbeard, a ſtout aſſerter of the rights of the fourth eſtate. Theſe rights

rights he defended in the city of London, at the head of a large party, and by force of the arms abovementioned; but was overpowered, and loſt his life by means of a wooden machine called the gallows, which hath been very fatal to the chief champions of this eſtate; as it was in the reign of Henry III. to one Conſtantine, who having, at the head of a London mob, pulled down the houſe of the high-ſteward of Weſtminſter, and committed ſome other little diſorders of the like kind, maintained to the chief juſticiary's face, 'that he had 'done nothing puniſhable by law,' i. e. 'con-'trary to the rights of the fourth eſtate.' He ſhared however the ſame fate with Mr. Fitz-Oſborne.

We find in this reign of Henry III, the power of the fourth eſtate grown to a very great height indeed; for whilſt a treaty was on foot between that king and his barons, the mob of London thought proper not only to inſult the queen with all manner of foul language, but likewiſe to throw ſtones and dirt at her. Of which aſſertion of their privilege, we hear of no other conſequence than that the king was highly diſpleaſed; and indeed it ſeems to be allowed by moſt writers, that the Mob in this inſtance went a little too far.

In the time of Edward II. there is another fact upon record, of a more bloody kind; though perhaps not more indecent; for the biſhop of Exeter being a little too buſy in endeavouring to preſerve the city of London for the king his maſter, the Mob were pleaſed to cut his head off.

I omit many leſſer inſtances, to come to that glorious aſſertion of the privileges of the Mob under the great and mighty Wat Tyler, when they not only laid their claim to a ſhare in the government, but in truth to exclude all the other eſtates; for this purpoſe, one John Staw, or Straw, or Ball, a great orator, who was let out of Maidſtone-gaol by

by the Mob, in his harangues told them, That as all men were ſons of Adam, there ought to be no diſtinction; and that it was their duty to reduce all men to perfect equality. This they immediately ſet about, and to do it in the moſt effectual manner, they cut off the heads of all the nobility, gentry, clergy, &c. who fell into their hands.

With theſe deſigns they encamped in a large body at Blackheath, whence they ſent a meſſage to King Richard II. to come and talk with them, in order to ſettle the government; and when this was not complied with, they marched to London, and the gates being opened by their friends, entered the city, burnt and plundered the duke of Lancaſter's palace, that of the archbiſhop and many other great houſes, and put to death all of the other three eſtates with whom they met, among whom, was the archbiſhop of Canterbury, and the lord treaſurer.

The unhappy end of this noble enterpriſe is ſo well known, that it need not be mentioned. The leader being taken off by the gallantry of the lord mayor, the whole army, like a body when the head is ſevered, fell inſtantly to the ground; whence many were afterwards lifted to that fatal machine, which is above taken notice of.

I ſhall paſs by the exploits of Cade and Ket, and others. I think I have clearly demonſtrated, that there is ſuch a fourth eſtate as the Mob, actually exiſting in our conſtitution; which, though, perhaps, for very politic reaſons, they keep themſelves generally like the army of Mr. Bayes, in diſguiſe, have often iſſued from their lurking places, and very ſtoutly maintained their power and their privileges in this community.

Nor hath this eſtate, or their claims, been unknown to the other three; on the contrary, we find in our ſtatute books, numberleſs attempts to prevent their growing power, and to reſtrain them

at

at leaſt within ſome bounds; witneſs the many laws made againſt ribauds, roberdſmen, drawlatches, waſters, rogues, vagrants, vagabonds; by all which, and many other names, this fourth eſtate hath been from time to time dignified and diſtinguiſhed.

Under all theſe appellations they are frequently named in our law-books; but I do not perfectly remember to have ſeen them mentioned under the term of fourth eſtate in all my reading; nor do I recollect that any legiſlative or judicial power is expreſsly allowed to belong to them. And yet certain it is, that they have from time immemorial been uſed to exerciſe a judicial capacity in certain inſtances wherein the ordinary courts have been deficient for want of evidence; this being no let or hindrance to the adminiſtration of juſtice before the gentlemen who compoſe this fourth eſtate, who often proceed to judgment without any evidence at all. Nor muſt I omit the laudable expedition which is uſed on ſuch occaſions, their proceedings being entirely free from all thoſe delays, which are ſo much complained of in other courts. I have indeed known a pickpocket arreſted, tried, convicted, and ducked almoſt to death, in leſs time than would have been conſumed in reading his indictment at the Old-Bailey. Theſe delays they avoid chiefly by hearing only one ſide of the queſtion, concluding, as judge Gripus did of old, that the contrary method ſerves only to introduce incertainty and confuſion.

I do not however pretend to affirm any thing of the legal original of this juriſdiction. I know the learned are greatly divided in their opinions concerning this matter, or rather perhaps in their inclinations; ſome being unwilling to allow any power at all to this eſtate, and others as ſtoutly contending, that it would be for the public good to deliver the ſword of juſtice entirely into their hands.

So

So prevalent hath this latter opinion grown to be of modern days, that the fourth eſtate hath been permitted to encroach in a moſt prodigious manner. What theſe encroachments have been, and the particular cauſes which have contributed to them, ſhall be the ſubject of my next Saturday's paper.

Numb. 48. *Tueſday*, June 16.

Ὦ μεγίϛη τῶν θεῶν
Νῦν ἔϛ' Ἀναίδεια. MENANDER.

O thou greateſt of all the deities,
Modern Impudence!

THERE is a certain quality, which, though univerſal conſent hath not enrolled it among the cardinal virtues, is often found ſufficient, of itſelf, not only to carry its poſſeſſor through the world, but even to carry him to the top of it. It is almoſt perhaps unneceſſary to inform my reader, that the quality I mean, is Impudence; ſo dear is this to one female at leaſt, that it effectually recommends a man to fortune without the aſſiſtance of any other qualification. She ſeems indeed to think, with the poet, that,

——He who hath but impudence,
To all things hath a fair pretence,

and accordingly provides that thoſe who want modeſty, ſhall want nothing elſe.

What are the particular ingredients of which this quality is compoſed, or what temper of mind is beſt fitted to produce it, is perhaps difficult to

aſcertain; ſo far I think experience may convince us, that, like ſome vegetables, it will flouriſh beſt in the moſt barren ſoil. To ſay truth, I am almoſt inclined to an opinion, that it never arrives at any great degree of perfection unleſs in a mind totally unincumbered with any virtue, or with any great or good quality whatever. It would indeed ſeem that nature had agreed with fortune, in ſetting a high value on impudence, and had accordingly decreed, that thoſe of her children, who had received this rich gift at her hands, were amply provided for without any further portion.

And ſurely, it is not without reaſon that I call this the gift of nature; indeed, genius itſelf is not more ſo. We may here apply a phraſe which the French uſe on an occaſion not ſo proper to be mentioned, and affirm, "That it is not in the power "of every man to be impudent who would be "ſo." A man, born without any genius, may as reaſonably hope to become ſuch a poet as Homer, or ſuch a critic as Longinus, as one born without impudence can pretend, without any merit, to aſpire to theſe characters.

Though nature however muſt give the ſeeds, art may cultivate them. To improve or to depreſs their growth, is greatly within the power of education. To lay down the proper precept for this purpoſe, would require a large treatiſe, and ſuch I may poſſibly publiſh hereafter. In the mean time it ſhall ſuffice to mention only two rules, which may be partly collected from what I have above aſſerted, and which are of univerſal uſe. This is with the utmoſt care to ſuppreſs and eradicate every ſeed or principle of what is any wiſe praiſeworthy out of the mind; and ſecondly, to preſerve this in the pureſt ſtate of ignorance, than which nothing more contributes to the higheſt perfection and conſummation of impudence; the more a man knows, the more inclined is he to be modeſt; it is

indeed

indeed within the province only of the higheſt human knowledge to ſurvey its own narrow compaſs.

It may, I think, be predicated in favour of impudence, that it is the quality which, of all others, we are capable of carrying to the greateſt height; ſo far, indeed, that did not the ſtrongeſt force of evidence convince us of the truth of ſome examples, we ſhould be apt to doubt the poſſibility of their exiſtence. What but the concurrent teſtimony of hiſtorians, and the indubitable veracity of records, could impel us to believe, that there have been men in the world of ſuch aſtoniſhing impudence, as, in oppoſition to the certain knowledge of many thouſands, to take upon themſelves to perſonate kings and princes as well in their lifetime as after their death? and yet our own, as well as foreign annals, afford us ſuch inſtances.

But the greateſt hero in impudence, whom, perhaps, the world ever produced, appeared in France at the end of the laſt century. His name was Peter Mege, and he was a common ſoldier in the marines. This fellow had the aſſiſtance only of one who had been a footman to a certain man of quality, called Scipion le Brun de Caſtelane, Seigneur de Caille & de Rougon, a nobleman who had fled from France to Switzerland, to avoid a religious perſecution. With this confederate alone, Peter Mege had the amazing impudence to perſonate the young Seigneur de Caille, who was at that time dead; and this in the lifetime of the father, in defiance of all his noble relations then in poſſeſſion of his forfeited eſtate, upon the ſpot where the young gentleman had lived to the age of twenty-one; and all this without the leaſt reſemblance of features, ſhape, or ſtature; without being acquainted with any part of the hiſtory of him whom he was to repreſent, or being able to give

the leaſt account of any of his family; indeed, without being able to write and read.

But how much more will the reader be ſurpriſed to hear, that this moſt impudent of all attempts ſucceeded ſo far as to obtain a ſentence in the parliament of Provence in favour of the ſoldier? And this ſucceſs would have been final, had not the canton of Berne interpoſed, and obtained an appeal to the parliament of Paris, where at laſt the impoſtor was defeated.

To account for all this, and to aſſuage his reader's aſtoniſhment, the very ingenious author of the trial, when he informs us, that this impoſtor was confronted with twenty witneſſes, who ſwore to the identity of Peter Mege, and as many more who had been fellow-ſtudents with the young nobleman, and who, on their oaths, declared that this Peter was not the perſon, goes on thus: "But "what was moſt ſtrange, was the ſteady countenance of the ſoldier, which never once betrayed "him, nor gave the leaſt ſymptom of any doubt "of his ſucceſs. It is in vain to form a project "of uſurping the name of another, to lay your "plan ever ſo regularly and ſyſtematically, if you "do not provide yourſelf with a ſtock of impudence to ſupport every attack to which you "may be expoſed. In ſuch an attempt, the forehead muſt be furniſhed as well without as within; more indeed will depend on the outſide: for "it is the ſteadineſs of the front, hardineſs, or "downright audacity, which impoſe on mankind "the moſt, and make amends for all defects in "the underſtanding. The ſoldier had made many "blunders; but his invincible aſſurance repaired "all, and brought over even his enemies to his "ſide." And to ſay truth, I know ſcarce any thing to which ſuch a degree of aſſurance is not equal.

This

This attempt, indeed, of perſonating *who* you are not, ſeems to be attended with too great difficulties; and to ſucceed in it, is, perhaps, beyond the power of impudence; we are not therefore to wonder, that all the heroes in this way have been unſucceſsful. In fact, we ought to fix our whole attention on the undaunted impudence of engaging in ſuch a deſign, and not to ſuffer the defeat to leſſen our admiration; but to ſay of ſuch a hero, with Ovid,

——*Si non tenuit, magnis tamen excidit auſis.*

But, if in perſonating the *who*, impudence is found unequal to the taſk; in perſonating *what* we are not, it is almoſt ſure to come off triumphant. Here I believe the undertaker ſeldom fails, but through his own fault; that is, by not being impudent enough.

My lord Bacon adviſes a modeſt man to ſhelter his vices under thoſe virtues to which they are the neareſt allied. The avaricious man, he would have to affect frugality; the extravagant, liberality; and ſo of the reſt. Now the reverſe of this ſhould be the rule of our impudent man.——If you are a blockhead, my friend, be ſure to commence writer; and if intirely illiterate, be ſure to pretend to learning. If you are a coward, be a bully, and always talk of feats of bravery; if again you are a beggar, boaſt of your riches. In ſhort, whatever vice or defect you have, ſet up for its oppoſite virtue or endowment. And if you are poſſeſſed of every ill quality, you may aſſert your title to every good one.

The laſt ſpecies of impudence which I ſhall mention, is to aſſert openly and boldly what you really are, let this be ever ſo bad. Own your vices, and be proud of them; and in time, perhaps, you may laugh virtue out of countenance, and bring your

vices into faſhion. This, however, is a little unſafe to attempt, unleſs you are very ſure of yourſelf, and of the degree of impudence which you poſſeſs. A modeſt woman may be a w——e; but to behave with indecency in public, indeed, to throw off all that would recommend a woman to a vicious man of ſenſe and taſte; to ſhew, as De Roty ſays of a court lady, not the leaſt ſenſe of virtue in the practice of every vice; this requires the higheſt degree of impudence; that degree indeed which is inconſiſtent with every great or good quality whatever.

Numb. 49. *Saturday*, June 20.

Odi profanum vulgus. HOR.

I hate the mob.

IN a former paper I have endeavoured to trace the riſe and progreſs of the power of the fourth eſtate in this conſtitution. I ſhall now examine that ſhare of power which they actually enjoy at this day, and then proceed to conſider the ſeveral means by which they have attained it.

Firſt, though this eſtate have not *as yet* claimed that right which was inſiſted on by the people or mob in old Rome, of giving a negative voice in the enacting laws, they have clearly exerciſed this power in controlling their execution. Of this it is eaſy to give many inſtances, particularly in the caſe of the gin-act ſome years ago; and in thoſe of ſeveral turnpikes which have been erected againſt the good-will and pleaſure of the mob, and have by them been demoliſhed.

In oppoſing the execution of ſuch laws, they do not always rely on force; but have frequent recourſe

courſe to the moſt refined policy; for ſometimes, without openly expreſſing their diſapprobation, they take the moſt effectual means to prevent the carrying a law into execution; thoſe are by diſcountenancing all thoſe who endeavour to proſecute the offences committed againſt it.

They well know, that the courts of juſtice cannot proceed without informations; if they can ſtifle theſe, the law of courſe becomes dead and uſeleſs. The informers therefore in ſuch caſes, they declare to be infamous, and guilty of the crime *læſæ mobilitatis*. Of this whoever is ſuſpected, (which is with them a ſynonymous term with convicted) is immediately puniſhed by buffeting, kicking, ſtoning, ducking, bemudding, &c. in ſhort, by all thoſe means of putting (ſometimes quite, ſometimes almoſt) to death, which are called by that general phraſe of mobbing.

It may, perhaps, be ſaid, that the mob do, even at this day, connive at the execution of ſome laws, which they can by no means be ſuppoſed to approve.

Such are the laws againſt robbery, burglary and theft. This is, I confeſs, true; and I have often wondered that it is ſo. The reaſon perhaps is, the great love which the mob have for a holiday, and the great pleaſure they take in ſeeing men hanged; ſo great that, while they are enjoying it, they are all apt to forget that this is hereafter, in all probability, to be their own fate.

In all theſe matters, however, the power of this eſtate is rather felt than ſeen. It ſeems, indeed, to be like that power of the crown in France, which Cardinal de Retz compares to thoſe religious myſteries that are performed in the *ſanctum ſanctorum*; and which, though it be often exerciſed, is never expreſsly claimed.

In other inſtances, the fourth eſtate is much more explicit in their pretenſions, and much more

conſtant in aſſerting and maintaining them; of which I ſhall mention ſome of the principal.

Firſt, they aſſert an excluſive right to the river of Thames. It is true, the other eſtates do ſometimes venture themſelves upon the river; but this is only upon ſufferance; for which they pay whatever that branch of the fourth eſtate called watermen are pleaſed to exact of them. Nor are the mob contented with all theſe exactions. They grumble whenever they meet any perſons in a boat, whoſe dreſs declares them to be of a different order from themſelves. Sometimes they carry their reſentment ſo far, as to endeavour to run againſt the boat, and overſet it; but if they are too good-natured to attempt this, they never fail to attack the paſſengers with all kind of ſcurrilous, abuſive, and indecent terms, which indeed they claim as their own, and call mob language.

The ſecond excluſive right which they inſiſt on, is to thoſe parts of the ſtreets, that are ſet apart for the foot-paſſengers. In aſſerting this privilege, they are extremely rigorous; inſomuch, that none of the other orders can walk through the ſtreets by day without being inſulted, nor by night without being knocked down. And the better to ſecure theſe footpaths to themſelves, they take effectual care to keep the ſaid paths always well blocked up with chairs, wheelbarrows, and every other kind of obſtruction; in order to break the legs of all thoſe who ſhall preſume to encroach upon their privileges by walking the ſtreets.

Here it was hoped their pretenſions would have ſtopped; but it is difficult to ſet any bounds to ambition; for, having ſufficiently eſtabliſhed this right, they now begin to aſſert their right to the whole ſtreet, and to have lately made ſuch a diſpoſition with their waggons, carts, and drays, that no coach can paſs along without the utmoſt difficulty and danger. With this view we every day

ſee

ſee them driving ſide by ſide, and ſometimes in the broader ſtreets three abreaſt; again, we ſee them leaving a cart or waggon in the middle of the ſtreet, and often ſet acroſs it, while the driver repairs to a neighbouring alehouſe, from the window of which he diverts himſelf while he is drinking, with the miſchief or inconvenience which his vehicle occaſions.

The ſame pretenſions which they make to the poſſeſſion of the ſtreets, they make likewiſe to the poſſeſſion of the highways. I doubt not I ſhall be told they claim only an equal right; for I know it is very uſual when a carter or drayman is civilly deſired to make a little room, by moving out of the middle of the road either to the right or left, to hear the following anſwer: "D—n your eyes, "who are you? Is not the road, and be d—n'd "to you, as free for me as you?" Hence it will, I ſuppoſe, be inferred, that they do not abſolutely exclude the other eſtates from the uſe of the common highways. But notwithſtanding this generous conceſſion in words, I do aver this practice is different, and that a gentleman may go a voyage at ſea, with little more hazard than he can travel ten miles from the metropolis.

I ſhall mention only one claim more, and that a very new and a very extraordinary one. It is the right of excluding all women of faſhion out of St. James's Park on a Sunday evening. This they have lately aſſerted with great vehemence, and have inflicted the puniſhment of mobbing on ſeveral ladies, who had tranſgreſſed without deſign, not having been appriſed of the good pleaſure of the mob in this point. And this I the rather publiſh to prevent any ſuch tranſgreſſions for the future, ſince it hath already appeared, that no degree of either dignity or beauty can ſecure the offender *.

* A lady of great quality, and admirable beauty, was mobbed in the Park at this time.

Many

Many things have contributed to raiſe this fourth eſtate to that exorbitant degree of power which they at preſent enjoy, and which ſeems to threaten to ſhake the balance of our conſtitution. I ſhall name only three, as theſe appear to me to have had much the greateſt ſhare in bringing it about.

The firſt is that act of parliament which was made at the latter end of queen Elizabeth's reign, and which I cannot help conſidering as a kind of compromiſe between the other three eſtates and this. By this act it was ſtipulated, that the fourth eſtate ſhould annually receive out of the poſſeſſions of the others, a certain large proportion yearly, upon an implied condition (for no ſuch was expreſt) that they ſhould ſuffer the other eſtates to enjoy the reſt of their property without loſs or moleſtation.

This law gave a new turn to the minds of the mobility. They found themſelves no longer obliged to depend on the charity of their neighbours, nor on their own induſtry for a maintenance. They now looked on themſelves as joint proprietors in the land, and celebrated their independency in ſongs of triumph; witneſs the old ballad which was in all their mouths,

Hang ſorrow, caſt away care;
The pariſh is bound to find us, &c.

A ſecond cauſe of their preſent elevation has been the private quarrels between particular members of the other eſtates, who, on ſuch occaſions, have done all they could on both ſides to raiſe the power of the mob, in order to avail themſelves of it, and to employ it againſt their enemies.

The third and the laſt which I ſhall mention, is the miſtaken idea which ſome particular perſons have always entertained of the word liberty; but this will open too copious a ſubject, and ſhall be therefore treated in a future paper.

But

But before I diſmiſs this, I muſt obſerve that there are two ſorts of perſons of whom this fourth eſtate do yet ſtand in ſome awe, and whom conſequently they have in great abhorrence: Theſe are a juſtice of peace, and a ſoldier. To theſe two it is entirely owing that they have not long ſince rooted all the other orders out of the commonwealth.

Numb. 51. *Saturday*, June 27.

Hæ tibi erunt artes——— VIRG.

Theſe muſt be your golden rules.

OF all our manufactures, there is none at preſent in a more flouriſhing condition, or which hath received more conſiderable improvements of late years, than the manufacture of paper. To ſuch perfection is this brought at preſent, that it almoſt promiſes to rival the great ſtaple commodity of this kingdom.

The two principal branches of this manufacture are carried on by painting and printing. To what a degree of excellence the artiſts are arrived in the former, I need not mention. Our painted paper is ſcarce diſtinguiſhable from the fineſt ſilk; and there is ſcarce a modern houſe which hath not one or more rooms lined with this furniture.

But however valuable this branch may be, it is by no means equal to that which is carried on by printing. Of ſuch conſequence indeed to the public may this part of the paper manufacture be made, that I doubt not but that, with proper care, it would be capable of finding an ample proviſion for the poor. To which purpoſe it ſeems better adapted

adapted than any other, for a reaſon which I ſhall preſently aſſign.

Of printing likewiſe, there are two kinds; that of the rolling, and that of the letter preſs,—or perhaps I ſhall be better underſtood by moſt of my readers, by the terms prints and books.

The former (though of infinitely the leſs conſequence) hath been of late much improved; and though it doth not conſume a great quantity of paper, doth however employ a great number of hands. This was formerly an inconſiderable buſineſs, and very few got their bread by it; but ſome ingenious perſons have of late ſo greatly extended it, that there are at preſent almoſt as many print-ſhops, as there are bakers in this metropolis.

This improvement hath been owing to a deep penetration into human nature, by which it hath been diſcovered, that there are two ſights which the generality of mankind do hunger after, with little leſs avidity than after their daily bread. The one is to behold certain parts which are ſeverally common to one half of the ſpecies exhibited to view, in the moſt amiable and inviting manner; the other is to ſee certain faces, which belong to individuals, expoſed in a ridiculous and contemptible light. By feeding both which appetites, the print-makers have very plentifully fed themſelves.

I come now to the ſecond branch of printing, namely, to that which is performed at the letter-preſs, and which conſiſts of books, pamphlets, papers, &c. The flouriſhing ſtate of this manufacture needs no kind of proof. It is indeed certain, that more paper is now conſumed this way in a week, than was formerly the conſumption of a year.

To this notable encreaſe, nothing perhaps hath more contributed, than the new invention of writing without the qualifications of any genius or learning. The firſt printers, poſſibly miſled by an old

old precept in one Horace, ſeem to have imagined, that both thoſe ingredients were neceſſary in the writer, and accordingly, we find they employed themſelves on ſuch ſamples only, as were produced by men in whom genius and learning concurred; but modern times have diſcovered, that the trade is very well to be carried on without either; and this by introducing ſeveral new kind of wares, the manufacture of which is extremely eaſy, as well as extremely lucrative. The principal of theſe are blaſphemy, treaſon, bawdry and ſcandal. For in the making up of all theſe, the qualifications abovementioned, together with that modeſty, which is inſeparable from them, would be rather an incumbrance than of any real uſe.

No ſooner were theſe new-faſhioned wares brought to market, than the paper merchants, commonly called bookſellers, found ſo immenſe a demand for them, that their buſineſs was to find hands ſufficient to ſupply the wants of the public. In this, however, they had no great difficulty, as the work was ſo extremely eaſy, that no talents whatever (except that of being able to write) not even the capacity of ſpelling, were requiſite.

The methods however, which have been uſed by the paper-merchants to make theſe new-faſhioned wares univerſally known, are very ingenious, and worthy our notice.

The firſt of theſe methods was for the merchant himſelf to mount in the moſt public part of the town into a wooden machine called the pillory, where he ſtood for the ſpace of an hour, proclaiming his goods to all that paſt that way. This was practiſed with much ſucceſs by the late Mr. Curl, Mr. Miſt, and others, who never failed of ſelling ſeveral large bales of goods in this manner.

Notwithſtanding, however, the profits ariſing from this method of publication, it was not without objections; for ſeveral wanton perſons among the mob,

mob, were uſed on ſuch occaſions to divert themſelves by pelting the merchant while he ſtood expoſed on the *publiſhing-ſtool*, with rotten eggs and other miſchievous implements, by which means he often came off much bedawbed, and ſometimes not without bodily hurt.

Some of the more cunning, therefore, among the merchants, began to decline this practice themſelves, and employed their underſtrappers, that is to ſay, their writers for ſuch purpoſes; for it was conceived a piece of blaſphemy, bawdry, &c. would be as well ſold by exhibiting the author, as by exhibiting the bookſeller.

Of this, probably, they received the firſt hint from the caſe of one Mr. Richard Savage, an author whoſe manufactures had long lain uncalled for in the warehouſe, till he happened, very fortunately for his bookſeller, to be found guilty of a capital crime at the Old Bailey. The merchant inſtantly took the hint, and the very next day advertiſed the works of Mr. Savage, now under ſentence of death for murder. This device ſucceeded, and immediately (to uſe their phraſe) carried off the whole impreſſion.

Encouraged by this ſucceſs, the merchant not doubting the execution of his author, bad very high for his dying ſpeech, which was accordingly penned and delivered. Savage, however, was, contrary to all expectation, pardoned, and would have returned the money; but the merchant inſiſted on his bargain, and publiſhed the dying ſpeech which Mr. Savage ſhould have made at Tyburn, of which, it is probable, as many were ſold as there were people in town who could read.

The gallows being thus found to be a great friend to the preſs, the merchants, for the future, made it their chief care to provide themſelves with ſuch writers, as were moſt likely to call in this aſſiſtance; in other words, who were in the faireſt way

way of being hanged: and though they have not always ſucceeded to their wiſh, yet whoever is well read in the productions of the laſt twenty years, will be more inclined perhaps to blame the law, than the ſagacity of the bookſellers.

The whipping-poſt hath been likewiſe of eminent uſe to the ſame purpoſes; and though, perhaps, this may raiſe leſs curioſity than the gallows, in one inſtance at leaſt, it hath viſibly the advantage; for an author, though he may deſerve it often, can be hanged but once, but he may be whipped ſeveral times, indeed, ſix times by one ſentence, of which we have lately ſeen an inſtance in the perſon of Stroud, who is a ſtrong proof of the great profits which the paper-merchants derive from the whipping one of their manufacturers.

Mr. Stroud, in imitation of ſeveral eminent perſons, thought proper to publiſh an apology for his life. The public, however, were leſs kind to him than they had been to other great apologiſts, and treated his performance with contempt. But no ſooner was he tied to the cart's tail, than the work began to ſell in great numbers; and this ſale revived with every monthly whipping; ſo that if he had been whipped, as ſome imagined he was to have been, once a month during life, the merchant poſſibly might have ſold as many bales of his works, as have been ſold of thoſe of Swift himſelf.

I ſhall conclude with hoping, that, as the merchants ſeem at preſent to have their eye chiefly on the whipping-poſt for the advancement of their manufactures, it is to be hoped courts of juſtice will do all that in them lies, to encourage a trade of ſuch wonderful benefit to the kingdom, and which ſeems more likely than any other to provide a maintenance for our poor; as no qualification is required to the production of theſe wares, beſides that of being able to write, nor any tools or ſtock

to ſet up a manufacturer, beſides a pen and ink, and a ſmall quantity of paper; ſo that an author may indeed be equipped at a cheaper rate than a blacker of ſhoes.

Numb. 53. *Saturday*, July 4.

Quid dignum tanto feret hic promiſſor hiatu? HOR.

What will this gaſcoon be able to perform after this puff?

TO THE CENSOR of GREAT-BRITAIN.

SIR,

YOUR predeceſſors in the cenſorſhip were uſed to celebrate the ſeveral extraordinary perſonages who appeared in their time. As I doubt not to find in yourſelf the ſame good diſpoſition, I here ſend you an advertiſement, printed in the Daily Advertiſer of Monday laſt; the author of which muſt, I think, be eſteemed the moſt extraordinary perſon whom any age hath produced.

'UN François, homme de lettres, eſt arrivé 'de Paris à Londres, pour y enſeigner le 'François, la Fable, la Poëſie, la Blaſon, la Phi-'loſophie Françoiſe, le Latin, ſans exiger aucune 'etude de ſon diſciple; l'etude etant un obſtacle à 'ſa methode. S'il y a des temperamens trop 'foibles pour les contraindre, des caracteres trop 'vifs pour les fixer, des perſonnes trop agées pour 's'appliquer à l'etude, & qu'ils veuillent appren-'dre quelqu'une de ces ſciences ſur une methode 'ſi ſimple,

'ſi ſimple, plus courte, & plus ſolide que tout 'ce qui a precedé; they are deſired to enquire at 'Mr. Bezançons Snuff-ſhop in Little-Earl-Street, 'the Black-boy, by the Seven Dials.'

As it is poſſible that ſome of your readers may not have yet converſed with this ſurpriſing maſter, I ſhall for his, and their ſakes, endeavour to render it in Engliſh.

Thus then it runs:

'A Frenchman, a man of learning, is arrived 'at London from Paris, in order to teach the 'French language, Fables, Poetry, Heraldry, *French 'Philoſophy*, and the Latin tongue; without ex-'acting any ſtudy from his ſcholars, *all ſtudy being 'an obſtacle to his method.* If there be any conſtitu-'tions too weak to bear contradiction, any charac-'ters too lively to be capable of attention, any per-'ſons too far advanced in life to apply themſelves 'to ſtudy, and who are willing to learn any of the 'above ſciences, by a ſimple method, and one 'ſhorter as well as more ſolid than any which hath 'been hitherto practiſed, they are deſired to en-'quire,' &c. as above.

I muſt confeſs myſelf ſo ignorant, that, till I read this wonderful performance, I did not know there was a philoſophy which was peculiar to France, and that went under the name of French philoſophy! Perhaps this is what is meant by the French Marquè in St. Evremont, when he ſays, 'Premierement, j'aime la Guerre, après la Guerre 'Madame de ——, après Madame de —— la re-'ligion, après la religion *la philoſophie.*—Voilà ce 'que j'aime, Morbleu!' 'My firſt paſſion is *the 'war*, my ſecond is *Madame* de ———; my third 'is *religion*, and my fourth paſſion is *philoſophy.*— 'Now I have told you what my paſſions are, d—n 'me!' In which paſſage it ſeems pretty plain,

that la philoſophie is no other than what the French likewiſe call la danſe; and then it will be plain that the artiſt abovementioned is no other than a dancing-maſter, to whoſe method of teaching I do readily agree that ſtudy is often a very deplorable obſtacle.

But this will by no means ſolve all the difficulties; for though dancing will poſſibly make a man a great adept in the French philoſophy, how he will be able to dance into any Engliſh ſcience, or into the Latin tongue, is ſomewhat hard to conceive. Perhaps, by French philoſophy, the author means what is alſo called *l'induſtrie, ou l'art de voler bien les poches*, which I muſt beg to be excuſed from tranſlating into our coarſer language; in barbarous French it may be called the art of peka de poka. But if this be his meaning, I fancy he will be greatly deceived in his views, ſince I believe it is impoſſible to find more able maſters than ſome of his countrymen have already ſhewn themſelves here in that art. Nor do I believe, that ſtudy or intenſe application can be an enemy to this art, ſince I know ſeveral of the Engliſh who have plodded on all their lives on this very ſcience, and have at laſt, by mere dint of ſtudy, become very great proficients in it.

To ſay the truth, I am inclined to think, that by *à la Philoſophie Françoiſe*, is meant no other than *la bonne aſſurance*; that aſſurance, which the French alone call good, and which, it is very probable, they alone may call philoſophy.

And this I the rather conclude to be the undertaker's meaning, as it is certain, that, to the making any conſiderable progreſs in this French philoſophy, ſtudy is of all things the greateſt obſtacle. I have, indeed, obſerved in a late paper, that no man of learning was ever a proficient in this art. I muſt further obſerve, that the diſciples which our maſter ſeems to have principally choſen, ſuch, I mean,

mean, as can bear no contradiction, ſuch as are incapable of any attention, and ſuch aged perſons who are willing, all at once, without any labour, to leap, as it were, into ſcience, are all excellently adapted to receive the ſtrongeſt and moſt immediate impreſſions of this philoſophy.

Nor can I help obſerving, which is a further confirmation of my opinion, how nobly our artiſt hath contrived to convince the world of his fitneſs for the taſk he hath undertaken. I defy the ingenuity of man to invent a better method of conveying to the public in ſo few lines, an idea of a capacity for any undertaking whatever, than this aſtoniſhing Frenchman hath made uſe of to ſhew this nation how well qualified he is to teach them the French philoſophy, or the good aſſurance. I will not venture to propheſy what ſucceſs may attend ſo new and ſo extraordinary a propoſal. This, however, I cannot avoid remarking, that it ſeems to indicate what opinion of the underſtandings of the good people of this iſland at preſent prevails among the French philoſophers abroad. I am well convinced, it would be extremely difficult to perſuade the greateſt adept in the good aſſurance which this kingdom ever produced, to expect any ſucceſs from ſuch a propoſal even among the Hottentots, if he could make himſelf enough underſtood to publiſh his ſcheme among them.

I am, Sir,

Your moſt humble ſervant,

ANTIGALLICUS.

Numb. 54. *Saturday*, July 11.

——— *His juventus orta parentibus*
Infecit æquor ſanguine Punico. HOR.

Such were the heroes of that glorious reign
That humbled to the duſt the pride of Spain.

Mr. CENSOR,

YOU have formerly entertained the public, by repreſenting to them the opinions which poſterity will be ſuppoſed to conceive of the preſent age; you will poſſibly furniſh no leſs amuſement to your readers, by caſting your eyes backwards into our annals, as the manners of their anceſtors will, I apprehend, appear no leſs ſtrange to the preſent age, than the hiſtory of theſe our times can be thought hereafter.

After this ſhort introduction, I ſhall preſent you with a curious dialogue which ſeems to have been written towards the end of the reign of Queen Elizabeth. I have taken the liberty to modernize the language without doing the leaſt violence to the ſentiments of the original.

A Dialogue between Mr. Engliſh, *Madam* Engliſh, *Miſs Biddy* Engliſh, *and Miſtreſs* Plumtree, *the Miſtreſs of the Houſe.*

Mrs. Plum. I hope your ladyſhip is very well this morning after the fatigue of your journey.

Mad. Eng. Indeed, Miſtreſs Plumtree, I never was more fatigued in my life. Four days together upon a hard trotting horſe are enough to tire any one; beſides my pillion was horridly uneaſy, and I rode behind the footboy, who was hardly able to

to ſupport my leaning againſt him; but here's Biddy not in the leaſt the worſe for her journey.

Miſs Biddy. Upon my word, mamma, I never was in better ſpirits in my life. My ride hath given me an appetite; I have eat above half a pound of beef-ſteaks this morning for breakfaſt.

Mrs. Eng. I could have gone through any thing at your age, my dear, though I was never many miles from home before I was married. The young ladies have more liberty in theſe days, than they had formerly. Indeed, it was entirely owing to your father's goodneſs that you came to London now.

Mrs. Plum. O! Madam, I am ſure your ladyſhip would not have left Miſs in the country. It would have been barbarous not to have let her ſee the Tower, and the Abby, and Bedlam, and two or three plays.

Mrs. Eng. Fie! Mrs. Plumtree, with what are you filling the child's head? one play ſhe is to ſee and no more. The terms are all ſettled. One play, one new gown, and one ruff. But now I mention theſe things, pray, Mrs. Plumtree, what is become of the mantuamaker I employed laſt parliament when I was here?

Mrs. Plum. Alas! poor woman, ſhe is dead; but I can recommend your ladyſhip to another, one of the beſt in all London; ſhe makes gowns for the Lady Mayoreſs herſelf.

Mrs. Eng. I ſhall be obliged to you, good Mrs. Plumtree, to ſend for her to-day, for I have three viſits to make in London, and I ſhall like to do it in my new clothes.—O! Sir John, are you come at laſt? Dinner hath ſtayed for you till, I ſuppoſe, it is ſpoiled. It is almoſt two o'clock.

Mr. Eng. The houſe is but juſt up, my dear. We ſate very late to-day. I aſſure you I was invited very much to dine with one of our knights of the ſhire at his lodgings; he had a haunch of veniſon,

a fat gooſe, and an apple-pye for dinner, and all this I left for your company.

Mrs. Eng. Well, Sir John, I do not blame you; but parliament hours are very dreadful things.

Mr. Eng. We muſt ſuffer ſome inconveniencies for the good of our country, and we are employed upon a ſcheme now that is of the utmoſt conſequence to the nation. We are going to make ſuch a proviſion for the poor, that there will never be another beggar in the kingdom *.

Mrs. Plum. I am heartily glad of that; and I am ſure it is high time, for it was no longer ago than laſt ſummer that I ſaw two poor wretches in one day, actually begging in the open ſtreet.

Mr. Eng. Well, Dame, and how doth my good friend Maſter Plumtree hold it? We ſhall have another game at lantry-loo.

Mrs. Plum. Indeed, Sir John, you are too hard for my huſband. You won above ten ſhillings of him laſt parliament.

Mr. Eng. Your family is not hurt by it; for, I believe, you are as much in my debt on the ſame account; but I beg you will not encourage this girl to play; for ſhe is too much inclined to idleneſs.

Miſs Biddy. Nay, mamma, I am ſure I never deſire to play but in the Chriſtmas holidays.

Mrs. Plum. O! Madam, Miſs will have ſomething elſe to think on. Here is a young ſquire that lodges in our neighbourhood. A fine hardy young ſpark. There are but few, they tell me, that can either run or wreſtle with him, and heir to a noble eſtate he is.

(At theſe words Miſs Biddy bluſhed extremely.)

* By this paſſage it is ſuppoſed this dialogue happened in the forty-third year of Queen Elizabeth, when the famous ſtatute was made for providing for the poor; and which is the corner-ſtone of all our excellent poor laws.

Mr.

Mr. Eng. Well, let him look to it. Biddy won't turn her back to him. But, my dear, I have a ſhow for you. The queen goes to the parliament-houſe to-morrow; and there will be all the fine lords and ladies of the court. I have hired a balcony, and my little Biddy ſhall go too.

Mrs. Eng. You ſee Biddy, how good your papa is; and now, I hope, you will be ſatisfied, and not deſire to go out any more, except to one play and to church, whilſt you ſtay in London. I am ſure he is ſo liberal, he will be forced to ſend up for the other twenty pound.

Mr. Eng. Never mind that, my dear; your prudence in the country will ſoon make it up. But now I talk of court ladies, I have a piece of news for you. Indeed, I can hardly believe it myſelf, and yet I was told it by a very great perſon.

Mrs. Eng. What can it be, my dear, that you introduce with all this preface?

Mrs. Plum. I hope there are no more Spaniſh armadas coming.

Mr. Eng. No, no, nothing of that kind—— In ſhort, it is ſo ſtrange a thing, I ſcarce know how to mention it.——But can you think it? they ſay there is a court lady that hath made a cuckold of her huſband——A woman of very great quality, I aſſure you.

Mrs. Eng. This is ſtrange news, indeed, and impoſſible to be true.

Mr. Eng. Hardly impoſſible, my dear; ſuch things have been in nature.—

Mrs. Eng. And what is become of the lady, pray?

Mr. Eng. Why, ſhe is at court ſtill.

Mrs. Eng. Then it is impoſſible to be true; for if I could believe there was one ſuch woman of quality, I am well convinced there are no other that would own her.

Mr. Eng. I only tell you what I hear——But come, Dame Plumtree, is not your dinner ready? Upon my word, I have been half ſtarved. My conſtituents ſhall find out ſome other to ſerve them in the next parliament. It is a hard duty, Mrs. Plumtree, and a very expenſive one too. I never come up myſelf under twenty pound; and if my wife comes with me, the expence is almoſt double.

Mrs. Plum. Well, Sir,——but you know all men muſt ſerve their country.

Mr. Eng. Yes, Madam, and if all would, the burthen would be leſs ſevere; but I have diſcovered a moſt wicked corruption in the borough I ſerve for—There are three gentlemen in the neighbourhood who have as good eſtates as I have, and yet, becauſe they entertain the mayor and aldermen with more ſtrong drink than I do, they have never once attempted to chuſe them. The moment there is but a diſcourſe of an election, to toping they go.——So that they are ſure always of eſcaping, and I am likely to ſerve my country as long as I live.

Mrs. Plum. It is very hard, I muſt confeſs, Squire, but then you will conſider you have all the honour.——However, Sir, dinner is upon the table at preſent.

Mr. Eng. Lead on then, my Dame, and I will ſhew you what a ſtomach I have got in the ſervice of my country.

Numb. 55. *Saturday*, July 18.

——*Juvat integros accedere fontes,*
Atque haurire—— Lucretius.

——— *It is pleaſant to handle*
An untouched ſubject.

IT hath been obſerved, that characters of humour do abound more in this our iſland, than in any other country; and this hath been commonly ſuppoſed to ariſe from that pure and perfect ſtate of liberty which we enjoy in a degree greatly ſuperior to every foreign nation.

This opinion, I know, hath great ſanction, and yet I am inclined to ſuſpect the truth of it, unleſs we will extend the meaning of the word liberty farther than I think it hath been yet carried, and will include in it not only an exemption from all reſtraint of municipal laws, but likewiſe from all reſtraint of thoſe rules of behaviour which are expreſſed in the general term of good-breeding. Laws which, though not written, are perhaps better underſtood, and though eſtabliſhed by no coërcive power, much better obeyed within the circle where they are received, than any of thoſe laws which are recorded in books, or enforced by public authority.

A perfect freedom from theſe laws, if I am not greatly miſtaken, is abſolutely neceſſary to form the true character of humour; a character which is therefore not to be met with among thoſe people who conduct themſelves by the rules of good-breeding.

For, indeed, good-breeding is little more than the art of rooting out all thoſe ſeeds of humour which

which nature had originally implanted in our minds.

To make this evident, it ſeems neceſſary only to explain the terms, a matter in which I do not ſee the great difficulty which hath appeared to other writers. Some of theſe have ſpoken of the word humour, as if it contained in it ſome myſtery impoſſible to be revealed, and no one, as I know of, hath undertaken to ſhew us expreſsly what it is, though I ſcarce doubt but it was amply done by Ariſtotle in his treatiſe on comedy, which is unhappily loſt.

But what is more ſurpriſing, is, that we find it pretty well explained in authors who at the ſame time tell us, they know not what it is. Mr. Congreve, in a letter to Mr. Dennis, hath theſe words: "We cannot certainly tell what wit is, or what humour is;" and within a few lines afterwards he ſays, "There is great difference between a comedy "wherein there are many things humorouſly, as "they call it, which is pleaſantly ſpoken; and "one where there are ſeveral characters of humour, "diſtinguiſhed by the particular and different humours appropriated to the ſeveral perſons repreſented, and which naturally ariſe from the different conſtitutions, complexions, and diſpoſitions "of men. And again, I take humour to be a "ſingular and unavoidable manner of ſaying or "doing any thing peculiar and natural to one man "only; by which his ſpeech and actions are diſtinguiſhed from thoſe of other men. Our humour "hath relation to us, and to what proceeds from us, "as the accidents have to a ſubſtance; it is a colour, "taſte, and ſmell diffuſed through all; though our "actions are ever ſo many, and different in form, "they are all ſplinters of the ſame wood, and have "naturally one complexion, &c."

If my reader hath any doubt whether this is a juſt deſcription of humour, let him compare it with

with thoſe examples of humorous characters, which the greateſt maſters have given us, and which have been univerſally acknowledged as ſuch, and he will be perhaps convinced.

Ben Johnſon, after complaining of the abuſe of the word, proceeds thus:

Why humour (as 'tis ens) we thus define it,
To be a quality of air, or water,
And in itſelf holds theſe two properties,
Moiſture and fluxure; as for demonſtration,
Pour water on this floor, 'twill wet and run;
Likewiſe the air forc'd thro' a horn, or trumpet,
Flows inſtantly away, and leaves behind
A kind of dew; and hence we do conclude,
That whatſoe'er hath fluxure and humidity,
As wanting power to contain itſelf,
Is humour. So in every human body,
The choler, melancholy, phlegm and blood,
By reaſon that they flow continually
In ſome one part, and are not continent,
Receive the name of humours. 'Now thus far,
'It may, by metaphor, apply itſelf
'Unto the general diſpoſition;
'As when ſome one peculiar quality
'Doth ſo poſſeſs a man, that it doth draw
'All his effects, his ſpirits, and his powers,
'In their confluxions all to run one way,'
This may be truly ſaid to be a humour.
But that a rook by wearing a py'd feather,
The cable hatband, or the three piled ruff,
A yard of ſhoe-tie, or the Switzer's knot
On his French garters, ſhould affect a humour!
O! it is more than moſt ridiculous.

This paſſage is in the firſt act of *Every man out of his humour*; and I queſtion not but to ſome readers, the author will appear to have been out of his wits when he wrote it; but others, I am poſitive,

tive, will diſcern much excellent ore ſhining among the rubbiſh. In truth, his ſentiment, when let looſe from that ſtiff boddice in which it is laced, will amount to this, that as the term humour contains in it the ideas of moiſture and fluxure, it was applied to certain moiſt and flux habits of the body, and afterwards metaphorically to peculiar qualities of the mind, which, when they are extremely prevalent, do, like the predominant humours of the body, flow all to one part, and as the latter are known to abſorb and drain off all the corporeal juices and ſtrength to themſelves, ſo the former are no leſs certain of engaging the affections, ſpirits, and powers of the mind, and of enlifting them as it were, into their own ſervice, and under their own abſolute command.

Here then we have another pretty adequate notion of humour, which is, indeed, nothing more than a violent bent or diſpoſition of the mind to ſome particular point. To enumerate, indeed, theſe ſeveral diſpoſitions would be, as Mr. Congreve obſerves, as endleſs as to ſum up the ſeveral opinions of men; nay, as he well ſays, the *quot homines, tot ſententiæ* may be more properly interpreted of their humours, than their opinions.

Hitherto there is no mention of the Ridiculous, the idea of which, though not eſſential to humour, is always included in our notions of it. The Ridiculous is annexed to it theſe two ways, either by the manner, or the degree in which it is exerted.

By either of theſe, the very beſt and worthieſt diſpoſition of the human mind may become ridiculous. Exceſs, ſays Horace, even in the purſuit of virtue, will lead a wiſe and good man into folly and vice——So will it ſubject him to ridicule; for into this, ſays the judicious Abbé Bellegarde, a man may tumble headlong with an excellent underſtanding, and with the moſt laudable qualities. Piety, patriotiſm, loyalty, parental affection, &c.

have

have all afforded characters of humour for the ſtage.

By the manner of exerting itſelf likewiſe, a humour becomes ridiculous. By this means chiefly the tragic humour differs from the comic; it is the ſame ambition which raiſes our horror in Macbeth, and our laughter at the drunken ſailors in the Tempeſt; the ſame avarice which cauſes the dreadful incidents in the fatal curioſity of Lillo, and in the Miſer of Moliere; the ſame jealouſy which forms an Othello, or a Suſpicious Huſband. No paſſion or humour of the mind is abſolutely either tragic or comic in itſelf. Nero had the art of making vanity the object of horror; and Domitian, in one inſtance, at leaſt, made cruelty ridiculous.

As theſe tragic modes however never enter into our notion of humour, I will venture to make a ſmall addition to the ſentiments of the two great maſters I have mentioned, by which I apprehend my deſcription of humour will pretty well coincide with the general opinion. By humour then, I ſuppoſe, is generally intended a violent impulſe of the mind, determining it to ſome one peculiar point, by which a man becomes ridiculouſly diſtinguiſhed from all other men.

If there be any truth in what I have now ſaid, nothing can more clearly follow than the manifeſt repugnancy between humour and good-breeding. The latter being the art of conducting yourſelf by certain common and general rules, by which means, if they were univerſally obſerved, the whole world would appear (as all courtiers actually do) to be, in their external behaviour at leaſt, but one and the ſame perſon.

I have not room at preſent, if I were able, to enumerate the rules of good-breeding: I ſhall only mention one, which is a ſummary of them all. This is the moſt golden of all rules, no leſs than that

that *of doing to all men as you would they ſhould do unto you.*

In the deviation from this law, as I hope to evince in my next, all that we call humour principally conſiſts. I ſhall at the ſame time, I think, be able to ſhew, that it is to this deviation we owe the general character mentioned in the beginning of this paper, as well as to aſſign the reaſons why we of this nation have been capable of attracting to ourſelves ſuch merit in preference to others.

Numb. 56. *Saturday*, July 25.

Hoc fonte derivata. HOR.

Theſe are the ſources.

AT the concluſion of my laſt paper, I aſſerted that the ſummary of good-breeding was no other than the comprehenſive and exalted rule, which the greateſt authority hath told us is the ſum total of all religion and all morality.

Here, however, my readers will be pleaſed to obſerve that the ſubject matter of good-breeding being only what is called behaviour, it is this only to which we are to apply it on the preſent occaſion. Perhaps, therefore, we ſhall be better underſtood, if we vary the word, and read it thus. *Behave unto all men, as you would they ſhould behave unto you.*

This will moſt certainly oblige us to treat all mankind with the utmoſt civility and reſpect, there being nothing which we deſire more than to be treated ſo by them. This will moſt effectually reſtrain the indulgence of all thoſe violent and inordinate deſires, which, as we have endeavoured to ſhew,

ſhew, are the true ſeeds of humour in the human mind; the growth of which good-breeding will be ſure to obſtruct; or will at leaſt ſo overtop and ſhadow, that they ſhall not appear. The ambitious, the covetous, the proud, the vain, the angry, the debauchee, the glutton, are all loſt in the character of the well-bred man; or, if nature ſhould now and then venture to peep forth, ſhe withdraws in an inſtant, and doth not ſhew enough of herſelf to become ridiculous.

Now humour ariſes from the very oppoſite behaviour, from throwing the reins on the neck of our favourite paſſion, and giving it a full ſcope and indulgence. The ingenious Abbè, whom I quoted in my former paper, paints this admirably in the characters of ill-breeding, which he mentions as the very firſt ſcene of the Ridiculous. 'Ill-breeding (l'Impoliteſſe)' ſays he, 'is not a ſingle defect, 'it is the reſult of many. It is ſometimes a groſs 'ignorance of decorum, or a ſtupid indolence, which 'prevents us from giving to others what is due to 'them. It is a peeviſh malignity which inclines us 'to oppoſe the inclinations of thoſe with whom 'we converſe. It is the conſequence of a fooliſh 'vanity, which hath no complaiſance for any other 'perſon; the effect of a proud and whimſical humour, which ſoars above all the rules of civility; 'or, laſtly, it is produced by a melancholy turn 'of mind, which pampers itſelf *(qui trouve du Ragoût)* with a rude and diſobliging behaviour.'

Having thus ſhewn, I think, very clearly, that good-breeding is, and muſt be, the very bane of the Ridiculous, that is to ſay, of all humorous characters; it will perhaps be no difficult taſk to diſcover why this character hath been in a ſingular manner attributed to this nation.

For this I ſhall aſſign two reaſons only, as theſe ſeem to me abundantly ſatisfactory, and adequate to the purpoſe.

The

The firſt is that method ſo general in this kingdom of giving no education to the youth of both ſexes; I ſay general only, for it is not without ſome few exceptions.

Much the greater part of our lads of faſhion return from ſchool at fifteen or ſixteen, very little wiſer, and not at all the better, for having been ſent thither. Part of theſe return to the place from whence they came, their fathers country-ſeats; where racing, cock-fighting, hunting, and other rural ſports, with ſmoking, drinking, and party become their purſuit, and form the whole buſineſs and amuſement of their future lives. The other part eſcape the town in the diverſions, faſhion, follies and vices of which they are immediately initiated. In this academy ſome finiſh their ſtudies, while others by their wiſer parents are ſent abroad to add the knowledge of the diverſions, faſhions, follies and vices of all Europe, to that of thoſe of their own country.

Hence then we are to derive two great general characters of humour, which are the clown and the coxcomb, and both of theſe will be almoſt infinitely diverſified according to the different paſſions and natural diſpoſitions of each individual; and according to their different walks in life. Great will be the difference, for inſtance, whether the country gentleman be a whig or a tory; whether he prefers women, drink, or dogs; ſo will it be whether the town ſpark be allotted to ſerve his country as a politician, a courtier, a ſoldier, a ſailor, or poſſibly a churchman (for by draughts from this academy all theſe offices are ſupplied); or laſtly, whether his ambition ſhall be contented with no other appellation than merely that of a beau.

Some of our lads, however, are deſtined to a further progreſs in learning; theſe are not only confined longer to the labours of a ſchool, but are ſent thence to the univerſity. Here, if they pleaſe,

they may read on; and if they pleaſe, they may (as moſt of them do) let it alone, and betake themſelves as their fancy leads, to the imitation of their elder brothers either in town or country.

This is a matter which I ſhall handle very tenderly, as I am clearly of an opinion that an univerſity education is much the beſt we have; for here at leaſt there is ſome reſtraint laid on the inclinations of our youth. The ſportſman, the gameſter, and the ſot, cannot give ſuch a looſe to their extravagance, as if they were at home and under no manner of government; nor can our ſpark, who is diſpoſed to the town pleaſures, find either gaming-houſes or play-houſes, nor half the taverns or bawdy-houſes which are ready to receive him in Covent-Garden.

So far however, I hope, I may ſay without offence, that, among all the ſchools at the univerſities, there is none where the ſcience of good-breeding is taught; no lectures like the excellent leſſons on the ridiculous, which I have quoted above, and which I do moſt earneſtly recommend to all my young readers. Hence the learned profeſſions produce ſuch excellent characters of humour; and the rudeneſs of phyſicians, lawyers, and parſons, however dignified or diſtinguiſhed, affords ſuch pleaſant ſtories to divert private companies, and ſometimes the public.

I come now to the beautiful part of the creation, who, in the ſenſe I here uſe the word, I am aſſured can hardly (for the moſt part) be ſaid to have any education.

As to the counterpart of my country ſquire, the country gentlewoman, I apprehend, that, except in the article of the dancing-maſter, and perhaps in that of being barely able to read and write, there is very little difference between the education of many a ſquire's daughter, and that of his dairy-maid, who is moſt likely her principal companion,

nay, the little difference which there is, I am afraid, not in the favour of the former; who, by being conſtantly flattered with her beauty and her wealth, is made the vaineſt and moſt ſelf-conceited thing alive, at the ſame time, that ſuch care is taken to inſtil into her the principles of baſhfulneſs and timidity, that ſhe becomes aſhamed and afraid of ſhe knows not what.

If by any chance this poor creature drops afterwards, as it were, into the world, how abſurd muſt be her behaviour! If a man looks at her, ſhe is confounded; and if he ſpeaks to her, ſhe is frightened out of her wits. She acts, in ſhort, as if ſhe thought the whole ſex was engaged in a conſpiracy to poſſeſs themſelves of her perſon and fortune.

This poor girl, it is true, however ſhe may appear to her own ſex, eſpecially if ſhe is handſome, is rather an object of compaſſion, than of juſt ridicule; but what ſhall we ſay when time or marriage have carried off all this baſhfulneſs and fear, and when ignorance, aukwardneſs, and ruſticity, are embelliſhed with the ſame degree, though perhaps not the ſame kind of affectation, which are to be found in a court. Here ſure is a plentiful ſource of all that various humour which we find in the character of a country gentlewoman.

All this, I apprehend, will be readily allowed; but to deny good-breeding to the town lady, may be the more dangerous attempt. Here, beſides the profeſſors of reading, writing, and dancing, the French and Italian maſters, the muſic-maſter, and of modern times, the whiſt-maſter, all concur in forming this character. The manners-maſter alone, I am afraid is omitted. And what is the conſequence? not only baſhfulneſs and fear are intirely ſubdued, but modeſty and diſcretion are taken off at the ſame time. So far from running away from, ſhe runs after, the men; and inſtead of bluſhing

bluſhing when a modeſt man looks at her, or ſpeaks to her, ſhe can bear, without any ſuch emotion, to ſtare an impudent fellow in the face, and ſometimes to utter what, if he be not very impudent indeed, may put him to the bluſh.—Hence all thoſe agreeable ingredients which form the humour of a rampant woman of——the town.

I cannot quit this part of my ſubject, in which I have been obliged to deal a little more freely than I am inclined with the loveliest part of the creation, without preſerving my own character of good-breeding, by ſaying that this laſt exceſs, is by much the moſt rare; and that every individual among my female readers, either is already, or may be, when ſhe pleaſes, an example of a contrary behaviour.

The ſecond general reaſon why humour ſo much abounds in this nation, ſeems to me to ariſe from the great number of people, who are daily raiſed by trade to the rank of gentry, without having had any education at all; or, to uſe no improper phraſe, without having ſerved an apprenticeſhip to this calling. But I have dwelt ſo long on the other branch, that I have no room at preſent to animadvert on this; nor is it indeed neceſſary I ſhould, ſince moſt readers, with the hints I have already given them, will eaſily ſuggeſt to themſelves, a great number of humorous characters with which the public have been furniſhed this way. I ſhall conclude by wiſhing, that this excellent ſource of humour may ſtill continue to flow among us, ſince, though it may make us a little laughed at, it will be ſure to make us the envy of all the nations of Europe.

Numb. 59. *Saturday*, Auguſt 15.

——*Illachrymabiles*
Urgentur, ignotique longa
Nocte, carent quia vato ſacro. HOR.

Without a tear they fall, without a name,
Unleſs ſome ſacred bard records their fame.

THERE is a certain affection of the mind, for which, though it be common enough in the people of this country, we have not, I think, any adequate term in our language. The Greeks, though they likewiſe want a name for the abſtract, called a man ſo affected ΥΠΕΡΦΡΩΝ, a word which I ſhall not attempt to tranſlate otherwiſe than by a paraphraſe; I underſtand by it a man ſo intoxicated with his own great qualities, that he deſpiſes and overlooks all other men. In this ſenſe, the participle paſſive of the verb ὑπερφρονέω is uſed in Thucydides, ὑποτῶν ἐυπραγοντων ὑπερφρούνυμενος. The ſentiment is in the mouth of Alcibiades, and it is a very fine one. "As no man," ſays he, "will even "ſpeak to us when we are unfortunate, ſo muſt "they bear in their turn" to be deſpiſed by us when we are intoxicated with our ſucceſſes.

This diſdainful temper, notwithſtanding its haughty aſpect, proceeds, if I am not much miſtaken, from no higher principle than rank timidity. We endeavour to elevate ourſelves, and to depreſs others, leſt they ſhould be brought into ſome competition with ourſelves. We are not ſufficiently aſſured of our own footing in the aſcent to greatneſs, and are afraid of ſuffering any to come too near us, leſt they ſhould pull us down, and advance into our place.

Of

Of this pitiful temper of mind, there are no perſons ſo ſuſceptible as the brethren of the quill. Not only ſuch authors as have been a little ſingular in their opinions concerning their own merit, and in whom it ſeems more excuſable to bear a jealous eye towards others; but even thoſe who have far outſtripped their fellow-courſers in the race of glory, ſtretch their ſcornful eyes behind them, to expreſs their diſdain of the poor wretches who are limping and crawling on at however great a diſtance.

Many are the methods by which this paſſion is exerted. I ſhall mention only one, as it is much the moſt common, and perhaps the moſt invidious. This is a contemptuous ſilence. A treatment not much unlike to that which the Buccaneers formerly uſed to treat their conquered enemies, when they ſunk, or as they phraſed it, hid them in the ſea.

How many names of great writers may we ſuppoſe to have been ſunk by this baſe diſpoſition! Homer, as I remember, hath not perpetuated the memory of a ſimple writer, unleſs that of Therſites, who was, I make no doubt, from the character given of him in the Iliad, an author of no ſmall eſtimation. And yet there were probably as many of the function in thoſe days, as there are in this; nay, Homer himſelf in his Odyſſey, mentions the great honours which poets then received in the courts of all princes, whence we may very reaſonably conclude that they ſwarmed in thoſe courts, and yet the names of three only of his contemporaries have triumphed over the injuries of time, and the malice of their brethren, ſo as to reach our age.

The learned Voſſius, who ſeems to have employed no little pains in the matter, hath not been able to preſerve to us many more than two hundred down to the death of Cleopatra, and yet we are aſſured, that the famous Alexandrian library con-

tained no leſs than ſix hundred thouſand volumes, of which, as the humour of thoſe ages ran, we may conceive a ſixth part at leaſt to have conſiſted of poetry.

Among the Latins, how many great names may we ſuppoſe to have been hid by the affected taciturnity of Virgil, who appears to have mentioned only thoſe writers of quality to whom he made his court! Of his friend Horace, he had not the gratitude to take any notice; much leſs to repay thoſe praiſes which this latter poet had ſo liberally beſtowed on him.

Horace again, though ſo full of compliments to Virgil, of poor Ovid is altogether as cruelly and invidiouſly ſilent.

Ovid, who was, I am confident, one of the beſt-natured of human kind, was of all men moſt profuſe in the praiſes of his contemporaries; and yet even he hath been guilty of ſinking. Numberleſs were the poets in his time, whoſe names are no where to be found in his works; nay, he hath played the Buccaneer with two, one of whom is celebrated by Horace, and both of them by Virgil. The learned reader well knows I mean the illuſtrious names of Bavius and Mæbius; whoſe merits were ſo prevalent with Virgil, that though they were both his bitter revilers, he could not refrain from tranſmitting them to poſterity. I wiſh he had dealt as generouſly by all his cenſures, and I make no doubt but we ſhould have been furniſhed with ſome hundreds of names, *quæ nunc premit vox.*

Among our own writers, too many have been guilty of this vice. Had Dryden communicated all thoſe who drew their pens againſt him, he would have preſerved as many names from oblivion as a land-tax act; but he was, I am afraid, ſo intoxicated with his own merit, that he overlooked and deſpiſed all the great ſatyriſts who conſtantly abuſed,

abuſed, I had almoſt ſaid libelled, his works, unleſs they were ſome other way eminent, beſides by their writings, ſuch as Shadwell, who was poet laureat, and Buckingham, who was a duke.

Of all the chief favourites and prime miniſters of the muſes, the late ingenious Mr. Pope was moſt free from this ſcornful ſilence. He employed a whole work for the purpoſe of recording ſuch writers as no one without his pains, except he had lived at the ſame time and in the ſame ſtreet, would ever have heard of. He may indeed be ſaid to have raked many out of the kennels to immortality, which, though in ſomewhat a ſtinking condition, is to an ambitious mind preferable to utter obſcurity and oblivion; many, I preſume, having, with the wretch who burnt the Temple of Epheſus, ſuch a love for fame, that they are willing even to creep into her common ſhore.

In humble imitation of this great man, in the only inſtance of which I am capable of imitating him, I intend ſhortly to attempt a work of the ſame kind, in proſe I mean, and to endeavour to do juſtice to a great number of my contemporaries, whoſe names, for far the greater part, are much leſs known than they deſerve to be. And that I may be the better enabled to execute this generous purpoſe, I have employed ſeveral proper perſons to find out theſe authors. To this end, I have ordered my bookſeller to ſend me in the names of all thoſe apprentices and journeymen of bookſellers and printers who at preſent entertain and inſtruct the town with their productions. I have beſides a very able and induſtrious perſon who hath promiſed me a complete liſt of all the hands now confined in the ſeveral Bridewells in and about this city, which carry on the trade of writing, in any of the branches of religion, morality, and government; in all which every day produces us ſome

curious eſſay, treatiſe, remarks, &c. from thoſe quarters.

I ſhall conclude this paper with ſome very fine lines from the third book of the Dunciad, which gave indeed the firſt hint to my charitable deſign; for what a melancholy conſideration is it, that all theſe armies there ſpoken of ſhould periſh in the jaws of utter darkneſs, and that the names of ſuch worthies ſhould be as ſhort-lived as their works!—The verſes are part of the ſpeech of Settle to his ſon Cibber.

And ſee, my ſon! the hour is on its way,
That lifts our goddeſs to imperial ſway,
This fav'rite iſle long ſever'd from her reign,
Dove-like ſhe gathers to her wings again.
Now look thro' fate! behold the ſcene ſhe draws!
What aids, what armies to aſſert her cauſe!
See all her progeny, illuſtrious ſight!
Behold, and count them as they riſe to light.
As Berecynthia, while her offſpring vie
In homage to the mother of the ſky,
Surveys around her, in the bleſt abode,
An hundred ſons, and ev'ry ſon a God;
Not with leſs glory mighty dulneſs crown'd,
Shall take thro' Grubſtreet her triumphant round;
And her Parnaſſus glancing o'er at once,
Behold an hundred ſons, and each a dunce.

Numb. 60. *Saturday*, Auguſt 22.

Ὑπὲρ σεαυτὸν μὴ φρόνησις ἴσχυμια.

Be not the trumpeter of your own praiſe.

A French author, a great favourite of mine, and whom I have often quoted in my Lucubrations, obſerves, 'That it is very common for men 'to talk of themſelves, of their children and their 'family, and always in the terms of commendation. 'But,' ſays he, 'if thoſe who accuſtom themſelves 'to ſuch narratives, could conceive how troubleſome and tireſome they are to the reſt of the world, 'they would poſſibly learn to contain themſelves a 'little better, and to ſhew more complaiſance to 'the patience of their hearers. It is moreover 'matter of great aſtoniſhment to me, that men 'who are perpetually praiſing themſelves, ſcarce 'ever mention the name of another perſon but in 'order to abuſe it. Perhaps they intend to avail 'themſelves of the contraſt, and to recommend 'their own conduct to general approbation, by the 'cenſure of their neighbours.'

The motive to the former of theſe vices is clearly vanity; which, as the ingenious Doctor Young ſays,

Makes dear ſelf on well-bred tongues prevail,
And I the little hero of each tale.

The motive to the latter is malice; and to ſay a plain truth, I firmly believe there is no boſom where vanity is to be found in any great degree, which is not at the ſame time pretty conſiderably tainted with malice. Praiſe is a miſtreſs, in the purſuit of which every vain man muſt have many rivals,

rivals, and what temper of mind men preſerve to a rival, need not to be here repeated.

To both theſe impulſes of mind, there is no man, I am afraid, ſo liable as the writer. Fame is ſometimes his only purſuit; but this is always blended with his other views, even in the moſt mercenary, and for this ſimple reaſon, that it leads directly to pudding. He muſt at leaſt reſpect fame, as the Cit in the play doth his reputation, becauſe the loſs of it may tend to loſs of money. But in fact, his views are commonly more noble; vanity, not avarice, is the paſſion he would feed; and there is ſcarce an inhabitant of Parnaſſus, even among the poor of that pariſh, who will not be more pleaſed with one who commends his works, than with one who gives him a dinner; which being the caſe, it follows of courſe that they muſt be all rivals for the aforeſaid miſtreſs, and may conſequently be all ſuſpected of bearing malice to each other.

Again, there is no writer who can ſo eaſily indulge both theſe inclinations, as the writer of Miſcellaneous Eſſays. It required the genius of Cicero or Bolingbroke, to introduce their own praiſes into every political oration or pamphlet; or the wit of Lucian, or South, to drag the philoſophers and diſſenters, into almoſt every ſubject. But ſuch eſſayiſt having a full liberty to write not only what, but on what he pleaſes, may fill up every page with his own commendations, and with the abuſe of all other writers.

When I meditate on theſe matters, I can ſcarce refrain from taking ſome praiſe to myſelf; I am even vain enough to think the public have ſome little obligation to me, for that ſilence which I have hitherto ſo inviolably maintained with regard to my own perfections; and perhaps the more candid among my readers, would allow ſome applauſe to this forbearance, if they knew what a ſacrifice I make of my own inclinations, by thus conſulting their

their eaſe and pleaſure; for ſurely nothing can equal the ſatisfaction which a man feels in writing encomiums on himſelf, unleſs it be the diſguſt which every other perſon is as ſure to conceive at reading them.

In this mood of thinking likewiſe, I am apt to challenge to myſelf ſome degree of merit, towards my contemporary writers, eſpecially thoſe who write in my own way. As theſe gentlemen are, I doubt not, well aſſured of that immoderate envy which I muſt bear to their great genius and learning, they will certainly acknowledge, that to confine all this to myſelf, to ſmother theſe ſcorching flames within my own breaſt, without ſuffering even a ſpark to eſcape, ſeems a little to deſerve their commendation.

But to deal ingenuouſly on this occaſion, I muſt acknowledge there are ſome prudential as well as generous motives to this ſilence. Two conſiderations may perhaps be ſuſpected of having ſome little weight, in diſſuading a man even for his own ſake, from exhibiting his own praiſe. Firſt, that he will be ſure of being very little read, and in the next place of being much leſs believed. The fear of this latter fate, may likewiſe have ſome ſhare in prevailing on a man to ſtifle his envy, notwithſtanding all the pleaſure which is to be found in giving it vent. However ſweet it was to thoſe great men, whoſe names are recorded in the preface to the Dunciad, and in the Dunciad itſelf, to abuſe the characters of Pope, and Swift, and to aſſert, as they did, that the one wanted humour, and the other was no poet; I much doubt whether they would not have bought their pleaſure too dear, at the price of public ſcorn, even though the former had treated them with the ſame ſilent contempt, with which they were treated by the latter. For this reaſon, I ſhall carefully avoid any ſatire againſt the Popes and Swifts of the preſent age.

Though

Though envy of theſe great men ſhould boil in my own boſom, I will never ſuffer it to boil over ſo as to run abroad into the public.

To ſuppreſs two ſuch powerful paſſions as vanity and envy, is by no means an eaſy taſk. It requires indeed little leſs reſolution than what animated the Spartan youth, who concealed a fox under his garment, and rather than he would produce him openly, ſuffered the vermin to gnaw his very bowels. To ſay truth, I am afraid I ſhould not have been able to perſevere ſo long, had I not contrived a certain cunning method of diſcharging myſelf in private; and which as it is a moſt curious ſecret, I ſhall now communicate for the uſe of others, who, if they purſue the ſame method, will, I doubt not, meet with the ſame ſucceſs.

I will give it by way of receipt; and can truly ſay, it hath every quality, with which remedies are uſually recommended; being extremely cheap, eaſy, ſafe, and practicable.

A Receipt to prevent the ill effects of a raging vanity in an author.

When the fit is at the higheſt, take of pen, ink, and paper, Q. S. Make a panegyric on yourſelf; ſtuff it well with all the cardinal virtues; ſeaſon to your taſte with wit, humour, and learning. You may likewiſe add, as you ſee occaſion, birth, politeneſs, and ſuch like.

In the choice of your ingredients, be ſure to have a particular regard to your ſore part. If your ears be ſore with any freſh pulling, or your br——ch with any freſh kicking, infuſe a double portion of courage. If you have lately betrayed your ignorance ſo groſsly as to make Ovid guilty of two falſe quantities in one line, daſh plentifully with learning.

If you are publicly known to be an infamous liar, ſeaſon very high with honour; if you are notoriouſly

torioufly ſprung from the *dunghill*, take of anceſtors from the Engliſh hiſtory at the leaſt half a dozen. *Et ſic de cæteris.*

When you have writ your panegyric, you may read it as often as you pleaſe; but take care that no body hears you, and then be ſure to—burn your panegyric.

This laſt operation, I own, will cauſe ſome pain, but when it is conſidered that if you do not burn it yourſelf, other people will; nay, perhaps, will treat it yet worſe, and bring to it a much more diſhonourable and ſtinking end, a wiſe man will ſoon force himſelf to the reſolution of putting his panegyric beyond the reach of malice.

As to the cure of envy, I need not give the receipt for it at length. It is ſufficient to direct the choice of the very contrary ingredients; that is to ſay, inſtead of all the good, make uſe of all the bad qualities both of the head and heart.

And here likewiſe you are to examine your own ſore part; if any man hath ridiculed you with wit and humour, take of blockhead, dunce, and fool, of each three penfulls. If another hath kicked and cuffed you luſtily, be ſure to becoward him well, and if the aſſault was in public, before the eyes of many gentlemen, the word coward can never be too often repeated.

But with regard to this laſt, great caution muſt be had; firſt, that the perſon ſo to be becowarded, be firſt under a proſecution at law for the aſſault, and ſecondly, that he be then out of the kingdom, Theſe precautions are however uſeleſs, if you apply your ſatire, as you are above adviſed to apply your panegyric, I mean to the flames; otherwiſe they will be abundantly neceſſary, to prevent your ears from being pulled, till they reſemble thoſe of the aſs, lately expoſed at the Bedford Coffee-Houſe.

I ſhall

I ſhall conclude this paper with two quotations; the firſt is from the mouth of Socrates. "Never "ſpeak of yourſelf; for he who commends himſelf "is vain; and he who abuſes himſelf is abſurd." The other is from the witty Dr. South. He adviſes an abuſive writer "to be, of all others, moſt "circumſpect as to his own actions, ſeeing he is "ſo ſure of meeting with no quarter." A man muſt, indeed, be moſt furiouſly mad, who ſets up for a ſatiriſt, when it is ſcarce poſſible for him to diſcharge a ſingle vice at any other, that will not recoil on himſelf. In a word, with my friend Horace, *melius non tangere clamo.* A hint, which thoſe of my contemporary writers, who underſtand Latin, will, for the future, I hope, obſerve.

Numb. 61. *Saturday*, Auguſt 29.

Τὸν ἐλάτλω μὴ ἀποσκυβαλίσης. CLEOBUL.

Do not deſpiſe your inferiors.

THERE is not in human nature a more odious diſpoſition, than a proneneſs to contempt. Nor is there any which more certainly denotes a bad mind; for in a good, and a benign temper, there can be no room for this ſenſation. That which conſtitutes an object of contempt to the malevolent, becomes the object of other paſſions to a worthy and good-natured man; for in ſuch a perſon, wickedneſs and vice muſt raiſe hatred and abhorrence; and weakneſs and folly will be ſure to excite compaſſion; ſo that he will find no object of his contempt, in all the actions of men.

And however deteſtable this quality, which is a mixture of pride and ill-nature, may appear when conſidered

conſidered in the ſerious ſchool of Heraclitus, it will preſent no leſs abſurd and ridiculous an idea to the laughing ſect of Democritus, eſpecially as we may obſerve, that the meaneſt and baſeſt of all human beings are generally the moſt forward to deſpiſe others. So that the moſt contemptible are generally the moſt contemptuous.

I have often wiſhed that ſome of thoſe curious perſons who have employed their time in enquiring into the nature and actions of ſeveral inſects, ſuch as bees and ants, had taken ſome pains to examine whether they are not apt to expreſs any contemptuous behaviour one towards another; the plain ſymptons of which might poſſibly be diſcovered by the help of microſcopes. It is ſcarce conceivable that the queen bee, amongſt the hundred gallants which ſhe keeps for her own recreation, ſhould not have ſome eſpecial favorites, and it is full as likely, that theſe favorites will ſo carry themſelves towards their brethren, as to diſplay ſufficient marks of their contempt to the eye of an accurate diſcoverer in the manners of the reptile world. For my own part, I have remarked many inſtances of contempt amongſt animals, which I have farther obſerved to increaſe in proportion to the decreaſe of ſuch ſpecies, in the rank and order of the animal creation. Mr. Ellis informs me that he never could diſcover any the leaſt indication of contempt in the lions under his care; the horſe, I am ſorry to ſay it, gives us ſome, the aſs many more, the turkey-cock more ſtill, and the toad is ſuppoſed to burſt itſelf frequently with the violence of this paſſion. To purſue it gradually downwards, would be too tedious. It may be reaſonably ſuppoſed to arrive at a prodigious height before it deſcends to the louſe. With what a degree of contempt may we conceive that a ſubſtantial freeholder of this kind, who is well eſtabliſhed in the head of a beggar-wench, conſiders a poor vagabond louſe,

who hath ſtrayed into the head of a woman of quality; where it is in hourly danger of being arreſted by the mercileſs hands of her woman!

This may perhaps ſeem to ſome a very ridiculous image, and as ridiculous as I apprehend to a being of a ſuperior order, will appear a contemptuous man; one puffed up with ſome trifling, perhaps fancied ſuperiority, and looking round him with diſdain, on thoſe who are perhaps ſo nearly his equals, that to ſuch a being as I have juſt mentioned, the difference may be as inconſiderable and imperceptible between the deſpiſer and the deſpiſed, as the difference between two of the meaneſt inſects may ſeem to us.

And as a very good mind, as I have before obſerved, will give no entertainment to any ſuch affection; ſo neither will a ſenſible mind, I am perſuaded, find much opportunity to exert it. If men would make but a moderate uſe of that ſelf examination, which philoſophers and divines have recommended to them, it would tend greatly to the cure of this diſpoſition. Their contempt would then perhaps, as their charity is ſaid to do, begin at home. To ſay truth, a man hath this better chance of deſpiſing himſelf, than he hath of deſpiſing others, as he is likely to know himſelf beſt.

But I am ſliding into a more ſerious vein than I intended. In the reſidue of this paper, therefore, I will confine myſelf to one particular conſideration only, one which will give as ridiculous an idea of contempt, and afford as ſtrong diſſuaſives againſt it, as any other which at preſent ſuggeſts itſelf.

The conſideration I mean, is, that contempt is, generally at leaſt, mutual, and that there is ſcarce any one man who deſpiſes another without being at the ſame time deſpiſed by him, of which I ſhall endeavour to produce ſome few inſtances.

As the Right Honourable the Lord Squanderfeld, at the head of a vaſt retinue, paſſes by Mr. Moſes

Moſes Buckram, citizen and tailor, in his chaiſe and one. 'See there!' ſays my lord, with an air of the higheſt contempt, 'That raſcal Buckram, 'with his fat wife, I ſuppoſe he is going to his 'country-houſe, for ſuch fellows muſt have their 'country-houſe, as well as their vehicle. Theſe 'are the raſcals that complain of want of trade.' Buckram, on the other ſide, is no ſooner recovered from the fear of being run over, before he could get out of the way; than turning to his wife, he cries, 'Very fine, faith! an honeſt citizen is to 'be run over by ſuch fellows as theſe, who drive 'about their coaches and ſix, with other people's 'money. See, my dear! what an equipage he hath! 'and yet he cannot find money to pay an honeſt 'tradeſman! He is above fifteen hundred pounds 'deep in my books; how I deſpiſe ſuch lords!'

Lady Fanny Rantun, from the ſidebox, caſting her eyes on an honeſt pawnbroker's wife below her, bids Lady Betty her companion take notice of that creature in the pit; 'Did you ever ſee, Lady Betty,' ſays ſhe, 'ſuch a ſtrange wretch? how the aukward 'monſter is dreſſed!'—The good woman at the ſame time ſurveying Lady Fanny, and offended, perhaps, at a ſcornful ſmile, which ſhe ſees in her countenance,—whiſpers her friend,——'Obſerve 'Lady Fanny Rantun. As great airs as that fine 'lady gives herſelf, my huſband hath all her jewels 'under lock and key; what a contemptible thing 'is poor quality!'

Is there on earth a greater object of contempt than a poor ſcholar to a ſplendid beau; unleſs perhaps the ſplendid beau to the poor ſcholar; the philoſopher and the world; the man of buſineſs and the man of pleaſure, the beauty and the wit, the hypocrite and the profligate, the covetous and the ſquanderer, are all alike inſtances of this reciprocal contempt.

Take the ſame obſervations into the loweſt life, and we ſhall find the ſame proneneſs to deſpiſe each other. The common ſoldier, who hires himſelf out to be ſhot at for five pence a day, who is the only ſlave in a free country, and is liable to be ſent to any part of the world without his conſent, and whilſt at home ſubject to the ſevereſt puniſhments, for offences which are not to be found in our law books; yet this noble perſonage looks with a contemptuous air on all his brethren of that order in the commonwealth, whether of mechanics or huſbandmen, from whence he was himſelf taken. On the other hand, however adorned with his brickduſt coloured cloth, and bedaubed with worſted lace of a penny a yard, the very gentleman ſoldier is as much deſpiſed in his turn by the whiſtling carter, who comforts himſelf, that he is a free Engliſhman, and will live with no maſter any longer than he likes him; nay, and though he never was worth twenty ſhillings in his life, is ready to anſwer a captain if he offends him,—" D—n you, Sir, who " are you? is it not WE that pays you?"

This contemptuous diſpoſition is, in reality, the ſure attendant on a mean and bad mind in every ſtation; on the contrary, a great and good man will be free from it, whether he be placed at the top or bottom of life. I was therefore not a little pleaſed with a rebuke given by a blackſhoe boy to another, who had expreſſed his contempt of one of the modern town ſmarts. 'Why ſhould you de-' ſpiſe him, Jack?' ſaid the honeſt lad; 'we are all ' what the Lord pleaſed to make us.'

I will conclude this paper with a ſtory which a gentleman of honour averred to me to be truth. His coach being ſtopt in Piccadilly by two or three carts, which, according to cuſtom, were placed directly acroſs the way; he obſerved a very dirty fellow, who appeared to belong to a mud-cart, give another

another fellow ſeveral laſhes with his whip, and at the ſame time, heard him repeat more than once—"D—n you, I will teach you manners to your "betters." My friend could not eaſily from theſe words divine what might poſſibly be the ſtation of the unhappy ſufferer, till at length, to the great ſatisfaction of his curioſity, he diſcovered that he was the driver of a duſt-cart drawn by aſſes.

A

CHARGE

DELIVERED TO THE

GRAND JURY,

AT THE

SESSIONS of the PEACE

HELD FOR THE

City and Liberty of *Weſtminſter*, *&c.*

On THURSDAY the 29th of June, 1749.

A

CHARGE

Delivered to the

GRAND JURY, &c.

Gentlemen of the Grand Jury,

THERE is no part in all the excellent frame of our conſtitution, which an Engliſhman can, I think, contemplate with ſuch delight and admiration; nothing, which muſt fill him with ſuch gratitude to our earlieſt anceſtors, as that branch of Britiſh liberty from which, gentlemen, you derive your authority of aſſembling here on this day.

The inſtitution of juries, gentlemen, is a privilege which diſtinguiſhes the liberty of Engliſhmen from thoſe of all other nations; for as we find no traces of this in the antiquities of the Jews, or Greeks, or Romans; ſo it is an advantage, which is at preſent ſolely confined to this country; not ſo much, I apprehend, from the reaſons aſſigned by Forteſcue, in his book *de Laudibus*, *cap.* 29, namely, " becauſe there are more huſbandmen, and fewer " freeholders, in other countries;" as becauſe other countries have leſs of freedom than this; and being for the moſt part ſubjected to the abſolute wills of their governors, hold their lives, liberties, and pro-

perties at the diſcretion of thoſe governors, and not under the protection of certain laws. In ſuch countries it would be abſurd to look for any ſhare of power in the hands of the people.

And if juries in general be ſo very ſignal a bleſſing to this nation, as Forteſcue, in the book I have juſt cited, thinks it: "A method, ſays he, much "more available and effectual for the trial of truth, "than is the form of any other laws of the world, "as it is farther from the danger of corruption "and ſubornation;" what, gentlemen, ſhall we ſay of the inſtitution of grand juries, by which an Engliſhman, ſo far from being convicted, cannot be even tried, not even put on his trial in any capital caſe, at the ſuit of the crown; unleſs, perhaps, in one or two very ſpecial inſtances, till twelve men at the leaſt have ſaid on their oaths, that there is a probable cauſe for his accuſation! ſurely, we may in a kind of rapture cry out with Forteſcue, ſpeaking of the ſecond jury, "Who then can unjuſtly "die in England for any criminal offence, ſeeing he "may have ſo many helps for the favour of his "life, and that none may condemn him, but his "neighbours, good and lawful men, againſt whom "he hath no manner of exception?"

To trace the original of this great and ſingular privilege, or to ſay when and how it began, is not an eaſy taſk; ſo obſcure indeed are the footſteps of it through the firſt ages of our hiſtory, that my Lord Hale, and even my Lord Coke, ſeem to have declined it. Nay, this latter, in his account of his ſecond or petty jury, is very ſuccinct; and contents himſelf with ſaying, *Co. Lit.* 155. *b.* that it is very ancient and before the conqueſt.

Spelman, in his life of Alfred, lib. ii. page 71. will have that prince to have been the firſt founder of juries, but in truth they are much older; and very probably had ſome exiſtence even among the Britons. The Normans likewiſe had anciently the benefit

benefit of juries, as appears in the Cuſtumier de Normandy; and ſomething like grand juries too we find in that book under the title Suit de Murdyr.

Bracton, who wrote in the reign of Henry the third, in his book *de Corona, cap.* 1. gives a plain account of this matter; and by him it appears, that the grand juries before the juſtices in Eyre, differed very little at that time from what they now are, before juſtices aſſigned to keep the peace, oyer, and terminer, and gaol-delivery, unleſs in the manner of chuſing them, and unleſs in one other reſpect; there being then a grand jury ſworn for every hundred; whereas, at preſent, one ſerves for the whole county, liberty, &c.

But before this time, our anceſtors were ſenſible of the great importance of this privilege, and extremely jealous of it, as appears by the twenty-ninth chapter of the great charter, granted by King John, and confirmed by Henry the third. For thus my Lord Coke, 2 *Inſtit.* 46. expounds that chapter. *Nullus liber homo capiatur*, &c. 'No 'man ſhall be taken, that is (ſays he) reſtrained of 'liberty, by petition or ſuggeſtion to the king and 'his council; unleſs it be by indictment or preſent-'ment of good and lawful men, where ſuch deeds 'be done.'

And ſo juſt a value have our anceſtors always ſet on this great branch of our liberties, and ſo jealous have they been of any attempt to diminiſh it, that when a commiſſion to puniſh rioters in a ſummary way, was awarded in the ſecond year of Richard the Second, 'it was,' ſays Mr. Lambard in his Eirenarcha, fol. 305. 'even in the ſelf-ſame year 'of the ſame king, reſumed, as a thing over hard '(ſays that writer) to be borne, that a freeman 'ſhould be impriſoned without an indictment, or 'other trial, by his peers, as Magna Charta 'ſpeaketh; until that the experience of greater 'evils

'evils had prepared and made the ſtomach of the 'commonwealth able and fit to digeſt it.'

And a hard morſel ſurely it muſt have been, when the commonwealth could not digeſt it in that turbulent reign, which, of all others in our hiſtory, ſeems to have afforded the moſt proper ingredients to make it palatable; in a reign moreover, when the commonwealth ſeemed to have been capable of ſwallowing and digeſting almoſt any thing; when judges were ſo proſtituted as to acknowledge the king to be above the law; and when a parliament, which even Echard cenſures, and for which Mr. Rapin, with a juſter indignation tells us, he knows no name odious enough, made no ſcruple to ſacrifice to the paſſions of the king, and his miniſters, the lives of the moſt diſtinguiſhed lords of the kingdom, as well as the liberties and privileges of the people. Even in that reign, gentlemen, our anceſtors could not, as Mr. Lambard remarks, be brought by any neceſſity of the times, to give up, in any ſingle inſtance, this their invaluable privilege.

Another conſiderable attempt to deprive the ſubject of the benefit of grand juries was made in the eleventh year of Henry the Seventh. The pretence of this act of parliament, was the wilful concealments of grand jurors, in their inqueſts; and by it 'power was given to the juſtices of aſſize in their 'ſeſſions, and to the juſtices of peace in every 'county, upon information for the king, to hear 'and determine all offences and contempts (ſaving 'treaſon, murder, or felony) by any perſon againſt 'the effect of any ſtatute.'

My Lord Coke, in his 4th Inſtitute, fol. 40. ſets forth this act at large, not as a law which in his time had any force, but *in Terrorem*; and, as he himſelf ſays, that the like ſhould never be attempted in any future parliament.

'This

'This act,' ſays Lord Coke, 'had a fair flatter-
'ing preamble; but in the execution, tended dia-
'metrically contrary; viz. to the high diſpleaſure
'of Almighty God, and to the great let, nay,
'the utter ſubverſion of the common law; namely,
'by depriving the ſubject of that great privilege
'of being indicted and tried by a jury of their
'countrymen.'

By pretext of this law, ſays the great writer I have juſt cited, Empſon and Dudley did commit upon the ſubject inſufferable preſſures and oppreſſions. And we read in hiſtory, that ſoon after the act took place, Sir William Capel, alderman of London, who was made the firſt object of its tyranny, was fined two thouſand ſeven hundred pounds, ſixteen hundred of which he actually paid to the king, by way of compoſition. A vaſt ſum in thoſe days, to be impoſed for a crime ſo minute, that ſcarce any notice is taken of it in hiſtory.

Our anceſtors, however, bore not long this invaſion on their liberties; for in the very firſt year of King Henry VIII. this flagitious act was repealed, and the adviſers of all the extortions committed by it were deſervedly ſacrificed to the public reſentment.

Gentlemen, I ſhall mention but two more attacks on this moſt valuable of all our liberties; the firſt of which was indeed the greateſt of all, I mean that curſed court of Star-Chamber, which was erected under the ſame king.

I ſhall not before you, gentlemen, enter into a conteſt with my Lord Coke, whether this court had a much older exiſtence, or whether it firſt begun under the ſtatute of 3 Henry VII. For my part, I clearly think the latter.

I. Becauſe the ſtatute which erects it mentions no ſuch court as then exiſting, and moſt manifeſtly

feſtly ſpeaks the language of creation, not of confirmation.

II. Becauſe it was expreſsly ſo underſtood by the judges, within five years after the ſtatute was made, as appears by the year-book of 8 Henry VII. *Paſch.* fol. 13. *Plac.* 7.

Laſtly, Becauſe all our hiſtorians and law writers before that time are ſilent concerning any ſuch court; for as to the records and acts of parliament cited by my Lord Coke, they are moſt evidently to be applied only to the king and council, to whom, in old time, complaints were, in very extraordinary caſes, preferred.

This old court, my Lord Coke himſelf confeſſes, ſat very rarely; ſo rarely indeed, that there are no traces left of its proceedings, at leaſt of any ſuch as were afterwards had under the authority of the ſtatute. Had this court had an original exiſtence in the conſtitution, I do not ſee why the great lawyer is ſo ſevere againſt the before-mentioned act of the eleventh of Henry VII. or how he can, with any propriety, call the liberty of being accuſed and tried only by juries, the birthright of an Engliſh ſubject.

The other inſtance was that of the high commiſſion court, inſtituted by parliament in the firſt year of Queen Elizabeth.

This act likewiſe pretends to refer to an authority in being. The title of it is, An Act reſtoring to the crown the ancient juriſdiction, &c. By which, ſaith Lord Coke, 4 Inſt. 325. the nature of the act doth appear, viz. that it is an act of reſtitution.

And hence the court of Common Pleas, in the reign of James I. well argued, that the act being meant to reſtore to the crown the ancient eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction, the commiſſioners could derive no other power from it than before belonged to that eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction.

But

But however neceſſary, as my lord Coke ſays, 4 Inſt. 326. this act might have been at its firſt creation, or however the intention of the legiſlature might have been to reſtrain it, either as to time or perſons, certain it is, that the commiſſioners extended its juriſdiction in many caſes, to the great grievance of the ſubject, and to the depriving them of that privilege which I have juſt mentioned to be the birthright of an Engliſhman.

The uſes made of theſe courts, and particularly under that unhappy prince Charles I. need not be mentioned. They are but too well known. Let it ſuffice, that the ſpirit of our anceſtors at laſt prevailed over theſe invaſions of their liberties, and theſe courts were for ever aboliſhed.

And, gentlemen, if we have juſt reaſon to admire the great bravery and ſteadineſs of thoſe our anceſtors, in defeating all the attempts of tyranny againſt this excellent branch of our conſtitution, we ſhall have no leſs reaſon, I apprehend, to extol that great wiſdom, which they have from time to time demonſtrated, in well ordering and regulating their juries; ſo as to preſerve them as clear as poſſible from all danger of corruption. In this light, gentlemen, we ought to conſider the ſeveral laws by which the morals, the character, the ſubſtance, and good demeanor of jurors are regulated. Theſe jurors, gentlemen, muſt be good and lawful men, of reputation and ſubſtance in their country, choſen at the nomination of neither party, abſolutely diſintereſted and indifferent in the cauſe which they are to try. Upon the whole, the excellence of our conſtitution, and the great wiſdom of our laws, which Forteſcue, my Lord Coke, and many other great writers, have ſo highly extolled, is in no one inſtance ſo truly admirable as in this inſtitution of our juries.

I hope, gentlemen, I ſhall not be thought impertinent, in having taken up ſo much of your time

to

to ſhew you the great dignity and importance of that office which you are now aſſembled here to execute; the duties of which it is incumbent on me conciſely to open to you; and this I ſhall endeavour in the beſt manner I am able.

The duty, gentlemen, of a grand juror, is to enquire of all crimes and miſdemeanors whatſoever, which have been committed in the county or liberty for which he ſerves as a grand juror, and which are anywiſe cognizable by the court in which he is ſworn to enquire.

And this enquiry is in a twofold manner, by way of indictment, and by way of preſentment.

Which two words, Mr. Lambard, fol. 461. thus explains:

A preſentment, ſays he, I take to be a mere determination of the jurors themſelves; and an indictment is the verdict of the jurors, grounded upon the accuſation of a third perſon; ſo that a preſentment is but a declaration of the jurors, without any bill offered before; and an indictment is their finding of a bill of accuſation to be true.

The uſual method of charge hath been to run over the ſeveral articles, or heads of crimes, which might poſſibly become ſubject to the enquiry of the grand jury.

This we find in Bracton, who writ ſo long ago as the reign of Henry III. was the practice of the juſtices in Eyre, l. iii. c. 1. And my lord Coke ſays, 4 Inſt. 183. That the charge to be given at the ſeſſions of the peace conſiſteth of two parts; laws eccleſiaſtical for the peace of the church, and laws civil and temporal for the peace of the land. And Mr. Lambard, in his Eirenarcha, gives the whole form of the charge at length, in which he recapitulates every article which was at that time enquirable in the ſeſſions.

But, gentlemen, I think I may be excuſed at preſent from taking up ſo much of your time; for though

though we are aſſembled to exerciſe the juriſdiction of a very ancient and honourable liberty, yet, as there is another ſeſſions of juſtices within that county of which this liberty is a part, before whom indictments for all crimes of the deeper dye are uſually preferred, it ſeems rather to ſavour of oſtentation than utility, to run over thoſe articles which in great probability will not come before you.

And indeed a perfect knowledge of the law in theſe matters is not neceſſary to a grand juror; for in all caſes of indictments, whether for a greater or leſſer, a public or private crime, the buſineſs of a grand jury is only to attend to the evidence for the king; and if on that evidence there ſhall appear a probable cauſe for the accuſation, they are to find the bill true, without liſtening to any circumſtances of defence, or to any matter of law.

And therefore my Lord Hale, Vol. II. fol. 158. puts this caſe: 'If A. be killed by B. ſo that the 'perſon of the ſlayer and ſlain be certain; and a 'bill of murder be preſented to the grand jury, 'regularly they ought to find the bill for murder, 'and not for manſlaughter, or *ſe defendendo*; be-'cauſe otherwiſe offences may be ſmothered with-'out due trial; and when the party comes on his 'trial, the whole fact will be examined before the 'court and the petty jury; for if a man kills B. in 'his own defence, or *per infortunium*, or poſſibly in 'executing the proceſs of law upon an aſſault made 'upon him, or in his own defence on the highway, 'or in defence of his houſe againſt thoſe that come 'to rob him (in which three laſt caſes it is neither 'felony nor forfeiture, but, upon not guilty pleaded, 'he ought to be acquitted) yet if the grand inqueſt 'find an *ignoramus* upon the bill, or find the ſpecial 'matter, whereby the priſoner is diſmiſſed and diſ-'charged, he may nevertheleſs be indicted for mur-'der ſeven years after;' whereas, if upon a proper finding he had been acquitted, he could never afterwards

wards be again arraigned without having the plea of *autrefoits acquit*.

This doctrine of the learned chief juſtice you will apply to whatever caſe may come before you; for wherever you ſhall find probable cauſe, upon the oaths of the king's witneſſes, you will not diſcharge your office without finding the bill to be true, ſhewing no regard to the nature of the crime, or the degree of the guilt; which are matters proper for the cognizance and determination of the court only.

I muſt not, however, omit, on the authority of the laſt mentioned judge, H. P. C. ii. 157. 'that 'if, upon the hearing the king's evidence, or upon 'your own knowledge of the incredibility of the 'witneſſes, you ſhall be diſſatisfied, you may then 'return the bill *ignoramus*.'

It is true, my Lord Hale confines this to indictments for capital offences; but I ſee no reaſon why it may not be extended to any indictment whatever.

One caution more occurs on this head of indictment; and it is the duty of ſecrecy. To have revealed the king's counſel diſcloſed to the grand jurors was formerly taken to be felony; nay, juſtice Shard, in the 27th year of the book of aſſizes, Placit. 63. doubted whether it was not treaſon; and though at this day the law be not ſo ſevere, yet is this ſtill a very great miſdemeanor, and fineable as ſuch, and is moreover a manifeſt breach of your oath.

I come now, gentlemen, to the ſecond branch of your duty, namely, that of preſenting all offences which ſhall come to your knowledge.

And this is much more painful, and of greater difficulty than the former; for here you are obliged, without any direct accuſation, to inform yourſelves as well as is poſſible of the truth of the fact, and in ſome meaſure likewiſe to be conuſant of

of thoſe laws which ſubject offences to your preſentment.

Upon this head, therefore, I ſhall beg leave to remind you of thoſe articles which ſeem to be moſt worthy of your enquiry at this time; for indeed it would be uſeleſs and tedious to enumerate the whole catalogue of miſdemeanors, that are to be found in our ſtatutes; many of which, though ſtill in force, are, by the changes of times and faſhions, become antiquated, and of little uſe. *Ceſſante ratione legis, ceſſat & ipſa lex*; and there are ſome accidental and temporary evils which at particular ſeaſons have, like an epidemic diſtemper, affected ſociety, but have afterwards diſappeared, or at leaſt made very faint efforts to corrupt the public morals. The laws made to ſuppreſs ſuch, though very wholeſome and neceſſary at the time of their creation, become obſolete with the evil which occaſioned them, and which they were intended to cure. But, gentlemen, there are evils of a more durable kind, which rather reſemble chronical than epidemic diſeaſes; and which have ſo inveterated themſelves in the blood of the body politic, that they are perhaps never to be totally eradicated. Theſe it will be always the duty of the magiſtrate to palliate and keep down as much as poſſible. And theſe, gentlemen, are the miſdemeanors of which you are to preſent as many as come to your knowledge.

And firſt, gentlemen, I will remind you of preſenting all offences committed immediately againſt the Divine Being; for though all crimes do include in them ſome degree of ſin, and may therefore be conſidered as offences againſt the Almighty; yet there are ſome more directly levelled at his honour, and which the temporal laws do puniſh as ſuch.

And, 1. All blaſphemous expreſſions againſt any one of the Sacred Perſons in the Trinity, are ſeverely puniſhable by the common law; for, as my lord

Hale ſays, in Taylor's caſe, 1 Vent. 293. 3 Keb. 607. 621. S. C. 'Such kind of wicked blaſ-'phemous words are not only an offence againſt 'God and religion, but a crime againſt the laws, 'ſtate, and government;' and in that caſe the defendant for blaſphemy, too horrible indeed to be repeated, was ſentenced to ſtand three times in the pillory, to pay a great fine, and to find ſecurity for his good behaviour during life.

In like manner, all ſcandalous and contemptuous words ſpoken againſt our holy religion, are by the wiſdom of the common law made liable to an indictment; for 'Chriſtianity' (ſays that excellent chief-juſtice, in the caſe I have juſt cited) 'is par-'cel of the laws of England; therefore to re-'proach the Chriſtian Religion is to ſpeak in ſub-'verſion of the law.' And to the ſame purpoſe is Attwood's caſe, in Cro. Jac. 421. where one was indicted before the juſtices of peace for ſaying, that the religion now profeſſed was a new religion within fifty years, &c. For as to the doubt concerning the high commiſſioners, ſtarted in that caſe, and then, as it appears, overruled, that is now vaniſhed.

Nor are our ſtatutes ſilent concerning this dreadful offence; particularly by 1 Eliz. c. 2. ſect. 9. a ſevere puniſhment is enacted for any perſon, who ſhall, in any interludes, plays, ſongs, rhimes, or by other open words, declare or ſpeak any thing in derogation, depraving or deſpiſing the Book of Common Prayer, &c.

Mr. Lambard, I find, mentions this act in his charge, though the execution of it be in the counties confined to the juſtices of Oyer and Terminer, and of aſſize; but the 22d ſect. of the ſtatute ſeems to give a clear juriſdiction to this court, at two of our quarter-ſeſſions.

The laſt offence of this kind which the wicked tongue of man can commit, is by profane curſing and

and ſwearing. This is a ſin expreſsly againſt the law delivered by God himſelf to the Jews, and which is as expreſsly prohibited by our Bleſſed Saviour in his ſermon on the mount.

Many ſtatutes have been made againſt this offence; and by the laſt of theſe, which was enacted in the nineteenth year of the preſent king, every day-labourer, common ſoldier, common ſailor, and common ſeaman, forfeits one ſhilling; every other perſon under the degree of a gentleman, two ſhillings; and every perſon of or above that degree, five ſhillings.

And in caſe any perſon ſhall after ſuch conviction offend again, he forfeits double; and for every offence after a ſecond conviction, treble.

Though the execution of this act be entruſted to one ſingle magiſtrate, and no juriſdiction, unleſs by appeal, given to the ſeſſions; yet I could not forbear mentioning it here, when I am ſpeaking in the preſence of many peace-officers, who are to forfeit forty ſhillings for neglecting to put the act in execution. And I mention it the rather to inform them, that whenever the offender is unknown to any conſtable, petty conſtable, tithingman, or other peace-officer, ſuch conſtable, &c. is empowered by the act, without any warrant, to ſeize and detain any ſuch perſon, and forthwith to carry him before the next magiſtrate.

And if theſe officers would faithfully diſcharge the duty thus enjoined them, and which religion, as well as the law, requires of them, our ſtreets would ſoon ceaſe to reſound with this deteſtable crime, ſo injurious to the honour of God, ſo directly repugnant to his poſitive commands, ſo highly offenſive to the ears of all good men, and ſo very ſcandalous to the nation in the ears of foreigners.

Having diſpatched thoſe miſdemeanors (the principal ones at leaſt) which are immediately committed againſt God, I come now to ſpeak of thoſe

which are committed againſt the perſon of the King, which perſon the law wiſely holds to be ſacred.

Beſides thoſe heinous offences againſt this ſacred perſon, which are puniſhed *ultimo ſupplicio*, there are many articles, ſome of which involve the criminal in the guilt of præmunire, and others are conſidered in law as miſpriſions or contempts. The former of theſe is by Mr. Serjeant Hawkins in his pleas of the crown, divided into two general heads: viz.

Into offences againſt the crown.

And offences againſt the authority of the king and parliament.

Under the former head, he enumerates nine ſeveral articles; but as theſe chiefly relate to ſuch invaſions of the royal prerogative as were either made in Popiſh ages in favour of the Biſhops of Rome, or in thoſe times which bordered on the reformation in favour of the Church of Rome, and are not practiſed, at leaſt not openly practiſed in theſe days, I ſhall have no need to repeat them here.

Under the latter head he mentions only one, which was enacted in the reign of Queen Anne, 6 Ann. c. 7. If any perſon ſhall maliciouſly and directly, by preaching, teaching, or adviſed ſpeaking, declare, maintain, and affirm, that the pretended Prince of Wales hath any right or title to the crown of theſe realms, or that any other perſon or perſons hath or have any right or title to the ſame, otherwiſe than according to the acts of ſettlement; or that the kings or queens of this realm, with the authority of parliament, are not able to make laws to limit the crown and the deſcent, &c. thereof, ſhall incur a præmunire.

A moſt wholeſome and neceſſary law. And yet ſo mild hath been our government, that I remember no one inſtance of putting it in execution.

Miſpriſions or contempts are againſt the King's prerogative, againſt his title, or againſt his ſacred perſon or government.

Under theſe heads will fall any act of public and avowed diſobedience; any denying his moſt juſt and lawful title to the crown; any overt act which directly tends to encourage or promote rebellion or ſedition; all falſe rumours againſt his majeſty, or his councils; all contemptuous language concerning his ſacred perſon, by curſing, reviling him, &c. or by uttering any thing which manifeſts an intention of leſſening that eſteem, awe and reverence which ſubjects ought to bear to the beſt of Princes.

Theſe are offences, gentlemen, which I muſt earneſtly recommend to your enquiry. This, gentlemen, is your duty as grand jurors; and it muſt be a moſt pleaſing taſk to you, as you are Engliſhmen; for in proportion as you love and eſteem your liberties, you will be fired with love and reverence toward a Prince, under whoſe adminiſtration you enjoy them in the fulleſt and ampleſt manner.

Believe me, gentlemen, notwithſtanding all which the malice of the diſappointed, the madneſs of republicans, or the folly of Jacobites may inſinuate, there is but one method to maintain the liberties of this country, and that is, to maintain the crown on the heads of that family which now happily enjoys it.

If ever ſubjects had reaſon to admire the juſtice of that ſentiment of the poet Claudian, "That li-" berty never flouriſhes ſo happily as under a good " king," we have reaſon at preſent for that admiration.

I am afraid, gentlemen, this word liberty, though ſo much talked of, is but little underſtood. What other idea can we have of liberty, than that it is the enjoyment of our lives, our perſons, and our

properties in ſecurity; to be free maſters of ourſelves and our poſſeſſions, as far as the known laws of our country will admit; to be liable to no puniſhment, no confinement, no loſs but what thoſe laws ſubject us to! Is there any man ignorant enough to deny that this is the deſcription of a free people? or baſe enough to accuſe me of panegyric, when I ſay this is our preſent happy condition?

But if the bleſſing of liberty, like that of health, be not to be perceived by thoſe who enjoy it, or at leaſt muſt be illuſtrated by its oppoſite, let us compare our own condition with that of other countries; of thoſe whoſe polity ſome among us pretend ſo much to admire, and whoſe government they ſeem ſo ardently to affect. *Lettres de Cachet*, Baſtiles, and Inquiſitions, may, perhaps, give us a livelier ſenſe of a juſt and mild adminiſtration, than any of the bleſſings we enjoy under it.

Again, gentlemen, let us compare the preſent times with the paſt. And here I need not reſort back to thoſe diſtant ages, when our unhappy forefathers petitioned their conqueror, 'that he would 'not make them ſo miſerable, nor be ſo ſevere to 'them, as to judge them by a law they under'ſtood not' Theſe are the very words, as we find them preſerved in Daniel; in return to which, the hiſtorian informs us, nothing was obtained but fair promiſes. I ſhall not dwell here on the tyranny of his immediate ſucceſſor, of whom the ſame hiſtorian records, that 'ſeeking to eſtabliſh abſolute 'power by force, he made both himſelf and his 'people miſerable.'

I need not, gentlemen, here remind you of the oppreſſions under which our anceſtors have groaned in many other reigns, to ſhake off which the ſword of civil war was firſt drawn in the reign of King John, which was not entirely ſheathed during many ſucceſſive generations.

I might,

I might, perhaps, have a fairer title to your patience, in laying open the tyrannical proceedings of latter times, while the crown was poſſeſſed by four ſucceſſive Princes of the Houſe of Stuart. But this, gentlemen, would be to treſpaſs on your patience indeed; for to mention all their acts of abſolute power, all their attempts to ſubvert the liberties of this nation, would be to relate to you the hiſtory of their reigns.

In a word, gentlemen, all the ſtruggles which our anceſtors have ſo bravely maintained with ambitious princes, and particularly with the laſt mentioned family, was to maintain and preſerve to themſelves and their poſterity, that very liberty which we now enjoy, under a Prince to whom I may truly apply what the philoſopher long ago ſaid of virtue, *That all who truly know him, muſt love him.*

The third general head of miſdemeanors, gentlemen, is of thoſe which are committed againſt the ſubject; and theſe may be divided into two branches.

Into ſuch as are committed againſt individuals only:

And into ſuch as affect the public in general.

The former of theſe will probably come before you by way of indictment; for men are apt enough to revenge their own quarrels; but offences *in commune nocumentum* do not ſo certainly find an avenger; and thus thoſe crimes, which it is the duty of every man to puniſh, do often eſcape with impunity.

Of theſe, gentlemen, it may be therefore proper to awaken your enquiry, and particularly of ſuch as do in a more eſpecial manner infeſt the public at this time.

The firſt of this kind is the offence of profligate lewdneſs; a crime of a very pernicious nature to ſociety, as it tends to corrupt the morals of our

youth, and is expreſsly prohibited by the law of God, under the denunciation of the ſevereſt judgment, in the New Teſtament. Nay, we read in the 25th chapter of Numbers the exceeding wrath of God againſt the children of Iſrael for their fornication with the daughters of Moab. Nor did the plague, which on that occaſion was ſent among them, and which deſtroyed four and twenty thouſand, ceaſe, till Phineas, the ſon of Eleazer, and grandſon of Aaron, had ſlain the Iſraelite together with his harlot.

And this, gentlemen, though a ſpiritual offence, and of a very high nature too, as appears from what I have mentioned, is likewiſe a temporal crime, and, as Mr. Lambard (122) ſays, againſt the peace.

My Lord Coke, in this third Inſtitute, 206, tells us, that, in ancient times, adultery and fornication were puniſhed by fine and impriſonment, and were enquirable in turns and leets. And in the year-book of Henry VII. 1 H. vii. fol. 6. plac. 3. we find the cuſtom of London pleaded for a conſtable to ſeize a woman taken in the act of adultery, and to carry her to priſon.

And though later times have given up this matter in general to eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction, yet there are two ſpecies which remain at this day cognizable by the common law.

The firſt is, any open act of lewdneſs and indecency in public, to the ſcandal of good manners.

And therefore, in Michaelmas term, 15 Car. II. B. R. Sir Charles Sidney was indicted for having expoſed himſelf naked in a balcony in Covent Garden, to a great multitude of people, with many indecent words and actions; and this was laid to be contrary to the king's peace, and to the great ſcandal of Chriſtianity. He confeſſed the indictment, and Siderfin, 1 Sid. 168. who reports the caſe, tells us, that the court, in conſideration of

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his embarraſſed fortune, fined him only two thouſand marks, with a ſhort impriſonment, and to be bound three years to his good behaviour. An infamous puniſhment for a gentleman, but far leſs infamous than the offence. If any facts of this nature ſhall come to your knowledge, you will, I make no doubt, preſent them, without any reſpect to perſons. Sex or quality may render the crime more atrocious, and the example more pernicious: but can give no ſanction to ſuch infamous offences, nor will, I hope, ever give impunity.

The ſecond ſpecies which falls under this head, is the crime of keeping a brothel or bawdy-houſe. This is a kind of common nuiſance, and is puniſhable by the common law.

It is true, that certain houſes of this kind, under the name of public ſtews, have been ſometimes tolerated in chriſtian countries, to the great ſcandal of our religion, and in direct contradiction to its poſitive precepts; but in the thirty-ſeventh year of Henry the eighth, they were all ſuppreſſed by proclamation. And thoſe infamous women who inhabited them, were not, ſays Lord Coke, either buried in chriſtian burial when they were dead, nor permitted to receive the rites of the church while they lived.

And, gentlemen, notwithſtanding the favour which the law in many caſes extends to married women, yet in this caſe the wife is equally indictable, and may be found guilty with her huſband.

Nor is it neceſſary that the perſon be maſter or miſtreſs of the whole houſe; for if he or ſhe have only a ſingle room, and will therewith accommodate lewd people to perpetrate acts of uncleanneſs, they may be indicted for keeping a bawdy-houſe. And this was the reſolution of the whole court, in the Queen and Peirſon. Salk. 332.

Nor is the guilt confined to thoſe who keep ſuch houſes; thoſe who frequent them are no leſs liable

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to the cenſure of the law. Accordingly we find, in the ſelect caſes printed at the end of Lord Ch. J. Popham's reports, that a man was indicted in the beginning of the reign of Charles the Firſt, at the ſeſſions of the peace for the town of Northampton, for frequenting a ſuſpected bawdy-houſe. And the indictment being removed into the King's-Bench, ſeveral objections were taken to it, which were all overruled, judgment were given upon it, and the defendant fined.

If you ſhall know, therefore, gentlemen, of any ſuch crimes, it will be your duty to preſent them to the court.

For however lightly this offence may be thought or ſpoken of by idle and diſſolute perſons, it is a matter of ſerious and weighty conſideration. It is the cauſe, ſays my Lord Coke, of many miſchiefs, the faireſt end whereof is beggary; and tends directly to the overthrow of men's bodies, to the waſting of their livelihoods, and to the indangering of their ſouls.

To eradicate this vice out of ſociety, however it may be the wiſh of ſober and good men, is, perhaps, an impoſſible attempt; but to check its progreſs, and to ſuppreſs the open and more profligate practice of it, is within the power of the magiſtrate, and it is his duty. And this is more immediately incumbent upon us, in an age when brothels are become in a manner the ſeminaries of education, and that eſpecially of thoſe youths, whoſe birth makes their right inſtitution of the utmoſt conſequence to the future well-being of the public; for whatever may be the education of theſe youths, however vitiated and enervated their minds and bodies may be with vices and diſeaſes, they are born to be the governors of our poſterity. If, therefore, through the egregious folly of their parents, this town is to be the ſchool of ſuch youths, it behoves

us,

us, gentlemen, to take as much care as poſſible to correct the morals of that ſchool.

And, gentlemen, there are other houſes, rather leſs ſcandalous, perhaps, but equally dangerous to the ſociety; in which houſes the manners of youth are greatly tainted and corrupted. Theſe are thoſe places of public rendezvous, where idle perſons of both ſexes meet in a very diſorderly manner, often at improper hours, and ſometimes in diſguiſed habits. Theſe houſes, which pretend to be the ſcenes of innocent diverſion and amuſement, are, in reality, the temples of iniquity. Such meetings are *contra bonos mores*; they are conſidered in law in the nature of a nuiſance, and, as ſuch, the keepers and maintainers of them may be preſented and puniſhed.

There is great difference, gentlemen, between a moroſe and overſanctified ſpirit which excludes all kind of diverſion, and a profligate diſpoſition which hurries us into the moſt vicious exceſſes of this kind. 'The common law,' ſays Mr. Pulton in his excellent treatiſe *de Pace*, fol. 25. b. 'allows many re-'creations, which be not with intent to break or 'diſturb the peace, or to offer violence, force, or 'hurt to the perſon of any; but either to try 'activity, or to increaſe ſociety, amity, and neigh-'bourly friendſhip.' He there enumerates many ſorts of innocent diverſions of the rural kind, and which for the moſt part belong to the lower ſort of people. For the upper part of mankind, and in this town there are many lawful amuſements, abundantly ſufficient for the recreation of any temperate and ſober mind. But, gentlemen, ſo immoderate are the deſires of many, ſo hungry is their appetite for pleaſure, that they may be ſaid to have a fury after it; and diverſion is no longer the recreation or amuſement, but the whole buſineſs of their lives. They are not content with three theatres, they muſt have a fourth; where the exhibitions are not only contrary to law, but contrary

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to good-manners, and where the ſtage is reduced back again to that degree of licentiouſneſs which was too enormous for the corrupt ſtate of Athens to tolerate; and which, as the Roman poet, rather, I think, in the ſpirit of a cenſor than a ſatyriſt, tells us, thoſe Athenians, who were not themſelves abuſed, took care to aboliſh, from their concern for the public.

Gentlemen, our news-papers, from the top of the page to the bottom, the corners of our ſtreets up to the very eves of our houſes, preſent us with nothing but a view of maſquerades, balls, and aſſemblies of various kinds, fairs, wells, gardens, &c. tending to promote idleneſs, extravagance, and immorality, among all ſorts of people.

This fury after licentious and luxurious pleaſures is grown to ſo enormous a height, that it may be called the characteriſtic of the preſent age. And it is an evil, gentlemen, of which it is neither eaſy nor pleaſant to foreſee all the conſequences. Many of them, however, are obvious; and theſe are ſo dreadful, that they will, I doubt not, induce you to uſe your beſt endeavours to check the further encreaſe of this growing miſchief; for the rod of the law, gentlemen, muſt reſtrain thoſe within the bounds of decency and ſobriety, who are deaf to the voice of reaſon, and ſuperior to the fear of ſhame.

Gentlemen, there are another ſort of theſe temples of iniquity, and theſe are gaming-houſes. This vice, gentlemen, is inſeparable from a luxurious and idle age; for while luxury produces want, idleneſs forbids honeſt labour to ſupply it. All ſuch houſes are nuiſances in the eye of the common law; and ſevere puniſhments, as well on thoſe who keep them, as on thoſe who frequent and play at them, are inflicted by many ſtatutes. Of theſe houſes, gentlemen, you will, I doubt not, enquire with great diligence; for though poſſibly there

may

may be ſome offenders out of your reach, yet if thoſe within it be well and ſtrictly proſecuted, it may, perhaps, in time have ſome effect on the others. Example in this caſe may, contrary to its general courſe, move upwards; and men may become aſhamed of offending againſt thoſe laws with impunity, by which they ſee their inferiors brought to puniſhment. But if this effect ſhould not be produced, yet, gentlemen, there is no reaſon why you ſhould not exert your duty as far as you are able, becauſe you cannot extend it as far as you deſire. And to ſay the truth, to prevent gaming among the lower ſort of people, is principally the buſineſs of ſociety; and for this plain reaſon, becauſe they are the moſt uſeful members of the ſociety; which, by ſuch means, will loſe the benefit of their labour. As for the rich and great, the conſequence is generally no other than the exchange of property from the hands of a fool into thoſe of a ſharper, who is, perhaps, the more worthy of the two to enjoy it.

I will mention only one article more, and that of a very high nature indeed. It is, gentlemen, the offence of libelling, which is puniſhed by the common law, as it tends immediately to quarrels and breaches of the peace, and very often to bloodſhed and murder itſelf.

The puniſhment of this offence, ſaith my Lord Coke, is fine or impriſonment; and if the caſe be exorbitant, by pillory and loſs of ears.

And, gentlemen, even the laſt of theſe judgments will appear extremely mild, if we conſider, in the firſt place, the atrocious temper of mind from which this proceeds.

Mr. Pulton, in the beginning of his treatiſe *de Pace*, ſays of a libeller, 'that he is a ſecret can-'ker, which concealeth his name, hideth himſelf 'in a corner, and privily ſtingeth his neighbour in 'his fame, reputation, and credit; who neither

'knows

'knows from whom, nor from what cauſe he re-
'ceiveth his blows, nor hath any means to defend
'himſelf:' And my Lord Coke, in his 5th Report (125) compares him to a poiſoner, who is the meaneſt, the vileſt, and moſt dangerous of all murderers. Nor can I help repeating to you a moſt beautiful paſſage in the great orator Demoſthenes, who compares this wretch to a viper, which men ought to cruſh wherever they find him, without ſtaying till he bite them.

In the ſecond place, if we conſider the injury done by theſe libellers, it muſt raiſe the indignation of every honeſt and good man; for what is this, but, as Mr. Pulton ſays, 'a note of infamy,
'intended to defame the perſon at whom it is le-
'velled, to tread his honour and eſtimation in the
'duſt, to extirpate and root out his reputation from
'the face of the earth, to make him a ſcorn to his
'enemies, and to be derided and deſpiſed by his
'neighbours?'

If praiſe, and honour, and reputation, be ſo highly eſteemed by the greateſt and beſt of men, that they are often the only rewards which they propoſe to themſelves from the nobleſt actions; if there be nothing too difficult, too dangerous, or too diſagreeable for men to encounter, in order to acquire and preſerve theſe rewards; what a degree of wickedneſs and barbarity muſt it be unjuſtly and wantonly to ſtrip men of that on which they place ſo high a value?

Nor is reputation to be conſidered as a chimerical good, or as merely the food of vanity and ambition. Our worldly intereſts are cloſely connected with our fame; by loſing this, we are deprived of the chief comforts of ſociety, particularly of that which is moſt dear to us, the friendſhip and love of all good and virtuous men. Nay, the common law indulged ſo great a privilege to men of good reputation in their neighbourhood, that in many actions

tions the defendant's word was taken in his own cauſe, if he could bring a certain number of his neighbours to vouch that they believed him.

On the contrary, whoever robs us of our good name, doth not only expoſe us to public contempt and avoidance, but even to puniſhment; for by the ſtatute 34 Edw. III. c. 1. the juſtices of the peace are empowered and directed to bind all ſuch as be not of good fame to their good behaviour, and, if they cannot find ſufficient ſureties, they may be committed to priſon.

Seeing, therefore, the execrable miſchiefs perpetrated by this ſecret canker, this viper, this poiſoner, in ſociety, we ſhall not wonder to hear him ſo ſeverely condemned in ſcripture; nor that Ariſtotle in his politics ſhould mention ſlander as one of thoſe great evils which it is difficult for a legiſlator to guard againſt; that the Athenians puniſhed it with a very ſevere and heavy fine, and the Romans with death.

But though the libeller of private perſons be ſo deteſtable a vermin, yet is the offence ſtill capable of aggravation, when the poiſon is ſcattered upon public perſons and magiſtrates. All ſuch reflections are, as my Lord Coke obſerves, a ſcandal on the government itſelf; and ſuch ſcandal tends not only to the breach of the peace, but to raiſe ſeditions and inſurrections among the whole body of the people.

And, gentlemen, the higher and greater the magiſtrates be againſt whom ſuch ſlanders are propagated, the greater is the danger to the ſociety; and ſuch we find to have been the ſenſe of the legiſlature in the ſecond year of Richard II. For in the ſtatute of that year, chap. 5. it is ſaid, 'that by 'ſuch means diſcords may ariſe between the lords 'and commons, whereof great peril and miſchief 'might come to all the realm, and quick ſub-'verſion and deſtruction of the ſaid realm.' And

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of ſuch conſequence was this apprehended to be, that we find no leſs than four ſtatutes to prohibit and puniſh it; viz. Weſtm. 1. c. 33. 2 R. 2. c. 5. 12 R. 2. 11. and 2 and 3 P. & M. c. 12. By this laſt ſtatute a juriſdiction was given to the juſtices of peace to enquire of all ſuch offences; and if it was by book, ballad, letter or writing, the offender's right hand was to be ſtricken off for the firſt offence, and for the ſecond he was to incur a præmunire.

This laſt ſtatute was afterwards prolonged in the laſt year of Queen Mary, and in the firſt of Elizabeth, during the life of that Princeſs, and of the heirs of her body.

I have mentioned theſe laws to you, gentlemen, to ſhew you the ſenſe of our anceſtors of a crime, which, I believe, they never ſaw carried to ſo flagitious a height as it is at preſent; when, to the ſhame of the age be it ſpoken, there are men who make a livelihood of ſcandal. Moſt of theſe are perſons of the loweſt rank and education, men, who lazily declining the labour to which they were born and bred, ſave the ſweat of their brows at the expence of their conſciences; and in order to get a little better livelihood, are content to get it, perhaps, in a leſs painful, but in a baſer way than the meaneſt mechanic.

Of theſe, gentlemen, it is your buſineſs to enquire; of the deviſers, of the writers, of the printers, and of the publiſhers of all ſuch libels; and I do heartily recommend this enquiry to your care.

To conclude, gentlemen, you will conſider yourſelves as now ſummoned to the execution of an office, of the utmoſt importance to the well-being of this community; nor will you, I am confident, ſuffer that eſtabliſhment, ſo wiſely and carefully regulated, and ſo ſtoutly and zealouſly maintained by your wiſe and brave anceſtors, to degenerate into mere form and ſhadow. Grand juries, gentlemen,

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are, in reality, the only cenſors of this nation. As ſuch, the manners of the people are in your hands, and in yours only. You, therefore, are the only correctors of them. If you neglect your duty, the certain conſequences to the public are too apparent; for as in a garden, however well cultivated at firſt, if the weeder's care be omitted, the whole muſt in time be overrun with weeds, and will reſemble the wildneſs and rudeneſs of a deſart; ſo if thoſe immoralities of the people, which will ſprout up in the beſt conſtitution, be not from time to time corrected by the hand of juſtice, they will at length grow up to the moſt enormous vices, will overſpread the whole nation, and, in the end, muſt produce a downright ſtate of wild and ſavage barbariſm.

To this cenſorial office, gentlemen, you are called by our excellent conſtitution. To execute this duty with vigilance, you are obliged by the duty you owe both to God and to your country. You are inveſted with full power for the purpoſe. This you have promiſed to do, under the ſacred ſanction of an oath; and you are all met, I doubt not, with diſpoſition and reſolution to perform it, with that zeal which I have endeavoured to recommend, and which the peculiar licentiouſneſs of the age ſo ſtrongly requires.

THE JOURNAL OF A VOYAGE to LISBON.

By the late

HENRY FIELDING, Esq.

DEDICATION

TO THE

PUBLIC.

YOUR candour is desired on the perusal of the following sheets, as they are the product of a genius that has long been your delight and entertainment. It must be acknowledged, that a lamp almost burnt out, does not give so steady and uniform a light, as when it blazes in its full vigour; but yet it is well known that, by its wavering, as if struggling against its own dissolution, it sometimes darts a ray as bright as ever. In like manner, a strong and lively genius will, in its last struggles, sometimes mount aloft, and throw forth the most striking marks of its original lustre.

Wherever these are to be found, do you, the genuine patrons of extraordinary capacities, be as liberal in your applauses of him who is now no more, as you were of him whilst he was yet amongst you. And, on the other hand, if in this little work there should appear any traces of a weakened and decayed life, let your own imaginations place before your eyes a true picture in that of a hand trembling in

almoſt its lateſt hour, of a body emaciated with pains, yet ſtruggling for your entertainment; and let this affecting picture open each tender heart, and call forth a melting tear, to blot out whatever failings may be found in a work begun in pain, and finiſhed almoſt at the ſame period with life.

It was thought proper, by the friends of the deceaſed, that this little piece ſhould come into your hands as it came from the hands of the author; it being judged that you would be better pleaſed to have an opportunity of obſerving the fainteſt traces of a genius you have long admired, than have it patched by a different hand; by which means the marks of its true author might have been effaced.

That the ſucceſs of this laſt written, though firſt publiſhed volume, of the author's poſthumous pieces, may be attended with ſome convenience to thoſe innocents he hath left behind, will, no doubt, be a motive to encourage its circulation through the kingdom, which will engage every future genius to exert itſelf for your pleaſure.

The principles and ſpirit which breathe in every line of the ſmall fragment begun in anſwer to Lord Bolingbroke will unqueſtionably be a ſufficient apology for its publication, although vital ſtrength was wanting to finiſh a work ſo happily begun and ſo well deſigned.

PREFACE.

THERE would not, perhaps, be a more pleaſant, or profitable ſtudy, among thoſe which have their principal end in amuſement, than that of travels or voyages, if they were writ, as they might be, and ought to be, with a joint view to the entertainment and information of mankind. If the converſation of travellers be ſo eagerly ſought after as it is, we may believe their books will be ſtill more agreeable company, as they will, in general, be more inſtructive and more entertaining.

But when I ſay the converſation of travellers is uſually ſo welcome, I muſt be underſtood to mean that only of ſuch as have had good ſenſe enough to apply their peregrinations to a proper uſe, ſo as to acquire from them a real and valuable knowledge of men and things; both which are beſt known by compariſon. If the cuſtoms and manners of men were every where the ſame, there would be no office ſo dull as that of a traveller; for the difference of hills, valleys, rivers; in ſhort, the various views in which we may ſee the face of the earth, would ſcarce afford him a pleaſure worthy of his labour; and, ſurely, it would give him very little opportunity of communicating any kind of entertainment or improvement to others.

To make a traveller an agreeable companion to a man of ſenſe, it is neceſſary, not only that he

ſhould have ſeen much, but that he ſhould have overlooked much of what he hath ſeen. Nature is not, any more than a great genius, always admirable in her productions, and therefore the traveller, who may be called her commentator, ſhould not expect to find every where ſubjects worthy of his notice.

It is certain, indeed, that one may be guilty of omiſſion, as well as of the oppoſite extreme; but a fault on that ſide will be more eaſily pardoned, as it is better to be hungry than ſurfeited, and to miſs your deſert at the table of a man, whoſe gardens abound with the choiceſt fruits, than to have your taſte affronted with every ſort of traſh that can be picked up at the green ſtall, or the wheelbarrow.

If we ſhould carry on the analogy between the traveller and the commentator, it is impoſſible to keep one's eye a moment off from the laborious much read Doctor Zachary Grey, of whoſe redundant notes on Hudibras I ſhall only ſay, that it is, I am confident, the ſingle book extant, in which above five hundred authors are quoted, not one of which could be found in the collection of the late Doctor Mead.

As there are few things which a traveller is to record, there are fewer on which he is to offer his obſervations: This is the office of the reader; and it is ſo pleaſant a one, that he ſeldom chuſes to have it taken from him, under the pretence of lending him aſſiſtance. Some occaſions, indeed, there are, when proper obſervations are pertinent, and others when they are neceſſary; but good ſenſe alone muſt point them out. I ſhall lay down only one general rule, which I believe to be of univerſal truth between relator and hearer, as it is between author and reader; that is, that the latter never forgive any obſervation of the former, which doth not convey ſome knowledge that they are ſenſible they could not poſſibly have attained of themſelves.

But

But all his pains in collecting knowledge, all his judgment in ſelecting, and all his art in communicating it, will not ſuffice, unleſs he can make himſelf, in ſome degree, an agreeable, as well as an inſtructive companion. The higheſt inſtruction we can derive from the tedious tale of a dull fellow, ſcarce ever pays us for our attention. There is nothing, I think, half ſo valuable as knowledge, and yet there is nothing which men will give themſelves ſo little trouble to attain; unleſs it be, perhaps, that loweſt degree of it, which is the object of curioſity, and which hath therefore that active paſſion conſtantly employed in its ſervice. This, indeed, it is in the power of every traveller to gratify; but it is the leading principle in weak minds only.

To render his relation agreeable to the man of ſenſe, it is therefore neceſſary, that the voyager ſhould poſſeſs ſeveral eminent and rare talents; ſo rare, indeed, that it is almoſt wonderful to ſee them ever united in the ſame perſon.

And if all theſe talents muſt concur in the relator, they are certainly in a more eminent degree neceſſary to the writer; for here the narration admits of higher ornaments of ſtile, and every fact and ſentiment offers itſelf to the fulleſt and moſt deliberate examination.

It would appear therefore, I think, ſomewhat ſtrange, if ſuch writers as theſe ſhould be found extremely common; ſince nature hath been a moſt parſimonious diſtributer of her richeſt talents, and hath ſeldom beſtowed many on the ſame perſon. But on the other hand, why there ſhould ſcarce exiſt a ſingle writer of this kind worthy our regard; and whilſt there is no other branch of hiſtory (for this is hiſtory) which hath not exerciſed the greateſt pens, why this alone ſhould be overlooked by all men of great genius and erudition, and delivered

up

up to the Goths and Vandals as their lawful property, is altogether as difficult to determine.

And yet, that this is the caſe, with ſome very few exceptions, is moſt manifeſt. Of theſe I ſhall willingly admit Burnet and Addiſon; if the former was not perhaps to be conſidered as a political eſſayiſt, and the latter as a commentator on the claſſics, rather than as a writer of travels; which laſt title, perhaps, they would both of them have been leaſt ambitious to affect.

Indeed, if theſe two, and two or three more, ſhould be removed from the maſs, there would remain ſuch a heap of dulneſs behind, that the appellation of voyage-writer, would not appear very deſirable.

I am not here unapprized, that old Homer himſelf, is by ſome conſidered as a voyage-writer; and, indeed, the beginning of his Odyſſey may be urged to countenance that opinion, which I ſhall not controvert. But whatever ſpecies of writing the Odyſſey is of, it is ſurely at the head of that ſpecies, as much as the Iliad is of another; and ſo far the excellent Longinus would allow, I believe, at this day.

But, in reality, the Odyſſey, the Telemachus, and all of that kind, are to the voyage-writing, I here intend, what romance is to true hiſtory, the former being the confounder and corrupter of the latter. I am far from ſuppoſing, that Homer, Heſiod, and the other ancient poets and mythologiſts, had any ſettled deſign to pervert and confuſe the records of antiquity; but it is certain they have effected it; and, for my part, I muſt confeſs, I ſhould have honoured and loved Homer more, had he written a true hiſtory of his own times in humble proſe, than thoſe noble poems that have ſo juſtly collected the praiſe of all ages; for though I read theſe with more admiration and aſtoniſh-

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ment, I ſtill read Herodotus, Thucydides and Xenophon, with more amuſement and more ſatiſfaction.

The original poets were not, however, without excuſe. They found the limits of nature too ſtrait for the immenſity of their genius, which they had not room to exert, without extending fact by fiction; and that eſpecially at a time when the manners of men were too ſimple to afford that variety, which they have ſince offered in vain to the choice of the meaneſt writers. In doing this, they are again excuſable for the manner in which they have done it,

Ut ſpecioſa dehinc miracula promant.

They are not, indeed, ſo properly ſaid to turn reality into fiction, as fiction into reality. Their paintings are ſo bold, their colours ſo ſtrong, that every thing they touch ſeems to exiſt in the very manner they repreſent it; their portraits are ſo juſt, and their landſcapes ſo beautiful, that we acknowledge the ſtrokes of nature in both, without enquiring, whether nature herſelf, or her journeyman, the poet, formed the firſt pattern of the piece.

But other writers (I will put Pliny at their head) have no ſuch pretenſions to indulgence; they lye for lying ſake, or in order inſolently to impoſe the moſt monſtrous improbabilities and abſurdities upon their readers on their own authority; treating them as ſome fathers treat children, and as other fathers do laymen, exacting their belief of whatever they relate, on no other foundation than their own authority, without ever taking the pains of adapting their lies to human credulity, and of calculating them for the meridian of a common underſtanding; but with as much weakneſs as wickedneſs, and with more impudence often than either, they aſſert facts contrary to the honour of God,

to

to the viſible order of the creation, to the known laws of nature, to the hiſtories of former ages, and to the experience of our own, and which no man can at once underſtand and believe.

If it ſhould be objected (and it can no where be objected better than where I now write *, as there is no where more pomp of bigotry) that whole nations have been firm believers in ſuch moſt abſurd ſuppoſitions; I reply, the fact is not true. They have known nothing of the matter, and have believed they knew not what. It is, indeed, with me no matter of doubt, but that the Pope and his clergy might teach any of thoſe Chriſtian Heterodoxies, the tenets of which are the moſt diametrically oppoſite to their own; nay, all the doctrines of Zoroaſter, Confucius, and Mahomet, not only with certain and immediate ſucceſs, but without one Catholic in a thouſand knowing he had changed his religion.

What motive a man can have to ſit down, and to draw forth a liſt of ſtupid, ſenſeleſs, incredible lies upon paper, would be difficult to determine, did not vanity preſent herſelf ſo immediately as the adequate cauſe. The vanity of knowing more than other men, is, perhaps, beſides hunger, the only inducement to writing, at leaſt to publiſhing, at all: Why then ſhould not the voyage-writer be inflamed with the glory of having ſeen what no man ever did or will ſee but himſelf? This is the true ſource of the wonderful, in the diſcourſe and writings, and ſometimes, I believe, in the actions of men. There is another fault of a kind directly oppoſite to this, to which theſe writers are ſometimes liable, when, inſtead of filling their pages with monſters, which nobody hath ever ſeen, and with adventures which never have, nor could poſſibly have happened to them, waſte their time and paper

* At Liſbon.

with

with recording things and facts of ſo common a kind, that they challenge no other right of being remembered, than as they had the honour of having happened to the author, to whom nothing ſeems trivial that in any manner happens to himſelf. Of ſuch conſequence do his own actions appear to one of this kind, that he would probably think himſelf guilty of infidelity, ſhould he omit the minuteſt thing in the detail of his journal. That the fact is true, is ſufficient to give it place there, without any conſideration whether it is capable of pleaſing or ſurprizing, of diverting or informing the reader.

I have ſeen a play (if I miſtake not, it is one of Mrs. Behn's, or of Mrs. Centlivre's) where this vice in a voyage-writer is finely ridiculed. An ignorant pedant, to whoſe government, for I know not what reaſon, the conduct of a young nobleman in his travels is committed, and who is ſent abroad to ſhew My Lord the world, of which he knows nothing himſelf, before his departure from a town, calls for his journal, to record the goodneſs of the wine and tobacco, with other articles of the ſame importance, which are to furniſh the materials of a voyage at his return home. The humour, it is true, is here carried very far; and yet, perhaps, very little beyond what is to be found in writers who profeſs no intention of dealing in humour at all.

Of one or other, or of both of theſe kinds are, I conceive, all that vaſt pile of books, which paſs under the names of voyages, travels, adventures, lives, memoirs, hiſtories, &c. ſome of which a ſingle traveller ſends into the world in many volumes, and others are, by judicious bookſellers, collected into vaſt bodies in folio, and inſcribed with their own names, as if they were indeed their own travels; thus unjuſtly attributing to themſelves the merit of others.

Now

Now from both theſe faults we have endeavoured to ſteer clear in the following narrative; which, however the contrary may be inſinuated by ignorant, unlearned, and freſh-water critics, who have never travelled either in books or ſhips, I do ſolemnly declare doth, in my own impartial opinion, deviate leſs from truth than any other voyage extant; my Lord Anſon's alone being, perhaps, excepted.

Some few embelliſhments muſt be allowed to every hiſtorian; for we are not to conceive that the ſpeeches in Livy, Salluſt, or Thucydides, were literally ſpoken in the very words in which we now read them. It is ſufficient that every fact hath its foundation in truth, as I do ſeriouſly aver is the caſe in the enſuing pages; and when it is ſo, a good critic will be ſo far from denying all kind of ornament of ſtile or diction, or even of circumſtance to his author, that he would be rather ſorry if he omitted it; for he could hence derive no other advantage than the loſs of an additional pleaſure in the peruſal.

Again, if any merely common incident ſhould appear in this journal, which will ſeldom, I apprehend, be the caſe, the candid reader will eaſily perceive it is not introduced for its own ſake, but for ſome obſervations and reflections naturally reſulting from it; and which, if but little to his amuſement, tend directly to the inſtruction of the reader, or to the information of the public; to whom, if I chuſe to convey ſuch inſtruction or information with an air of joke and laughter, none but the dulleſt of fellows will, I believe, cenſure it; but if they ſhould, I have the authority of more than one paſſage in Horace to allege in my defence.

Having thus endeavoured to obviate ſome cenſures to which a man, without the gift of foreſight, or any fear of the imputation of being a conjurer, might conceive this work would be liable,

I might

I might now undertake a more pleaſing taſk, and fall at once to the direct and poſitive praiſes of the work itſelf; of which, indeed, I could ſay a thouſand good things; but the taſk is ſo very pleaſant, that I ſhall leave it wholly to the reader; and it is all the taſk that I impoſe on him. A moderation, for which he may think himſelf obliged to me, when he compares it with the conduct of authors, who often fill a whole ſheet with their own praiſes, to which they ſometimes ſet their own real names, and ſometimes a fictitious one. One hint, however, I muſt give the kind reader; which is, that if he ſhould be able to find no ſort of amuſement in the book, he will be pleaſed to remember the public utility which will ariſe from it. If entertainment, as Mr. Richardſon obſerves, be but a ſecondary conſideration in a romance; with which Mr. Addiſon, I think, agrees, affirming the uſe of the paſtry-cook to be the firſt; if this, I ſay, be true of a meer work of invention, ſure it may well be ſo conſidered in a work founded, like this, on truth; and where the political reflections form ſo diſtinguiſhing a part.

But perhaps I may hear, from ſome critic of the moſt ſaturnine complexion, that my vanity muſt have made a horrid dupe of my judgment, if it hath flattered me with an expectation of having any thing here ſeen in a grave light, or of conveying any uſeful inſtruction to the public, or to their guardians. I anſwer with the great man, whom I juſt now quoted, that my purpoſe is to convey inſtruction in the vehicle of entertainment; and ſo to bring about at once, like the revolution in the Rehearſal, a perfect reformation of the laws relating to our maritime affairs: An undertaking, I will not ſay more modeſt, but ſurely more feaſible, than that of reforming a whole people, by making uſe of a vehicular ſtory, to wheel in among them worſe manners than their own.

INTRODUCTION.

IN the beginning of Auguſt, 1753, when I had taken the Duke of Portland's medicine, as it is called, near a year, the effects of which had been the carrying off the ſymptoms of a lingering imperfect gout, I was perſuaded by Mr. Ranby, the King's premier ſerjeant-ſurgeon, and the ableſt advice, I believe, in all branches of the phyſical profeſſion, to go immediately to Bath. I accordingly writ that very night to Mrs. Bowden, who, by the next poſt, informed me ſhe had taken me a lodging for a month certain.

Within a few days after this, whilſt I was preparing for my journey, and when I was almoſt fatigued to death with ſeveral long examinations, relating to five different murders, all committed within the ſpace of a week, by different gangs of ſtreet-robbers, I received a meſſage from his Grace the Duke of Newcaſtle, by Mr. Carrington, the King's meſſenger, to attend his Grace the next morning, in Lincoln's-inn-fields, upon ſome buſineſs of importance; but I excuſed myſelf from complying with the meſſage, as, beſides being lame, I was very ill with the great fatigues I had lately undergone, added to my diſtemper.

His Grace, however, ſent Mr. Carrington, the very next morning, with another ſummons; with which, though in the utmoſt diſtreſs, I immediately complied; but the Duke happening, un-

fortunately for me, to be then particularly engaged, after I had waited ſome time, ſent a gentleman to diſcourſe with me on the beſt plan which could be invented for putting an immediate end to thoſe murders and robberies which were every day committed in the ſtreets; upon which, I promiſed to tranſmit my opinion, in writing, to his Grace, who, as the gentleman informed me, intended to lay it before the privy council.

Though this viſit coſt me a ſevere cold, I, notwithſtanding, ſet myſelf down to work; and in about four days ſent the Duke as regular a plan as I could form, with all the reaſons and arguments I could bring to ſupport it, drawn out in ſeveral ſheets of paper; and ſoon received a meſſage from the Duke by Mr. Carrington, acquainting me, that my plan was highly approved of, and that all the terms of it would be complied with.

The principal and moſt material of thoſe terms, was the immediately depoſiting ſix hundred pounds in my hands; at which ſmall charge I undertook to demoliſh the then reigning gangs, and to put the civil policy into ſuch order, that no ſuch gangs ſhould ever be able, for the future, to form themſelves into bodies, or at leaſt to remain any time formidable to the public.

I had delayed my Bath-journey for ſome time, contrary to the repeated advice of my phyſical acquaintance, and to the ardent deſire of my warmeſt friends, though my diſtemper was now turned to a deep jaundice; in which caſe the Bath waters are generally reputed to be almoſt infallible. But I had the moſt eager deſire of demoliſhing this gang of villains and cut-throats, which I was ſure of accompliſhing the moment I was enabled to pay a fellow who had undertaken, for a ſmall ſum, to betray them into the hands of a ſet of thief-takers whom I had enliſted into the ſervice, all men

men of known and approved fidelity and intrepidity.

After ſome weeks, the money was paid at the treaſury, and within a few days after two hundred pounds of it had come to my hands, the whole gang of cut-throats was entirely diſperſed, ſeven of them were in actual cuſtody, and the reſt driven, ſome out of town, and others out of the kingdom.

Though my health was now reduced to the laſt extremity, I continued to act with the utmoſt vigour againſt theſe villains; in examining whom, and in taking the depoſitions againſt them, I have often ſpent whole days, nay, ſometimes whole nights, eſpecially when there was any difficulty in procuring ſufficient evidence to convict them; which is a very common caſe in ſtreet-robberies, even when the guilt of the party is ſufficiently apparent to ſatisfy the moſt tender conſcience. But courts of juſtice know nothing of a cauſe more than what is told them on oath by a witneſs; and the moſt flagitious villain upon earth is tried in the ſame manner as a man of the beſt character, who is accuſed of the ſame crime.

Mean while, amidſt all my fatigues and diſtreſſes, I had the ſatisfaction to find my endeavours had been attended with ſuch ſucceſs, that this helliſh ſociety were almoſt utterly extirpated, and that, inſtead of reading of murders and ſtreet-robberies in the news almoſt every morning, there was, in the remaining part of the month of November, and in all December, not only no ſuch thing as a murder, but not even a ſtreet-robbery committed. Some ſuch, indeed, were mentioned in the public papers; but they were all found, on the ſtricteſt enquiry, to be falſe.

In this entire freedom from ſtreet-robberies, during the dark months, no man will, I believe, ſcruple to acknowledge, that the winter of 1753

ſtands unrivalled, during a courſe of many years; and this may poſſibly appear the more extraordinary to thoſe who recollect the outrages with which it began.

Having thus fully accompliſhed my undertaking, I went into the country in a very weak and deplorable condition, with no fewer or leſs diſeaſes than a jaundice, a dropſy, and an aſthma, altogether uniting their forces in the deſtruction of a body ſo entirely emaciated, that it had loſt all its muſcular fleſh.

Mine was now no longer what is called a Bath caſe; nor, if it had been ſo, had I ſtrength remaining ſufficient to go thither, a ride of ſix miles only being attended with an intolerable fatigue. I now diſcharged my lodgings at Bath, which I had hitherto kept. I began, in earneſt, to look on my caſe as deſperate, and I had vanity enough to rank myſelf with thoſe heroes who, of old times, became voluntary ſacrifices to the good of the public.

But, leſt the reader ſhould be too eager to catch at the word *vanity*, and ſhould be unwilling to indulge me with ſo ſublime a gratification, for I think he is not too apt to gratify me, I will take my key a pitch lower, and will frankly own that I had a ſtronger motive than the love of the public to puſh me on: I will therefore confeſs to him that my private affairs at the beginning of the winter had but a gloomy aſpect; for I had not plundered the public or the poor of thoſe ſums which men, who are always ready to plunder both as much as they can, have been pleaſed to ſuſpect me of taking: on the contrary, by compoſing, inſtead of inflaming, the quarrels of porters and beggars (which I bluſh when I ſay hath not been univerſally practiſed) and by refuſing to take a ſhilling from a man who moſt undoubtedly would not have had another left, I had reduced an income of about five hundred

hundred pounds* a year of the dirtieſt money upon earth, to little more than three hundred pounds; a conſiderable proportion of which remained with my clerk; and, indeed, if the whole had done ſo, as it ought, he would be but ill paid for ſitting almoſt ſixteen hours in the twenty-four, in the moſt unwholeſome, as well as nauſeous air in the univerſe, and which hath in his caſe corrupted a good conſtitution without contaminating his morals.

But, not to trouble the reader with anecdotes, contrary to my own rule laid down in my preface, I aſſure him I thought my family was very ſlenderly provided for; and that my health began to decline ſo faſt, that I had very little more of life left to accompliſh what I had thought of too late. I rejoiced therefore greatly in ſeeing an opportunity, as

* A predeceſſor of mine uſed to boaſt that he made one thouſand pounds a year in his office; but how he did this (if indeed he did it) is to me a ſecret. His clerk, now mine, told me I had more buſineſs than he had ever known there; I am ſure I had as much as any man could do. The truth is, the fees are ſo very low, when any are due, and ſo much is done for nothing, that if a ſingle juſtice of peace had buſineſs enough to employ twenty clerks; neither he nor they would get much by their labour. The public will not therefore, I hope, think I betray a ſecret when I inform them, that I received from the government a yearly penſion out of the public ſervice-money; which, I believe, indeed would have been larger, had my great patron been convinced of an error, which I have heard him utter more than once, That he could not indeed ſay, that the acting as a principal juſtice of peace in Weſtminſter was on all accounts very deſirable, but that all the world knew it was a very lucrative office. Now to have ſhewn him plainly, that a man muſt be a rogue to make a very little this way, and that he could not make much by being as great a rogue as he could be, would have required more confidence than, I believe, he had in me, and more of his converſation than he choſe to allow me; I therefore reſigned the office, and the farther execution of my plan to my brother, who had long been my aſſiſtant. And now, leſt the caſe between me and the reader ſhould be the ſame in both inſtances, as it was between me and the great man, I will not add another word on the ſubject.

I apprehended, of gaining ſuch merit in the eye of the public, that if my life were the ſacrifice to it, my friends might think they did a popular act in putting my family at leaſt beyond the reach of neceſſity, which I myſelf began to deſpair of doing. And though I diſclaim all pretence to that Spartan or Roman patriotiſm, which loved the public ſo well that it was always ready to become a voluntary ſacrifice to the public good, I do ſolemnly declare I have that love for my family.

After this confeſſion therefore, that the public was not the principal deity to which my life was offered a ſacrifice, and when it is farther conſidered what a poor ſacrifice this was, being indeed no other than the giving up what I ſaw little likelihood of being able to hold much longer, and which, upon the terms I held it, nothing but the weakneſs of human nature could repreſent to me as worth holding at all; the world may, I believe, without envy, allow me all the praiſe to which I have any title.

My aim, in fact, was not praiſe, which is the laſt gift they care to beſtow; at leaſt, this was not my aim as an end, but rather as a means, of purchaſing ſome moderate proviſion for my family, which, though it ſhould exceed my merit, muſt fall infinitely ſhort of my ſervice, if I ſucceeded in my attempt.

To ſay the truth, the public never act more wiſely, than when they act moſt liberally in the diſtribution of their rewards; and here the good they receive is often more to be conſidered than the motive from which they receive it. Example alone is the end of all public puniſhments and rewards. Laws never inflict diſgrace in reſentment, nor confer honour from gratitude. For it is very hard, my lord, ſaid a convicted felon at the bar to the late excellent judge Burnet, to hang a poor man for ſtealing a horſe. You are not to be hang-

ed,

ed, Sir, anſwered my ever-honoured and beloved friend, for ſtealing a horſe, but you are to be hanged that horſes may not be ſtolen. In like manner it might have been ſaid to the late Duke of Marlborough, when the parliament was ſo deſervedly liberal to him, after the battle of Blenheim, You receive not theſe honours and bounties on account of a victory paſt, but that other victories may be obtained.

I was now, in the opinion of all men, dying of a complication of diſorders; and, were I deſirous of playing the advocate, I have an occaſion fair enough; but I diſdain ſuch an attempt. I relate facts plainly and ſimply as they are; and let the world draw from them what concluſions they pleaſe, taking with them the following facts for their inſtruction: The one is, That the proclamation offering one hundred pounds for the apprehending felons for certain felonies committed in certain places, which I prevented from being revived, had formerly coſt the government ſeveral thouſand pounds within a ſingle year. Secondly, That all ſuch proclamations, inſtead of curing the evil, had actually encreaſed it; had multiplied the number of robberies; had propagated the worſt and wickedeſt of perjuries; had laid ſnares for youth and ignorance; which, by the temptation of theſe rewards, had been ſometimes drawn into guilt; and ſometimes, which cannot be thought on without the higheſt horror, had deſtroyed them without it. Thirdly, That my plan had not put the goverment to more than three hundred pounds expence, and had produced none of the ill conſequences above-mentioned; but, laſtly, Had actually ſuppreſſed the evil for a time, and had plainly pointed out the means of ſuppreſſing it for ever. This I would myſelf have undertaken, had my health permitted, at the annual expence of the above-mentioned ſum.

After having ſtood the terrible ſix weeks which ſucceeded laſt Chriſtmas, and put a lucky end, if they had known their own intereſts, to ſuch numbers of aged and infirm valetudinarians, who might have gaſped through two or three mild winters more, I returned to town in February, in a condition leſs deſpaired of by myſelf than by any of my friends. I now became the patient of Dr. Ward, who wiſhed I had taken his advice earlier.

By his advice I was tapped, and fourteen quarts of water drawn from my belly. The ſudden relaxation which this cauſed, added to my enervate, emaciated habit of body, ſo weakened me, that within two days I was thought to be falling into the agonies of death.

I was at the worſt on that memorable day when the public loſt Mr. Pelham. From that day I began ſlowly, as it were, to draw my feet out of the grave; till in two months time I had again acquired ſome little degree of ſtrength; but was again full of water.

During this whole time, I took Mr. Ward's medicines, which had ſeldom any perceptible operation. Thoſe in particular of the diaphoretic kind, the working of which is thought to require a great ſtrength of conſtitution to ſupport, had ſo little effect on me, that Mr. Ward declared it was as vain to attempt ſweating me as a deal-board.

In this ſituation I was tapped a ſecond time. I had one quart of water leſs taken from me now than before; but I bore all the conſequences of the operation much better. This I attributed greatly to a doſe of laudanum preſcribed by my ſurgeon. It firſt gave me the moſt delicious flow of ſpirits, and afterwards as comfortable a nap.

The month of May, which was now begun, it ſeemed reaſonable to expect would introduce the ſpring, and drive off that winter which yet maintained its footing on the ſtage. I reſolved therefore

to viſit a little houſe of mine in the country, which ſtands at Ealing, in the county of Middleſex, in the beſt air, I believe, in the whole kingdom, and far ſuperior to that of Kenſington Gravel-pits; for the gravel is here much wider and deeper, the place higher and more open towards the ſouth, whilſt it is guarded from the north wind by a ridge of hills, and from the ſmells and ſmoke of London by its diſtance; which laſt is not the fate of Kenſington, when the wind blows from any corner of the eaſt.

Obligations to Mr. Ward I ſhall always confeſs; for I am convinced that he omitted no care in endeavouring to ſerve me, without any expectation or deſire of fee or reward.

The powers of Mr. Ward's remedies want indeed no unfair puffs of mine to give them credit; and though this diſtemper of the dropſy ſtands, I believe, firſt in the liſt of thoſe over which he is always certain of triumphing; yet, poſſibly, there might be ſomething particular in my caſe, capable of eluding that radical force which had healed ſo many thouſands. The ſame diſtemper, in different conſtitutions, may poſſibly be attended with ſuch different ſymptoms, that to find an infallible noſtrum for the curing any one diſtemper in every patient, may be almoſt as difficult as to find a panacea for the cure of all.

But even ſuch a panacea one of the greateſt ſcholars and beſt of men did lately apprehend he had diſcovered. It is true, indeed, he was no phyſician; that is, he had not by the forms of his education acquired a right of applying his ſkill in the art of phyſic to his own private advantage; and yet, perhaps, it may be truly aſſerted, that no other modern hath contributed ſo much to make his phyſical ſkill uſeful to the public; at leaſt, that none hath undergone the pains of communicating this diſcovery in writing to the world. The reader,

reader, I think, will ſcarce need to be informed that the writer I mean, is the late biſhop of Cloyne in Ireland, and the diſcovery, that of the virtues of tar-water.

I then happened to recollect, upon a hint given me by the inimitable and ſhamefully diſtreſſed author of the Female Quixote, that I had many years before, from curioſity only, taken a curſory view of biſhop Berkley's treatiſe on the virtues of tar-water, which I had formerly obſerved he ſtrongly contends to be that real panacea which Sydenham ſuppoſes to have an exiſtence in nature, though it yet remains undiſcovered, and, perhaps, will always remain ſo.

Upon the re-peruſal of this book, I found the biſhop only aſſerting his opinion, that tar-water might be uſeful in the dropſy, ſince he had known it to have a ſurpriſing ſucceſs in the cure of a moſt ſtubborn anaſarca, which is indeed no other than, as the word implies, the dropſy of the fleſh; and this was, at that time, a large part of my complaint.

After a ſhort trial, therefore, of a milk diet, which I preſently found did not ſuit with my caſe, I betook myſelf to the biſhop's preſcription, and doſed myſelf every morning and evening with half a pint of tar-water.

It was no more than three weeks ſince my laſt tapping, and my belly and limbs were diſtended with water. This did not give me the worſe opinion of tar-water; for I never ſuppoſed there could be any ſuch virtue in tar-water, as immediately to carry off a quantity of water already collected. For my delivery from this, I well knew I muſt be again obliged to the trochar; and that if the tar-water did me any good at all, it muſt be only by the ſloweſt degrees; and that if it ſhould ever get the better of my diſtemper, it muſt be by the te-

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dious operation of undermining; and not by a ſudden attack and ſtorm.

Some viſible effects, however, and far beyond what my moſt ſanguine hopes could with any modeſty expect, I very ſoon experienced; the tar-water having, from the very firſt, leſſened my illneſs, increaſed my appetite; and added, though in a very ſlow proportion, to my bodily ſtrength.

But if my ſtrength had encreaſed a little, my water daily encreaſed much more. So that, by the end of May, my belly became again ripe for the trochar, and I was a third time tapped; upon which, two very favourable ſymptoms appeared. I had three quarts of water taken from me leſs than had been taken the laſt time; and I bore the relaxation with much leſs (indeed with ſcarce any) faintneſs.

Thoſe of my phyſical friends, on whoſe judgment I chiefly depended, ſeemed to think my only chance of life conſiſted in having the whole ſummer before me; in which I might hope to gather ſufficient ſtrength to encounter the inclemencies of the enſuing winter. But this change began daily to leſſen. I ſaw the ſummer mouldering away, or rather, indeed, the year paſſing away without intending to bring on any ſummer at all. In the whole month of May the ſun ſcarce appeared three times. So that the early fruits came to the fulneſs of their growth, and to ſome appearance of ripeneſs, without acquiring any real maturity; having wanted the heat of the ſun to ſoften and meliorate their juices. I ſaw the dropſy gaining rather than loſing ground; the diſtance growing ſtill ſhorter between the tappings. I ſaw the aſthma likewiſe beginning again to become more troubleſome. I ſaw the Midſummer quarter drawing towards a cloſe. So that I conceived, if the Michaelmas quarter ſhould ſteal off in the ſame manner, as it was, in my opinion, very much to be

appre-

apprehended it would, I ſhould be delivered up to the attacks of winter, before I recruited my forces, ſo as to be any wiſe able to withſtand them.

I now began to recall an intention, which from the firſt dawnings of my recovery I had conceived, of removing to a warmer climate; and finding this to be approved of by a very eminent phyſician, I reſolved to put it into immediate execution.

Aix in Provence was the place firſt thought on; but the difficulties of getting thither were inſuperable. The journey by land, beſide the expence of it, was infinitely too long and fatiguing; and I could hear of no ſhip that was likely to ſet out from London, within any reaſonable time for Marſeilles, or any other port in that part of the Mediterranean.

Liſbon was preſently fixed on in its room. The air here, as it was near four degrees to the ſouth of Aix, muſt be more mild and warm, and the winter ſhorter and leſs piercing.

It was not difficult to find a ſhip bound to a place with which we carry on ſo immenſe a trade. Accordingly, my brother ſoon informed me of the excellent accommodations for paſſengers, which were to be found on board a ſhip that was obliged to ſail for Liſbon in three days.

I eagerly embraced the offer, notwithſtanding the ſhortneſs of the time; and having given my brother full power to contract for our paſſage, I began to prepare my family for the voyage with the utmoſt expedition.

But our great haſte was needleſs; for the captain having twice put off his ſailing, I at length invited him to dinner with me at Fordhook, a full week after the time on which he had declared, and that with many aſſeverations, he muſt, and would, weigh anchor.

He

He dined with me, according to his appointment; and when all matters were ſettled between us, left me with poſitive orders to be on board the Wedneſday following; when he declared he would fall down the river to Graveſend; and would not ſtay a moment for the greateſt man in the world.

He adviſed me to go to Graveſend by land, and there wait the arrival of his ſhip; aſſigning many reaſons for this, every one of which was, as I well remember, among thoſe that had before determined me to go on board near the Tower.

THE JOURNAL OF A VOYAGE to LISBON.

Wedneſday, June 26, 1754.

ON this day, the moſt melancholy ſun I had ever beheld aroſe, and found me awake at my houſe at Fordhook. By the light of this ſun, I was, in my own opinion, laſt to behold and take leave of ſome of thoſe creatures on whom I doated with a mother-like fondneſs, guided by nature and paſſion, and uncured and unhardened by all the doctrine of that philoſophical ſchool where I had learnt to bear pains and to deſpiſe death.

In this ſituation, as I could not conquer nature, I ſubmitted entirely to her, and ſhe made as great a fool of me as ſhe had ever done of any woman whatſoever: under pretence of giving me leave to enjoy, ſhe drew me in to ſuffer the company of my little ones, during eight hours; and I doubt not whether, in that time, I did not undergo more than in all my diſtemper.

At twelve preciſely my coach was at the door, which was no ſooner told me than I kiſſed my children

children round, and went into it with ſome little reſolution. My wife, who behaved more like a heroine and philoſopher, though at the ſame time the tendereſt mother in the world, and my eldeſt daughter, followed me; ſome friends went with us, and others here took their leave; and I heard my behaviour applauded, with many murmurs and praiſes to which I well knew I had no title; as all other ſuch philoſophers may, if they have any modeſty, confeſs on the like occaſions.

In two hours we arrived in Redriffe, and immediately went on board, and were to have ſailed the next morning; but as this was the king's proclamation-day, and conſequently a holiday at the Cuſtom-houſe, the captain could not clear his veſſel till the Thurſday; for theſe holidays are as ſtrictly obſerved as thoſe in the Popiſh calendar, and are almoſt as numerous. I might add, that both are oppoſite to the genius of trade, and conſequently *contra bonum publicum.*

To go on board the ſhip it was neceſſary firſt to go into a boat; a matter of no ſmall difficulty, as I had no uſe of my limbs, and was to be carried by men, who, though ſufficiently ſtrong for their burden, were, like Archimedes, puzzled to find a ſteady footing. Of this, as few of my readers have not gone into wherries on the Thames, they will eaſily be able to form to themſelves an idea. However, by the aſſiſtance of my friend Mr. Welch, whom I never think or ſpeak of but with love and eſteem, I conquered this difficulty, as I did afterwards that of aſcending the ſhip, into which I was hoiſted with more eaſe by a chair lifted with pullies. I was ſoon ſeated in a great chair in the cabbin, to refreſh myſelf after a fatigue which had been more intolerable, in a quarter of a mile's paſſage from my coach to the ſhip, than I had before undergone in a land-journey of twelve miles,

miles, which I had travelled with the utmoſt expedition.

This latter fatigue was, perhaps, ſomewhat heightened by an indignation which I could not prevent ariſing in my mind. I think, upon my entrance into the boat, I preſented a ſpectacle of the higheſt horror. The total loſs of limbs was apparent to all who ſaw me, and my face contained marks of a moſt diſeaſed ſtate, if not of death itſelf. Indeed, ſo ghaſtly was my countenance, that timorous women with child had abſtained from my houſe, for fear of the ill conſequences of looking at me. In this condition, I ran the gauntlope, (ſo, I think, I may juſtly call it) through rows of ſailors and watermen, few of whom failed of paying their compliments to me, by all manner of inſults and jeſts on my miſery. No man who knew me will think I conceived any perſonal reſentment at this behaviour; but it was a lively picture of that cruelty and inhumanity, in the nature of men, which I have often contemplated with concern; and which leads the mind into a train of very uncomfortable and melancholy thoughts. It may be ſaid, that this barbarous cuſtom is peculiar to the Engliſh, and of them only to the loweſt degree; that it is an excreſcence of an uncontrouled licentiouſneſs miſtaken for liberty, and never ſhews itſelf in men who are poliſhed and refined, in ſuch manner as human nature requires, to produce that perfection of which it is ſuſceptible, and to purge away that malevolence of diſpoſition, of which, at our birth, we partake in common with the ſavage creation.

This may be ſaid, and this is all that can be ſaid; and it is, I am afraid, but little ſatisfactory to account for the inhumanity of thoſe, who, while they boaſt of being made after God's own image, ſeem to bear in their minds a reſemblance of the vileſt ſpecies of brutes; or rather, indeed, of our idea

of devils; for I don't know that any brutes can be taxed with ſuch malevolence.

A ſirloin of beef was now placed on the table, for which, though little better than carrion, as much was charged by the maſter of the little paltry alehouſe who dreſſed it, as would have been demanded for all the elegance of the King's Arms, or any other polite tavern or eating-houſe; for, indeed, the difference between the beſt houſe and the worſt is, that at the former you pay largely for luxury, at the latter for nothing.

Thurſday, June 27. This morning the captain, who lay on ſhore at his own houſe, paid us a viſit in the cabbin; and behaved like an angry baſhaw, declaring, that had he known we were not to be pleaſed, he would not have carried us for five hundred pounds. He added many aſſeverations that he was a gentleman, and deſpiſed money; not forgetting ſeveral hints of the preſents which had been made him for his cabbin, of twenty, thirty, and forty guineas, by ſeveral gentlemen, over and above the ſum for which they had contracted. This behaviour greatly ſurprized me, as I knew not how to account for it, nothing having happened ſince we parted from the captain the evening before in perfect good-humour; and all this broke forth on the firſt moment of his arrival this morning. He did not, however, ſuffer my amazement to have any long continuance, before he clearly ſhewed me that all this was meant only as an apology to introduce another procraſtination (being the fifth) of his weighing anchor; which was now poſtponed till Saturday, for ſuch was his will and pleaſure.

Beſides the diſagreeable ſituation in which we then lay, in the confines of Wapping and Redriffe, taſting a delicious mixture of the air of both theſe ſweet places, and enjoying the concord of ſweet ſounds of ſeamen, watermen, fiſh-women, oyſter-women, and of all the vociferous inhabitants of both

both ſhores, compoſing altogether a greater variety of harmony than Hogarth's imagination hath brought together in that print of his, which is enough to make a man deaf to look at it; I had a more urgent cauſe to preſs our departure, which was, that the dropſy, for which I had undergone three tappings, ſeemed to threaten me with a fourth diſcharge before I ſhould reach Liſbon, and when I ſhould have no body on board capable of performing the operation; but I was obliged to hearken to the voice of reaſon, if I may uſe the captain's own words, and to reſt myſelf contented. Indeed, there was no alternative within my reach, but what would have coſt me much too dear.

There are many evils in ſociety, from which people of the higheſt rank are ſo entirely exempt, that they have not the leaſt knowledge or idea of them; nor, indeed, of the characters which are formed by them. Such, for inſtance, is the conveyance of goods and paſſengers from one place to another. Now there is no ſuch thing as any kind of knowledge contemptible in itſelf; and as the particular knowledge I here mean, is entirely neceſſary to the well underſtanding and well enjoying this journal; and, laſtly, as in this caſe the moſt ignorant will be thoſe very readers whoſe amuſement we chiefly conſult, and to whom we wiſh to be ſuppoſed principally to write, we will here enter ſomewhat largely into the diſcuſſion of this matter; the rather, for that no ancient or modern author (if we can truſt the catalogue of Doctor Mead's library) hath ever undertaken it; but that it ſeems (in the ſtyle of Don Quixote) a taſk reſerved for my pen alone.

When I firſt conceived this intention, I began to entertain thoughts of enquiring into the antiquity of travelling; and, as many perſons have performed in this way (I mean have travelled) at the expence of the public, I flattered myſelf that the

ſpirit of improving arts and ſciences, and of advancing uſeful and ſubſtantial learning, which ſo eminently diſtinguiſhes this age, and hath given riſe to more ſpeculative ſocieties in Europe than I at preſent can recollect the names of; perhaps, indeed, than I or any other beſides their very near neighbours ever heard mentioned, would aſſiſt in promoting ſo curious a work. A work! begun with the ſame views, calculated for the ſame purpoſes, and fitted for the ſame uſes with the labours which thoſe right honourable ſocieties have ſo cheerfully undertaken themſelves, and encouraged in others; ſometimes with the higheſt honours, even with admiſſion into their colleges, and with inrolment among their members.

From theſe ſocieties I promiſed myſelf all aſſiſtance in their power, particularly the communication of ſuch valuable manuſcripts and records as they muſt be ſuppoſed to have collected from thoſe obſcure ages of antiquity, when hiſtory yields us ſuch imperfect accounts of the reſidence, and much more imperfect, of the travels of the human race; unleſs, perhaps, as a curious and learned member of the young ſociety of Antiquarians is ſaid to have hinted his conjectures, that their reſidence and their travels were one and the ſame; and this diſcovery (for ſuch it ſeems to be) he is ſaid to have owed to the lighting by accident on a book, which we ſhall have occaſion to mention preſently, the contents of which were then little known to the ſociety.

The King of Pruſſia, moreover, who from a degree of benevolence and taſte, which in either caſe is a rare production in ſo northern a climate, is the great encourager of art and ſcience, I was well aſſured would promote ſo uſeful a deſign, and order his archives to be ſearched on my behalf.

But after well weighing all theſe advantages, and much meditation on the order of my work, my whole

whole deſign was ſubverted in a moment by hearing of the diſcovery juſt mentioned to have been made by the young antiquarian, who, from the moſt ancient record in the world (though I don't find the ſociety are all agreed in this point) one long preceding the date of the earlieſt modern collections, either of books or butterflies, none of which pretend to go beyond the flood, ſhews us, that the firſt man was a traveller, and that he and his family were ſcarce ſettled in Paradiſe before they diſliked their own home, and became paſſengers to another place. Hence it appears, that the humour of travelling is as old as the human race, and that it was their curſe from the beginning.

By this diſcovery my plan became much ſhortened, and I found it only neceſſary to treat of the conveyance of goods and paſſengers from place to place; which not being univerſally known, ſeemed proper to be explained, before we examined into its original. There are, indeed, two different ways of tracing all things, uſed by the hiſtorian and the antiquary; theſe are upwards and downwards. The former ſhews you how things are, and leaves to others to diſcover when they began to be ſo. The latter ſhews you how things were, and leaves their preſent exiſtence to be examined by others. Hence the former is more uſeful; the latter more curious. The former receives the thanks of mankind; the latter of that valuable part, the virtuoſi.

In explaining, therefore, this myſtery of carrying goods and paſſengers from one place to another, hitherto ſo profound a ſecret to the very beſt of our readers, we ſhall purſue the hiſtorical method, and endeavour to ſhew by what means it is at preſent performed, referring the more curious enquire either to ſome other pen, or to ſome other opportunity.

Now there are two general ways of performing (if God permit) this conveyance; viz. by land and water, both of which have much variety; that by land being performed in different vehicles, ſuch as coaches, caravans, waggons, &c. and that by water in ſhips, barges, and boats, of various ſizes and denominations. But as all theſe methods of conveyance are formed on the ſame principles, they agree ſo well together, that it is fully ſufficient to comprehend them all in the general view, without deſcending to ſuch minute particulars as would diſtinguiſh one method from another.

Common to all of theſe is one general principle, that as the goods to be conveyed are uſually the larger, ſo they are to be chiefly conſidered in the conveyance; the owner being indeed little more than an appendage to his trunk, or box, or bale, or at beſt, a ſmall part of his own baggage, very little care is to be taken in ſtowing or packing them up with convenience to himſelf; for the conveyance is not of paſſengers and goods, but of goods and paſſengers.

Secondly, From this conveyance ariſes a new kind of relation, or rather of ſubjection in the ſociety; by which the paſſenger becomes bound in allegiance to his conveyer. This allegiance is indeed only temporary and local, but the moſt abſolute during its continuance, of any known in Great Britain, and, to ſay truth, ſcarce conſiſtent with the liberties of a free people; nor could it be reconciled with them, did it not move downwards, a circumſtance univerſally apprehended to be incompatible to all kinds of ſlavery. For Ariſtotle, in his Politics, hath proved abundantly to my ſatisfaction, that no men are born to be ſlaves, except barbarians; and theſe only to ſuch as are not themſelves barbarians; and indeed, Mr. Monteſquieu hath carried it very little farther, in the caſe of the Africans; the real truth being, that no man

is born to be a ſlave, unleſs to him who is able to make him ſo.

Thirdly, This ſubjection is abſolute, and conſiſts of a perfect reſignation both of body and ſoul to the diſpoſal of another; after which reſignation, during a certain time, his ſubject retains no more power over his own will, than an Aſiatic ſlave, or an Engliſh wife, by the laws of both countries, and by the cuſtoms of one of them. If I ſhould mention the inſtance of a ſtage-coachman, many of my readers would recognize the truth of what I have here obſerved; all indeed, that ever have been under the dominion of that tyrant, who, in this free country, is as abſolute as a Turkiſh Baſhaw. In two particulars only his power is defective; he cannot preſs you into his ſervice, and if you enter yourſelf at one place, on condition of being diſcharged at a certain time at another, he is obliged to perform his agreement, if God permit; but all the intermediate time you are abſolutely under his government; he carries you how he will, when he will, and whither he will, provided it be not much out of the road; you have nothing to eat, or to drink, but what, and when, and where he pleaſes. Nay, you cannot ſleep, unleſs he pleaſes you ſhould; for he will order you ſometimes out of bed at midnight, and hurry you away at a moment's warning; indeed, if you can ſleep in his vehicle, he cannot prevent it; nay, indeed, to give him his due, this he is ordinarily diſpoſed to encourage; for the earlier he forces you to riſe in the morning, the more time he will give you in the heat of the day, ſometimes even ſix hours at an alehouſe, or at their doors, where he always gives you the ſame indulgence which he allows himſelf; and for this he is generally very moderate in his demands. I have known a whole bundle of paſſengers charged no more than half a crown for being ſuffered to remain quiet at an alehouſe door.

for above a whole hour, and that even in the hotteſt day in ſummer.

But as this kind of tyranny, though it hath eſcaped our political writers, hath been, I think, touched by our dramatic, and is more trite among the generality of readers; and as this and all other kinds of ſuch ſubjection are alike unknown to my friends, I will quit the paſſengers by land, and treat of thoſe who travel by water; for whatever is ſaid on this ſubject, is applicable to both alike, and we may bring them together as cloſely as they are brought in the liturgy, when they are recommended to the prayers of all Chriſtian congregations; and (which I have often thought very remarkable) where they are joined with other miſerable wretches, ſuch as, women in labour, people in ſickneſs, infants juſt born, priſoners and captives.

Goods and paſſengers are conveyed by water in divers vehicles, the principal of which being a ſhip, it ſhall ſuffice to mention that alone. Here the tyrant doth not derive his title, as the ſtage-coachman doth from the vehicle itſelf, in which he ſtows his goods and paſſengers, but he is called the captain; a word of ſuch various uſe and uncertain ſignification, that it ſeems very difficult to fix any poſitive idea to it; if, indeed, there be any general meaning which may comprehend all its different uſes, that of the head, or chief, of any body of men, ſeems to be moſt capable of this comprehenſion; for whether they be a company of ſoldiers, a crew of ſailors, or a gang of rogues, he who is at the head of them is always ſtiled the captain.

The particular tyrant, whoſe fortune it was to ſtow us aboard, laid a farther claim to this appellation than the bare command of a vehicle of conveyance. He had been the captain of a privateer, which he choſe to call being in the king's ſervice, and thence derived a right of hoiſting the military orna-

ornament of a cockade over the button of his hat. He likewiſe wore a ſword of no ordinary length by his ſide, with which he ſwaggered in his cabbin, among the wretches his paſſengers, whom he had ſtowed in cupboards on each ſide. He was a perſon of a very ſingular character. He had taken it into his head that he was a gentleman, from thoſe very reaſons that proved he was not one; and to ſhew himſelf a fine gentleman, by a behaviour which ſeemed to inſinuate he had never ſeen one. He was, moreover, a man of gallantry; at the age of ſeventy, he had the finicalneſs of Sir Courtly Nice, with the roughneſs of Surly; and while he was deaf himſelf, had a voice capable of deafening all others.

Now, as I ſaw myſelf in danger by the delays of the captain, who was, in reality, waiting for more freight, and as the wind had been long neſted, as it were, in the ſouth weſt, where it conſtantly blew hurricanes, I began with great reaſon to apprehend that our voyage might be long, and that my belly, which began already to be much extended, would require the water to be let out at a time when no aſſiſtance was at hand; though, indeed, the captain comforted me with aſſurances, that he had a pretty young fellow on board, who acted as his ſurgeon, as I found he likewiſe did as ſteward, cook, butler, ſailor. In ſhort, he had as many offices as Scrub in the play, and went through them all with great dexterity; this of ſurgeon was, perhaps, the only one in which his ſkill was ſomewhat deficient, at leaſt that branch of tapping for the dropſy; for he very ingenuouſly and modeſtly confeſſed, he had never ſeen the operation performed, nor was poſſeſſed of that chirurgical inſtrument with which it is performed.

Friday, June 28. By way of prevention, therefore, I this day ſent for my friend Mr. Hunter, the great ſurgeon and anatomiſt of Covent-garden; and,

and, though my belly was not yet very full and tight, let out ten quarts of water; the young ſea-ſurgeon attended the operation, not as a performer, but as a ſtudent.

I was now eaſed of the greateſt apprehenſion which I had from the length of the paſſage; and I told the captain, I was become indifferent as to the time of his ſailing. He expreſſed much ſatiſfaction in this declaration, and at hearing from me, that I found myſelf, ſince my tapping, much lighter and better. In this, I believe, he was ſincere; for he was, as we ſhall have occaſion to obſerve more than once, a very good-natured man; and as he was a very brave one too, I found that the heroic conſtancy, with which I had borne an operation that is attended with ſcarce any degree of pain, had not a little raiſed me in his eſteem. That he might adhere, therefore, in the moſt religious and rigorous manner to his word, when he had no longer any temptation from intereſt to break it, as he had no longer any hopes of more goods or paſſengers, he ordered his ſhip to fall down to Graveſend on Sunday morning, and there to wait his arrival.

Sunday, June 30. Nothing worth notice paſſed till that morning, when my poor wife, after paſſing a night in the utmoſt torments of the tooth-ach, reſolved to have it drawn. I diſpatched, therefore, a ſervant into Wapping, to bring, in haſte, the beſt tooth-drawer he could find. He ſoon found out a female of great eminence in the art; but when he brought her to the boat, at the water-ſide, they were informed that the ſhip was gone; for, indeed, ſhe had ſet out a few minutes after his quitting her; nor did the pilot, who well knew the errand on which I had ſent my ſervant, think fit to wait a moment for his return, or to give me any notice of his ſetting out, though I had, very patiently, attended the delays of the captain four

four days, after many ſolemn promiſes of weighing anchor every one of the three laſt.

But of all the petty baſhaws, or turbulent tyrants I ever beheld, this four-faced pilot was the worſt tempered; for, during the time that he had the guidance of the ſhip, which was till we arrived in the Downs, he complied with no one's deſires, nor did he give a civil word, or, indeed, a civil look to any on board.

The toothdrawer, who, as I ſaid before, was one of great eminence among her neighbours, refuſed to follow the ſhip; ſo that my man made himſelf the beſt of his way, and, with ſome difficulty, came up with us before we were got under full ſail; for, after that, as we had both wind and tide with us, he would have found it impoſſible to overtake the ſhip, till ſhe was come to an anchor at Graveſend.

The morning was fair and bright, and we had a paſſage thither, I think, as pleaſant as can be conceived; for, take it with all its advantages, particularly the number of fine ſhips you are always ſure of ſeeing by the way, there is nothing to equal it in all the rivers of the world. The yards of Deptford and of Woolwich are noble ſights; and give us a juſt idea of the great perfection to which we are arrived in building thoſe floating caſtles, and the figure which we may always make in Europe among the other maritime powers. That of Woolwich, at leaſt, very ſtrongly imprinted this idea on my mind; for there was now on the ſtocks there the Royal Anne, ſuppoſed to be the largeſt ſhip ever built, and which contains ten carriage guns more than had ever yet equipped a firſt rate.

It is true, perhaps, that there is more of oſtentation than of real utility, in ſhips of this vaſt and unwieldy burthen, which are rarely capable of acting againſt an enemy; but if the building ſuch

contributes

contributes to preſerve, among other nations, the notion of the Britiſh ſuperiority in naval affairs, the expence, though very great, is well incurred, and the oſtentation is laudable and truly political. Indeed, I ſhould be ſorry to allow that Holland, France, or Spain, poſſeſſed a veſſel larger and more beautiful than the largeſt and moſt beautiful of ours; for this honour I would always adminiſter to the pride of our ſailors, who ſhould challenge it from all their neighbours with truth and ſucceſs. And ſure I am, that not our honeſt tars alone, but every inhabitant of this iſland, may exult in the compariſon, when he conſiders the king of Great Britain as a maritime prince, in oppoſition to any other prince in Europe; but I am not ſo certain that the ſame idea of ſuperiority will reſult from comparing our land forces with thoſe of many other crowned heads. In numbers, they all far exceed us, and in the goodneſs and ſplendour of their troops, many nations, particularly the Germans and French, and perhaps the Dutch, caſt us at a diſtance; for, however we may flatter ourſelves with the Edwards and Henrys of former ages, the change of the whole art of war ſince thoſe days, by which the advantage of perſonal ſtrength is, in a manner, entirely loſt, hath produced a change in military affairs to the advantage of our enemies. As for our ſucceſſes in later days, if they were not entirely owing to the ſuperior genius of our general, they were not a little due to the ſuperior force of his money. Indeed, if we ſhould arraign marſhal Saxe of oſtentation, when he ſhewed his army, drawn up, to our captive general, the day after the battle of La Val, we cannot ſay that the oſtentation was entirely vain; ſince he certainly ſhewed him an army, which had not been often equalled, either in the number or goodneſs of the troops, and which, in thoſe reſpects, ſo far exceeded ours, that none can ever caſt any reflexion on the brave young

prince who could not reap the laurels of conqueſt in that day; but his retreat will be always mentioned as an addition to his glory.

In our marine the caſe is entirely the reverſe, and it muſt be our own fault if it doth not continue ſo; for continue ſo it will, as long as the flouriſhing ſtate of our trade ſhall ſupport it, and this ſupport it can never want, till our legiſlature ſhall ceaſe to give ſufficient attention to the protection of our trade, and our magiſtrates want ſufficient power, ability, and honeſty to execute the laws: a circumſtance not to be apprehended, as it cannot happen, till our ſenates and our benches ſhall be filled with the blindeſt ignorance, or with the blackeſt corruption.

Beſides the ſhips in the docks, we ſaw many on the water; the yachts are ſights of great parade, and the king's body yacht, is, I believe, unequalled in any country, for convenience as well as magnificence; both which are conſulted in building and equipping her with the moſt exquiſite art and workmanſhip.

We ſaw likewiſe ſeveral Indiamen juſt returned from their voyage. Theſe are, I believe, the largeſt and fineſt veſſels which are any where employed in commercial affairs. The colliers, likewiſe, which are very numerous, and even aſſemble in fleets, are ſhips of great bulk; and if we deſcend to thoſe uſed in the American, African, and European trades, and paſs through thoſe which viſit our own coaſts, to the ſmall craft that lie between Chatham and the Tower, the whole forms a moſt pleaſing object to the eye, as well as highly warming to the heart of an Engliſhman, who has any degree of love for his country, or can recognize any effect of the patriot in his conſtitution.

Laſtly, The Royal Hoſpital of Greenwich, which preſents ſo delightful a front to the water, and doth ſuch honour at once to its builder and the nation,

tion, to the great ſkill and ingenuity of the one, and to the no leſs ſenſible gratitude of the other, very properly cloſes the account of this ſcene; which may well appear romantic to thoſe who have not themſelves ſeen, that, in this one inſtance, truth and reality are capable, perhaps, of exceeding the power of fiction.

When we had paſt by Greenwich, we ſaw only two or three gentlemen's houſes all of very moderate account, till we reached Graveſend; theſe are all on the Kentiſh ſhore, which affords a much drier, wholeſomer and pleaſanter ſituation than doth that of its oppoſite, Eſſex. This circumſtance, I own, is ſomewhat ſurpriſing to me, when I reflect on the numerous villas that crowd the river, from Chelſea upwards as far as Shepperton, where the narrower channel affords not half ſo noble a proſpect, and where the continual ſucceſſion of the ſmall craft, like the frequent repetition of all things, which have nothing in them great, beautiful, or admirable, tire the eye, and give us diſtaſte and averſion inſtead of pleaſure. With ſome of theſe ſituations, ſuch as Barnes, Mortlake, &c. even the ſhore of Eſſex might contend, not upon very unequal terms; but, on the Kentiſh borders, there are many ſpots to be choſen by the builder, which might juſtly claim the preference over almoſt the very fineſt of thoſe in Middleſex and Surry.

How ſhall we account for this depravity in taſte? for, ſurely, there are none ſo very mean and contemptible, as to bring the pleaſure of ſeeing a number of little wherries, gliding along after one another, in competition with what we enjoy, in viewing a ſucceſſion of ſhips, with all their ſails expanded to the winds, bounding over the waves before us.

And here I cannot paſs by another obſervation on the deplorable want of taſte in our enjoyments, which we ſhew by almoſt totally neglecting the purſuit

ſuit of what ſeems to me the higheſt degree of amuſement; this is, the ſailing ourſelves in little veſſels of our own, contrived only for our eaſe and accommodation, to which ſuch ſituations of our villas, as I have recommended, would be ſo convenient and even neceſſary.

This amuſement, I confeſs, if enjoyed in any perfection, would be of the expenſive kind; but ſuch expence would not exceed the reach of a moderate fortune, and would fall very ſhort of the prices which are daily paid for pleaſures of a far inferior rate. The truth, I believe, is, that ſailing in the manner I have juſt mentioned, is a pleaſure rather unknown, or unthought of, than rejected by thoſe who have experienced it; unleſs, perhaps, the apprehenſion of danger, or ſea-ſickneſs, may be ſuppoſed, by the timorous and delicate, to make too large deductions; inſiſting, that all their enjoyments ſhall come to them pure and unmixed, and being ever ready to cry out,

———*Nocet empta dolore voluptas.*

This, however, was my preſent caſe; for the eaſe and lightneſs which I felt from my tapping, the gaiety of the morning, the pleaſant ſailing with wind and tide, and the many agreeable objects with which I was conſtantly entertained during the whole way, were all ſuppreſſed and overcome by the ſingle conſideration of my wife's pain, which continued inceſſantly to torment her till we came to an anchor, when I diſpatched a meſſenger in great haſte, for the beſt reputed operator in Graveſend. A ſurgeon of ſome eminence now appeared, who did not decline tooth-drawing, though he certainly would have been offended with the appellation of tooth-drawer, no leſs than his brethren, the members of that venerable body, would be with that of barber, ſince the late ſeparation between thoſe long

long united companies, by which, if the ſurgeons have gained much, the barbers are ſuppoſed to have loſt very little.

This able and careful perſon (for ſo I ſincerely believe he is) after examining the guilty tooth, declared, that it was ſuch a rotten ſhell, and ſo placed at the very remoteſt end of the upper jaw, where it was, in a manner, covered and ſecured by a large, fine, firm tooth, that he deſpaired of his power of drawing it.

He ſaid, indeed, more to my wife, and uſed more rhetoric to diſſuade her from having it drawn, than is generally employed to perſuade young ladies, to prefer a pain of three moments to one of three months continuance; eſpecially, if thoſe young ladies happen to be paſt forty and fifty years of age, when, by ſubmitting to ſupport a racking torment, the only good circumſtance attending which is, it is ſo ſhort, that ſcarce one in a thouſand can cry out, I feel it, they are to do a violence to their charms, and loſe one of thoſe beautiful holders, with which alone Sir Courtly Nice declares, a lady can ever lay hold of his heart.

He ſaid at laſt ſo much, and ſeemed to reaſon ſo juſtly, that I came over to his ſide, and aſſiſted him in prevailing on my wife (for it was no eaſy matter) to reſolve on keeping her tooth a little longer, and to apply to palliatives only for relief. Theſe were opium applied to the tooth, and bliſters behind the ears.

Whilſt we were at dinner this day, in the cabbin, on a ſudden the window on one ſide was beat into the room, with a craſh, as if a twenty-pounder had been diſcharged among us. We were all alarmed at the ſuddenneſs of the accident, for which, however, we were ſoon able to account, for the ſaſh, which was ſhivered all to pieces, was purſued into the middle of the cabbin by the bowſprit of a little ſhip,

ſhip, called a cod-ſmack, the maſter of which made us amends for running (carelesly at beſt) againſt us, and injuring the ſhip, in the ſea-way; that is to ſay, by damning us all to hell, and uttering ſeveral pious wiſhes that it had done us much more miſchief. All which were anſwered in their own kind and phraſe by our men; between whom, and the other crew, a dialogue of oaths and ſcurrility was carried on, as long as they continued in each other's hearing.

It is difficult, I think, to aſſign a ſatisfactory reaſon, why ſailors in general ſhould, of all others, think themſelves entirely diſcharged from the common bands of humanity, and ſhould ſeem to glory in the language and behaviour of ſavages! They ſee more of the world, and have, moſt of them, a more erudite education, than is the portion of landmen of their degree. Nor do I believe that in any country they viſit (Holland itſelf not excepted) they can ever find a parallel to what daily paſſes on the river Thames. Is it that they think true courage (for they are the braveſt fellows upon earth) inconſiſtent with all the gentleneſs of a humane carriage, and that the contempt of civil order ſprings up in minds but little cultivated at the ſame time, and from the ſame principles, with the contempt of danger and death? Is it——? in ſhort, it is ſo; and how it comes to be ſo, I leave to form a queſtion in the Robin Hood Society, or to be propounded for ſolution among the ænigmas in the Woman's Almanack for the next year.

Monday, July 1. This day Mr. Welch took his leave of me after dinner, as did a young lady of her ſiſter, who was proceeding with my wife to Liſbon. They both ſet out together in a poſt-chaiſe for London.

Soon after their departure, our cabbin, where my wife and I were ſitting together, was viſited by two ruffians, whoſe appearance greatly correſponded

with that of the ſheriff's, or rather the knight-marſhal's bailiffs. One of theſe, eſpecially, who ſeemed to affect a more than ordinary degree of rudeneſs and inſolence, came in without any kind of ceremony, with a broad gold lace on his hat, which was cocked with much military fierceneſs on his head. An inkhorn at his button-hole, and ſome papers in his hand, ſufficiently aſſured me what he was, and I aſked him if he and his companion were not cuſtom-houſe officers; he anſwered with ſufficient dignity, that they were, as an information which he ſeemed to conclude would ſtrike the hearer with awe, and ſuppreſs all further enquiry; but, on the contrary, I proceeded to aſk of what rank he was in the cuſtom-houſe, and receiving an anſwer from his companion, as I remember, that the gentleman was a riding ſurveyor; I replied, that he might be a riding ſurveyor, but could be no gentleman, for that none who had any title to that denomination, would break into the preſence of a lady, without any apology, or even moving his hat. He then took his covering from his head, and laid it on the table, ſaying, he aſked pardon, and blamed the mate, who ſhould, he ſaid, have informed him if any perſons of diſtinction were below. I told him, he might gueſs by our appearance (which, perhaps, was rather more than could be ſaid with the ſtricteſt adherence to truth) that he was before a gentleman and lady, which ſhould teach him to be very civil in his behaviour, though we ſhould not happen to be of that number whom the world calls people of faſhion and diſtinction. However, I ſaid, that as he ſeemed ſenſible of his error, and had aſked pardon, the lady would permit him to put his hat on again, if he choſe it. This he refuſed with ſome degree of ſurlineſs, and failed not to convince me, that if I ſhould condeſcend to become more gentle, he would ſoon grow more rude.

I now

I now renewed a reflexion, which I have often ſeen occaſion to make, that there is nothing ſo incongruous in nature as any kind of power, with lowneſs of mind and of ability, and that there is nothing more deplorable than the want of truth in the whimſical notion of Plato; who tells us, that 'Saturn, well knowing the ſtate of human 'affairs, gave us kings and rulers, not of human, 'but divine original; for as we make not ſhep-'herds of ſheep, nor oxherds of oxen, nor goat-'herds of goats; but place ſome of our own 'kind over all, as being better and fitter to govern 'them; in the ſame manner, were demons by the 'Divine Love ſet over us, as a race of beings of 'a ſuperior order to men, and who, with great eaſe 'to themſelves, might regulate our affairs, and 'eſtabliſh peace, modeſty, freedom, and juſtice; 'and totally deſtroying all ſedition, might com-'plete the happineſs of the human race. So far, 'at leaſt, may even now be ſaid with truth, that 'in all ſtates which are under the government of 'mere man, without any divine aſſiſtance, there is 'nothing but labour and miſery to be found. 'From what I have ſaid therefore, we may at leaſt 'learn, with our utmoſt endeavours, to imitate 'the Saturnian inſtitution; borrowing all aſſiſtance 'from our immortal part, while we pay to this 'the ſtricteſt obedience, we ſhould form both our 'private œconomy, and public policy, from its 'dictates. By this diſpenſation of our immortal 'minds, we are to eſtabliſh a law, and to call it by 'that name. But if any government be in the 'hands of a ſingle perſon, of the few, or of the 'many; and ſuch governor or governors ſhall 'abandon himſelf or themſelves to the unbridled 'purſuit of the wildeſt pleaſures or deſires, unable 'to reſtrain any paſſion, but poſſeſſed with an in-'ſatiable bad diſeaſe; if ſuch ſhall attempt to go-'vern; and at the ſame time to trample on all

'laws, there can be no means of preſervation left 'for the wretched people.' Plato de Leg. lib. iv. p. 713. c. 714. edit. Serrani.

It is true, that Plato is here treating of the higheſt of ſovereign power in a ſtate; but it is as true, that his obſervations are general, and may be applied to all inferior powers; and, indeed, every ſubordinate degree is immediately derived from the higheſt; and as it is equally protected by the ſame force, and ſanctified by the ſame authority, is alike dangerous to the well-being of the ſubject.

Of all powers, perhaps, there is none ſo ſanctified and protected, as this which is under our preſent conſideration. So numerous, indeed, and ſtrong are the ſanctions given to it by many acts of parliament, that having once eſtabliſhed the laws of cuſtoms on merchandize, it ſeems to have been the ſole view of the legiſlature to ſtrengthen the hands, and to protect the perſons of the officers, who became eſtabliſhed by thoſe laws; many of whom are ſo far from bearing any reſemblance to the Saturnian inſtitution, and to be choſen from a degree of beings ſuperior to the reſt of human race, that they ſometimes ſeem induſtriouſly picked out of the loweſt and vileſt orders of mankind.

There is, indeed, nothing ſo uſeful to man in general, nor ſo beneficial to particular ſocieties and individuals, as trade. This is that *alma mater*, at whoſe plentiful breaſt all mankind are nouriſhed. It is true, like other parents, ſhe is not always equally indulgent to all her children; but though ſhe gives to her favourites a vaſt proportion of redundancy and ſuperfluity, there are very few whom ſhe refuſes to ſupply with the conveniencies, and none with the neceſſaries of life.

Such a benefactreſs as this muſt naturally be beloved by mankind in general; it would be wonderful, therefore, if her intereſt was not conſidered by them, and protected from the fraud and violence

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of ſome of her rebellious offſpring, who coveting more than their ſhare, or more than ſhe thinks proper to allow them, are daily employed in meditating miſchief againſt her, and in endeavouring to ſteal from their brethren thoſe ſhares which this great *alma mater* had allowed them.

At length our governor came on board, and about ſix in the evening we weighed anchor, and fell down to the Nore, whither our paſſage was extremely pleaſant, the evening being very delightful, the moon juſt paſt the full, and both wind and tide favourable to us.

Tueſday, July 2. This morning we again ſet ſail under all the advantages we had enjoyed the evening before: This day we left the ſhore of Eſſex, and coaſted along Kent, paſſing by the pleaſant iſland of Thanet, which is an iſland, and that of Sheppy, which is not an iſland, and about three o'clock, the wind being now full in our teeth, we came to an anchor in the Downs, within two miles of Deal. My wife, having ſuffered intolerable pain from her tooth, again renewed her reſolution of having it drawn, and another ſurgeon was ſent for from Deal, but with no better ſucceſs than the former. He likewiſe declined the operation, for the ſame reaſon which had been aſſigned by the former; however, ſuch was her reſolution, backed with pain, that he was obliged to make the attempt, which concluded more in honour of his judgment, than of his operation; for after having put my poor wife to inexpreſſible torment, he was obliged to leave her tooth *in ſtatu quo*; and ſhe had now the comfortable proſpect of a long fit of pain, which might have laſted her whole voyage, without any poſſibility of relief.

In theſe pleaſing ſenſations, of which I had my juſt ſhare, Nature, overcome with fatigue, about eight in the evening reſigned her to reſt; a circumſtance which would have given me ſome happineſs,

pineſs, could I have known how to employ thoſe ſpirits which were raiſed by it; but unfortunately for me, I was left in a diſpoſition of enjoying an agreeable hour, without the aſſiſtance of a companion, which has always appeared to me neceſſary to ſuch enjoyment; my daughter and her companion were both retired ſea-ſick to bed; the other paſſengers were, a rude ſchool-boy of fourteen years old, and an illiterate Portugueſe friar, who underſtood no language but his own, in which I had not the leaſt ſmattering. The captain was the only perſon left, in whoſe converſation I might indulge myſelf; but unluckily, beſides a total ignorance of every thing in the world but a ſhip, he had the misfortune of being ſo deaf, that to make him hear, I will not ſay underſtand, my words, I muſt run the riſque of conveying them to the ears of my wife, who, though in another room (called, I think, the ſtate-room; being, indeed, a moſt ſtately apartment capable of containing one human body in length, if not very tall, and three bodies in breadth) lay aſleep within a yard of me. In this ſituation neceſſity and choice were one and the ſame thing; the captain and I ſat down together to a ſmall bowl of punch, over which we both ſoon fell faſt aſleep, and ſo concluded the evening.

Wedneſday, July 3. This morning I awaked at four o'clock, for my diſtemper ſeldom ſuffered me to ſleep later. I preſently got up, and had the pleaſure of enjoying the ſight of a tempeſtuous ſea for four hours before the captain was ſtirring; for he loved to indulge himſelf in morning ſlumbers, which were attended with a wind-muſick, much more agreeable to the performers than to the hearers, eſpecially ſuch as have, as I had, the privilege of ſitting in the orcheſtra. At eight o'clock the captain roſe, and ſent his boat on ſhore. I ordered my man likewiſe to go in it, as my diſtemper was not of that kind which entirely deprives

us of appetite. Now, though the captain had well victualled his ſhip with all manner of ſalt proviſions for the voyage, and had added great quantities of freſh ſtores, particularly of vegetables at Graveſend, ſuch as beans and peas, which had been on board only two days, and had, poſſibly, not been gathered above two more, I apprehended I could provide better for myſelf at Deal, than the ſhip's ordinary ſeemed to promiſe. I accordingly ſent for freſh proviſions of all kinds from the ſhore, in order to put off the evil day of ſtarving as long as poſſible. My man returned with moſt of the articles I ſent for, and I now thought myſelf in a condition of living a week on my own proviſions. I therefore ordered my own dinner, which I wanted nothing but a cook to dreſs, and a proper fire to dreſs it at; but thoſe were not to be had, nor indeed any addition to my roaſt mutton, except the pleaſure of the captain's company, with that of the other paſſengers; for my wife continued the whole day in a ſtate of dozing, and my other females, whoſe ſickneſs did not abate by the rolling of the ſhip at anchor, ſeemed more inclined to empty their ſtomachs than to fill them. Thus I paſſed the whole day (except about an hour at dinner) by myſelf, and the evening concluded with the captain as the preceding one had done; one comfortable piece of news he communicated to me, which was, that he had no doubt of a proſperous wind in the morning; but as he did not divulge the reaſons of this confidence, and as I ſaw none myſelf beſides the wind being directly oppoſite, my faith in this prophecy was not ſtrong enough to build any great hopes upon.

Thurſday, July 4. This morning, however, the captain ſeemed reſolved to fulfil his own predictions, whether the wind would or no; he accordingly weighed anchor, and taking the advantage of the tide, when the wind was not very boiſterous,

he hoiſted his ſails, and, as if his power had been no leſs abſolute over Eolus than it was over Neptune, he forced the wind to blow him on in its own deſpight.

But as all men who have ever been at ſea, well know how weak ſuch attempts are, and want no authorities of Scripture to prove, that the moſt abſolute power of a captain of a ſhip is very contemptible in the wind's eye, ſo did it befal our noble commander; who having ſtruggled with the wind three or four hours, was obliged to give over, and loſt, in a few minutes, all that he had been ſo long gaining; in ſhort, we returned to our former ſtation, and once more caſt anchor in the neighbourhood of Deal.

Here though we lay near the ſhore, that we might promiſe ourſelves all the emolument which could be derived from it, we found ourſelves deceived; and that we might with as much conveniency be out of the ſight of land; for, except when the captain launched forth his own boat, which he did always with great reluctance, we were incapable of procuring any thing from Deal, but at a price too exorbitant, and beyond the reach even of modern luxury; the fare of a boat from Deal, which lay at two miles diſtance, being at leaſt three half crowns, and if we had been in any diſtreſs for it, as many half guineas; for theſe good people conſider the ſea as a large common, appendant to their manor, in which, when they find any of their fellow-creatures impounded, they conclude, that they have a full right of making them pay at their own diſcretion for their deliverance; to ſay the truth, whether it be that men, who live on the ſea-ſhore, are of an amphibious kind, and do not entirely partake of human nature, or whatever elſe may be the reaſon, they are ſo far from taking any ſhare in the diſtreſſes of mankind, or of being moved with any compaſſion for them,

them, that they look upon them as bleſſings ſhowered down from above; and which the more they improve to their own uſe, the greater is their gratitude and piety. Thus at Graveſend, a ſculler requires a ſhilling for going leſs way than he would row in London for three-pence; and, at Deal, a boat often brings more profit in a day, than it can produce in London in a week, or, perhaps, in a month; in both places, the owner of the boat founds his demand on the neceſſity and diſtreſs of one, who ſtands more or leſs in abſolute want of his aſſiſtance; and with the urgency of theſe, always riſes in the exorbitancy of his demand, without ever conſidering, that, from theſe very circumſtances, the power or eaſe of gratifying ſuch demand is in like proportion leſſened. Now, as I am unwilling that ſome concluſions, which may be, I am aware, too juſtly drawn from theſe obſervations, ſhould be imputed to human nature in general, I have endeavoured to account for them in a way more conſiſtent with the goodneſs and dignity of that nature: however it be, it ſeems a little to reflect on the governors of ſuch monſters, that they do not take ſome means to reſtrain theſe impoſitions, and prevent them from triumphing any longer in the miſeries of thoſe, who are, in many circumſtances at leaſt, their fellow-creatures, and conſidering the diſtreſſes of a wretched ſeaman, from his being wrecked to his being barely wind-bound, as a bleſſing ſent among them from above, and calling it by that blaſphemous name.

Friday, July 5. This day I ſent a ſervant on board a man of war, that was ſtationed here, with my compliments to the captain, to repreſent to him the diſtreſs of the ladies, and to deſire the favour of his long-boat to conduct us to Dover, at about ſeven miles diſtance; and, at the ſame time, preſumed to make uſe of a great lady's name, the wife of the firſt lord commiſſioner of the admiralty; who

who would, I told him, be pleaſed with any kindneſs ſhewn by him towards us in our miſerable condition. And this I am convinced was true, from the humanity of the lady, though ſhe was entirely unknown to me.

The captain returned a verbal anſwer to a long letter; acquainting me, that what I deſired could not be complied with, it being a favour not in his power to grant. This might be, and I ſuppoſe was true; but it is as true, that if he was able to write, and had pen, ink, and paper aboard, he might have ſent a written anſwer, and that it was the part of a gentleman ſo to have done; but this is a character ſeldom maintained on the watery element, eſpecially by thoſe who exerciſe any power on it. Every commander of a veſſel here ſeems to think himſelf entirely free from all thoſe rules of decency and civility, which direct and reſtrain the conduct of the members of a ſociety on ſhore; and each, claiming abſolute dominion in his little wooden world, rules by his own laws and his own diſcretion. I do not, indeed, know ſo pregnant an inſtance of the dangerous conſequences of abſolute power, and its aptneſs to intoxicate the mind, as that of thoſe petty tyrants, who become ſuch in a moment, from very well-diſpoſed and ſocial members of that communion, in which they affect no ſuperiority, but live in an orderly ſtate of legal ſubjection with their fellow-citizens.

Saturday, *July* 6. This morning our commander, declaring he was ſure the wind would change, took the advantage of an ebbing tide, and weighed his anchor. His aſſurance, however, had the ſame completion, and his endeavours the ſame ſucceſs, with his former trial; and he was ſoon obliged to return once more to his old quarters. Juſt before we let go our anchor, a ſmall ſloop, rather than ſubmit to yield us an inch of way, ran foul of our ſhip, and carried off her bowſprit. This

obſtinate frolic would have coſt thoſe aboard the ſloop very dear, if our ſteerſman had not been too generous to exert his ſuperiority, the certain conſequence of which would have been the immediate ſinking of the other. This contention of the inferior, with a might capable of cruſhing it in an inſtant, may ſeem to argue no ſmall ſhare of folly or madneſs, as well as of impudence; but I am convinced there is very little danger in it: contempt is a port to which the pride of man ſubmits to fly with reluctance, but thoſe who are within it are always in a place of the moſt aſſured ſecurity; for whoſoever throws away his ſword, prefers, indeed, a leſs honourable, but much ſafer means of avoiding danger, than he who defends himſelf with it. And here we ſhall offer another diſtinction, of the truth of which much reading and experience have well convinced us, that as in the moſt abſolute governments, there is a regular progreſſion of ſlavery downwards, from the top to the bottom, the miſchief of which is ſeldom felt with any great force and bitterneſs, but by the next immediate degree; ſo in the moſt diſſolute and anarchical ſtates, there is as regular an aſcent of what is called rank or condition, which is always laying hold of the head of him, who is advanced but one ſtep higher on the ladder, who might, if he did not too much deſpiſe ſuch efforts, kick his purſuer headlong to the bottom. We will conclude this digreſſion with one general and ſhort obſervation, which will, perhaps, ſet the whole matter in a clearer light than the longeſt and moſt laboured harangue. Whereas envy of all things moſt expoſes us to danger from others; ſo contempt of all things beſt ſecures us from them. And thus, while the dungcart and the ſloop are always meditating miſchief againſt the coach and the ſhip, and throwing themſelves deſignedly in their way, the latter conſider only their own ſecurity, and are not

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aſhamed to break the road, and let the other paſs by them.

Monday, *July* 8. Having paſt our Sunday without any thing remarkable, unleſs the catching a great number of whitings in the afternoon may be thought ſo; we now ſet ſail on Monday at ſix o'clock, with a little variation of wind; but this was ſo very little, and the breeze itſelf ſo ſmall, that the tide was our beſt, and, indeed, almoſt our only friend. This conducted us along the ſhort remainder of the Kentiſh ſhore. Here we paſt that cliff of Dover, which makes ſo tremendous a figure in Shakeſpeare, and which, whoever reads without being giddy, muſt, according to Mr. Addiſon's obſervation, have either a very good head, or a very bad one; but, which, whoever contracts any ſuch ideas from the ſight of, muſt have, at leaſt, a poetic, if not a Shakeſpearian genius. In truth, mountains, rivers, heroes, and gods owe great part of their exiſtence to the poets; and Greece and Italy do ſo plentifully abound in the former, becauſe they furniſhed ſo glorious a number of the latter; who, while they beſtowed immortality on every little hillock and blind ſtream, left the nobleſt rivers and mountains in the world to ſhare the ſame obſcurity with the eaſtern and weſtern poets, in which they are celebrated.

This evening we beat the ſea off Suſſex, in ſight of Dungeneſs, with much more pleaſure than progreſs; for the weather was almoſt a perfect calm, and the moon, which was almoſt at the full, ſcarce ſuffered a ſingle cloud to veil her from our ſight.

Tueſday, *Wedneſday*, *July* 9, 10. Theſe two days we had much the ſame fine weather, and made much the ſame way; but, in the evening of the latter day, a pretty freſh gale ſprung up, at N. N. W. which brought us by the morning in ſight of the Iſle of Wight.

Thurſday,

Thurſday, July 11. This gale continued till to wards noon; when the eaſt end of the iſland bore but little ahead of us. The captain ſwaggered, and declared he would keep the ſea; but the wind got the better of him, ſo that about three he gave up the victory, and, making a ſudden tack, ſtood in for the ſhore, paſſed by Spithead and Portſmouth, and came to an anchor at a place called Ryde on the iſland.

A moſt tragical incident fell out this day at ſea. While the ſhip was under ſail, but making, as will appear, no great way, a kitten, one of four of the feline inhabitants of the cabbin, fell from the window into the water; an alarm was immediately given to the captain, who was then upon deck, and received it with the utmoſt concern and many bitter oaths. He immediately gave orders to the ſteerſman in favour of the poor thing, as he called it; the ſails were inſtantly ſlackened, and all hands, as the phraſe is, employed to recover the poor animal. I was, I own, extremely ſurpriſed at all this; leſs, indeed, at the captain's extreme tenderneſs, than at his conceiving any poſſibility of ſucceſs; for, if puſs had had nine thouſand, inſtead of nine lives, I concluded they had been all loſt. The boatſwain, however, had more ſanguine hopes; for, having ſtript himſelf of his jacket, breeches, and ſhirt, he leapt bodly into the water, and to my great aſtoniſhment, in a few minutes, returned to the ſhip, bearing the motionleſs animal in his mouth. Nor was this, I obſerved, a matter of ſuch great difficulty as it appeared to my ignorance, and poſſibly may ſeem to that of my freſh-water reader: the kitten was now expoſed to air and ſun on the deck, where its life, of which it retained no ſymptoms, was deſpaired of by all.

The captain's humanity, if I may ſo call it, did not ſo totally deſtroy his philoſophy, as to make him yield himſelf up to affliction on this melancholy

choly occaſion. Having felt his loſs like a man, he reſolved to ſhew he could bear it like one; and having declared, he had rather have loſt a caſk of rum or brandy, betook himſelf to threſhing at back-gammon with the Portugueſe friar, in which innocent amuſement they had paſſed about two-thirds of their time.

But, as I have, perhaps, a little too wantonly endeavoured to raiſe the tender paſſions of my readers in this narrative, I ſhould think myſelf unpardonable if I concluded it, without giving them the ſatisfaction of hearing that the kitten at laſt recovered to the great joy of the good captain; but to the great diſappointment of ſome of the ſailors, who aſſerted that the drowning a cat was the very ſureſt way of raiſing a favourable wind; a ſuppoſition, of which, though we have heard ſeveral plauſible accounts, we will not preſume to aſſign the true original reaſon.

Friday, *July* 12. This day our ladies went aſhore at Ryde, and drank their afternoon tea at an alehouſe there with great ſatisfaction; here they were regaled with freſh cream, to which they had been ſtrangers ſince they left the Downs.

Saturday, *July* 13. The wind ſeeming likely to continue in the ſame corner, where it had been almoſt conſtantly for two months together, I was perſuaded by my wife to go aſhore, and ſtay at Ryde till we ſailed. I approved the motion much; for though I am a great lover of the ſea, I now fancied there was more pleaſure in breathing the freſh air of the land; but, how to get thither was the queſtion; for being really that dead luggage, which I conſidered all paſſengers to be in the beginning of this narrative, and incapable of any bodily motion without external impulſe, it was in vain to leave the ſhip, or to determine to do it, without the aſſiſtance of others. In one inſtance, perhaps, the living luggage is more difficult to be moved,

moved, or removed, than an equal or much ſuperior weight of dead matter; which, if of the brittle kind, may, indeed, be liable to be broken through negligence; but this, by proper care, may be almoſt certainly prevented; whereas the fractures to which the living lumps are expoſed, are ſometimes by no caution avoidable, and often by no art to be amended.

I was deliberating on the means of conveyance, not ſo much out of the ſhip to the boat, as out of a little tottering boat to the land. A matter which, as I had already experienced in the Thames, was not extremely eaſy, when to be performed by any other limbs than your own. Whilſt I weighed all that could ſuggeſt itſelf on this head, without ſtrictly examining the merit of the ſeveral ſchemes which were advanced by the captain and ſailors, and, indeed, giving no very deep attention even to my wife, who, as well as her friend and my daughter, were exerting their tender concern for my eaſe and ſafety; Fortune, for I am convinced ſhe had a hand in it, ſent me a preſent of a buck; a preſent, welcome enough of itſelf, but more welcome on account of the veſſel in which it came, being a large hoy, which in ſome places would paſs for a ſhip, and many people would go ſome miles to ſee the ſight. I was pretty eaſily conveyed on board this hoy, but to get from hence to the ſhore was not ſo eaſy a taſk; for, however ſtrange it may appear, the water itſelf did not extend ſo far; an inſtance which ſeems to explain thoſe lines of Ovid,

Omnia Pontus erant, deerant quoque littora Ponto,

in a leſs tautological ſenſe, than hath generally been imputed to them.

In fact, between the ſea and the ſhore, there was, at low water, an impaſſable gulph, if I may

ſo

ſo call it, of deep mud, which could neither be traverſed by walking nor ſwimming; ſo that for near one half of the twenty-four hours, Ryde was inacceſſible by friend or foe. But as the magiſtrates of this place ſeemed more to deſire the company of the former, than to fear that of the latter, they had begun to make a ſmall cauſeway to the low water mark, ſo that foot paſſengers might land whenever they pleaſed; but as this work was of a public kind, and would have coſt a large ſum of money, at leaſt ten pounds, and the magiſtrates, that is to ſay, the church-wardens, the overſeers, conſtable and tithingman, and the principal inhabitants, had every one of them ſome ſeparate ſcheme of private intereſt to advance at the expence of the public, they fell out among themſelves; and after having thrown away one half of the requiſite ſum, reſolved at leaſt to ſave the other half, and rather be contented to ſit down loſers themſelves, than to enjoy any benefit which might bring in a greater profit to another. Thus that unanimity which is ſo neceſſary in all public affairs, became wanting, and every man, from the fear of being a bubble to another, was, in reality, a bubble to himſelf.

However, as there is ſcarce any difficulty, to which the ſtrength of men, aſſiſted with the cunning of art, is not equal, I was at laſt hoiſted into a ſmall boat, and being rowed pretty near the ſhore, was taken up by two ſailors, who waded with me through the mud, and placed me in a chair on the land, whence they afterwards conveyed me a quarter of a mile farther, and brought me to a houſe, which ſeemed to bid the faireſt for hoſpitality of any in Ryde.

We brought with us our proviſions from the ſhip, ſo that we wanted nothing but a fire to dreſs our dinner, and a room in which we might eat it. In neither of theſe had we any reaſon to apprehend

hend a diſappointment, our dinner conſiſting only of beans and bacon; and the worſt apartment in his Majeſty's dominions, either at home or abroad, being fully ſufficient to anſwer our preſent ideas of delicacy.

Unluckily, however, we were diſappointed in both; for when we arrived about four at our inn, exulting in the hopes of immediately ſeeing our beans ſmoking on the table, we had the mortification of ſeeing them on the table indeed, but without that circumſtance which would have made the ſight agreeable, being in the ſame ſtate in which we had diſpatched them from our ſhip.

In excuſe for this delay, though we had exceeded, almoſt purpoſely, the time appointed, and our proviſion had arrived three hours before, the miſtreſs of the houſe acquainted us, that it was not for want of time to dreſs them that they were not ready, but for fear of their being cold or overdone before we ſhould come; which, ſhe aſſured us, was much worſe than waiting a few minutes for our dinner; an obſervation ſo very juſt, that it is impoſſible to find any objection in it; but, indeed, it was not altogether ſo proper at this time; for we had given the moſt abſolute orders to have them ready at four, and had been ourſelves, not without much care and difficulty, moſt exactly punctual in keeping to the very minute of our appointment. But tradeſmen, inn-keepers, and ſervants, never care to indulge us in matters contrary to our true intereſt, which they always know better than ourſelves; nor can any bribes corrupt them to go out of their way, whilſt they are conſulting our good in our own deſpight.

Our diſappointment in the other particular, in defiance of our humility, as it was more extraordinary, was more provoking. In ſhort, Mrs. Francis (for that was the name of the good woman of the houſe) no ſooner received the news of our intended

arrival, than ſhe conſidered more the gentility than the humanity of her gueſts, and applied herſelf not to that which kindles but to that which extinguiſhes fire, and, forgetting to put on her pot, fell to waſhing her houſe.

As the meſſenger who had brought my veniſon was impatient to be diſpatched, I ordered it to be brought and laid on the table, in the room where I was ſeated; and the table not being large enough, one ſide, and that a very bloody one, was laid on the brick floor. I then ordered Mrs. Francis to be called in, in order to give her inſtructions concerning it; in particular, what I would have roaſted, and what baked; concluding that ſhe would be highly pleaſed with the proſpect of ſo much money being ſpent in her houſe, as ſhe might have now reaſon to expect, if the wind continued only a few days longer to blow from the ſame points whence it had blown for ſeveral weeks paſt.

I ſoon ſaw good cauſe, I muſt confeſs, to deſpiſe my own ſagacity. Mrs. Francis, having received her orders, without making any anſwer, ſnatched the ſide from the floor, which remained ſtained with blood, and bidding a ſervant to take up that on the table, left the room with no pleaſant countenance, muttering to herſelf, that 'had ſhe known the litter 'which was to have been made, ſhe would not have 'taken ſuch pains to waſh her houſe that morning. 'If this was gentility, much good may it do ſuch 'gentlefolks; for her part, ſhe had no notion of it!'

From theſe murmurs, I received two hints. The one, that it was not from a miſtake of our inclination that the good woman had ſtarved us, but from wiſely conſulting her own dignity, or rather perhaps her vanity, to which our hunger was offered up as a ſacrifice. The other, that I was now ſitting in a damp room; a circumſtance, though it had hitherto eſcaped my notice, from the colour of the bricks, which

which was by no means to be neglected in a valetudinary ſtate.

My wife, who, beſides diſcharging excellently well her own and all the tender offices becoming the female character; who, beſides being a faithful friend, an amiable companion, and a tender nurſe, could likewiſe ſupply the wants of a decrepid huſband, and occaſionally perform his part, had, before this, diſcovered the immoderate attention to neatneſs in Mrs. Francis, and provided againſt its ill conſequences. She had found, though not under the ſame roof, a very ſnug apartment belonging to Mr. Francis, and which had eſcaped the mop by his wife's being ſatisfied it could not poſſibly be viſited by gentlefolks.

This was a dry, warm, oaken-floored barn, lined on both ſides with wheaten ſtraw, and opening at one end into a green field, and a beautiful proſpect. Here, without heſitation, ſhe ordered the cloth to be laid, and came haſtily to ſnatch me from worſe perils by water than the common dangers of the ſea.

Mrs. Francis, who could not truſt her own ears, or could not believe a footman in ſo extraordinary a phenomenon, followed my wife, and aſked her, if ſhe had indeed ordered the cloth to be laid in the barn? She anſwered in the affirmative; upon which Mrs. Francis declared ſhe would not diſpute her pleaſure, but it was the firſt time, ſhe believed, that quality had ever preferred a barn to a houſe. She ſhewed at the ſame time the moſt pregnant marks of contempt, and again lamented the labour ſhe had undergone, through her ignorance of the abſurd taſte of her gueſts.

At length we were ſeated in one of the moſt pleaſant ſpots, I believe, in the kingdom; and were regaled with our beans and bacon, in which there was nothing deficient but the quantity. The defect was, however, ſo deplorable, that we had conſumed our

whole diſh before we had viſibly leſſened our hunger. We now waited with impatience the arrival of our ſecond courſe, which neceſſity, and not luxury, had dictated. This was a joint of mutton, which Mrs. Francis had been ordered to provide; but when, being tired with expectation, we ordered our ſervants *to ſee for ſomething elſe*, we were informed that there was nothing elſe; on which Mrs. Francis being ſummoned, declared there was no ſuch thing as mutton to be had at Ryde. When I expreſſed ſome aſtoniſhment at their having no butcher in a village ſo ſituated, ſhe anſwered they had a very good one, and one that killed all ſorts of meat in ſeaſon, beef two or three times a year, and mutton the whole year round; but that it being then beans and peaſe time, he killed no meat, by reaſon he was ſure of not ſelling it. This ſhe had not thought worthy of communication, any more than that there lived a fiſherman at next door, who was then provided with plenty of ſoals, and whitings, and lobſters, far ſuperior to thoſe which adorn a city feaſt. This diſcovery being made by accident, we completed the beſt, the pleaſanteſt, and the merrieſt meal, with more appetite, more real ſolid luxury, and more feſtivity, than was ever ſeen in an entertainment at White's.

It may be wondered at, perhaps, that Mrs. Francis ſhould be ſo negligent of providing for her gueſts, as ſhe may ſeem to be thus inattentive to her own intereſt; but this was not the caſe; for having clapt a poll-tax on our heads at our arrival, and determined at what price to diſcharge our bodies from her houſe, the leſs ſhe ſuffered any other to ſhare in the levy, the clearer it came into her own pocket; and that it was better to get twelve pence in a ſhilling than ten pence, which latter would be the caſe if ſhe afforded us fiſh at any rate.

Thus we paſt a moſt agreeable day, owing to good appetites and good humour; two hearty feed-

ers,

ers, which will devour with ſatisfaction whatever food you place before them; whereas, without theſe, the elegance of St. James's, the charde, the perigord pye, or the ortolan, the veniſon, the turtle, or the cuſtard, may titillate the throat, but will never convey happineſs to the heart, or cheerfulneſs to the countenance.

As the wind appeared ſtill immoveable, my wife propoſed my lying on ſhore. I preſently agreed, though in defiance of an act of parliament, by which perſons wandering abroad, and lodging in alehouſes, are decreed to be rogues and vagabonds; and this too, after having been very ſingularly officious in putting that law in execution.

My wife, having reconnoitred the houſe, reported, that there was one room in which were two beds. It was concluded, therefore, that ſhe and Harriot ſhould occupy one, and myſelf take poſſeſſion of the other. She added likewiſe an ingenious recommendation of this room, to one who had ſo long been in a cabbin, which it exactly reſembled, as it was ſunk down with age on one ſide, and was in the form of a ſhip with gunwales to.

For my own part, I make little doubt but this apartment was an ancient temple, built with the materials of a wreck, and probably dedicated to Neptune, in honour of THE BLESSING ſent by him to the inhabitants; ſuch bleſſings having, in all ages, been very common to them. The timber employed in it confirms this opinion, being ſuch as is ſeldom uſed by any but ſhip-builders. I do not find, indeed, any mention of this matter in Hearn; but, perhaps, its antiquity was too modern to deſerve his notice. Certain it is, that this Iſland of Wight was not an early convert to Chriſtianity; nay, there is ſome reaſon to doubt whether it was ever entirely converted. But I have only time to touch ſlightly on all things of this kind, which, luckily for us, we

have a ſociety whoſe peculiar profeſſion it is to diſcuſs and develope.

Sunday, July 19. This morning early I ſummoned Mrs. Francis, in order to pay her the preceding day's account. As I could recollect only two or three articles, I thought there was no neceſſity of pen and ink. In a ſingle inſtance only we had exceeded what the law allows gratis to a foot ſoldier on his march, viz. vinegar, ſalt, &c. and dreſſing his meat. I found, however, I was miſtaken in my calculation; for when the good woman attended with her bill, it contained as follows:

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
Bread and beer — — —	0	2	4
Wind — — — —	0	2	0
Rum — — — — —	0	2	0
Dreſſing dinner — — —	0	3	0
Tea — — — — —	0	1	6
Firing — — — —	0	1	0
Lodging — — — —	0	1	6
Servants lodging — —	0	0	6
£.	0	13	10

Now that five people, and two ſervants, ſhould live a day and night at a public houſe for ſo ſmall a ſum, will appear incredible to any perſon in London above the degree of a chimney-ſweeper; but more aſtoniſhing will it ſeem, that theſe people ſhould remain ſo long at ſuch a houſe, without taſting any other delicacy than bread, ſmall beer, a tea-cup full of milk called cream, a glaſs of rum converted into punch by their own materials, and one bottle of *wind*, of which we only taſted a ſingle glaſs, though poſſibly, indeed, our ſervants drank the remainder of the bottle.

This *wind* is a liquor of Engliſh manufacture, and its flavour is thought very delicious by the generality

lity of the Engliſh, who drink it in great quantities. Every ſeventh year is thought to produce as much as the other ſix. It is then drank ſo plentifully, that the whole nation are in a manner intoxicated by it; and conſequently, very little buſineſs is carried on at that ſeaſon.

It reſembles in colour the red wine, which is imported from Portugal, as it doth in its intoxicating quality; hence, and from this agreement in the orthography, the one is often confounded with the other, though both are ſeldom eſteemed by the ſame perſon. It is to be had in every pariſh of the kingdom, and a pretty large quantity is conſumed in the metropolis, where ſeveral taverns are ſet apart ſolely for the vendition of this liquor, the maſters never dealing in any other.

The diſagreement in our computation produced ſome ſmall remonſtrance to Mrs. Francis on my ſide; but this received an immediate anſwer, 'She ſcorned 'to overcharge gentlemen; her houſe had been al-'ways frequented by the very beſt gentry of the 'iſland; and ſhe had never had a bill found fault 'with in her life, though ſhe had lived upwards of 'forty years in the houſe, and within that time the 'greateſt gentry in Hampſhire had been at it, and 'that Lawyer Willis never went to any other, when 'he came to thoſe parts. That for her part, ſhe 'did not get her livelihood by travellers, who were 'gone and away, and ſhe never expected to ſee 'them more, but that her neighbours might come 'again; wherefore, to be ſure, they had the only 'right to complain.'

She was proceeding thus, and from her volubility of tongue, ſeemed likely to ſtretch the diſcourſe to an immoderate length, when I ſuddenly cut all ſhort by paying the bill.

This morning our ladies went to church, more, I fear, from curioſity than religion; they were at-

tended by the captain in a moſt military attire, with his cockade in his hat, and his ſword by his ſide. So unuſual an appearance in this little chapel drew the attention of all preſent, and probably diſconcerted the women, who were in diſhabille, and wiſhed themſelves dreſt, for the ſake of the curate, who was the greateſt of their beholders.

While I was left alone, I received a viſit from Mr. Francis himſelf, who was much more conſiderable as a farmer, than as an innholder. Indeed, he left the latter entirely to the care of his wife, and he acted wiſely, I believe, in ſo doing.

As nothing more remarkable paſt on this day, I will cloſe it with the account of theſe two characters, as far as a few days reſidence could inform me of them. If they ſhould appear as new to the reader as they did to me, he will not be diſpleaſed at finding them here.

This amiable couple ſeemed to border hard on their grand climacteric; nor indeed were they ſhy of owning enough to fix their ages within a year or two of that time. They appeared to be rather proud of having employed their time well, than aſhamed of having lived ſo long; the only reaſon which I could ever aſſign, why ſome fine ladies, and fine gentlemen too, ſhould deſire to be thought younger than they really are by the contemporaries of their grandchildren. Some, indeed, who too haſtily credit appearances, might doubt whether they had made ſo good a uſe of their time as I would inſinuate, ſince there was no appearance of any thing but poverty, want, and wretchedneſs about their houſe; nor could they produce any thing to a cuſtomer in exchange for his money, but a few bottles of *wind*, and ſpirituous liquors, and ſome very bad ale to drink; with ruſty bacon and worſe cheeſe to eat. But then it ſhould be conſidered, on the other ſide, that whatever they received was almoſt as entirely clear

clear profit as the bleſſing of a wreck itſelf; ſuch an inn being the very reverſe of a coffeehouſe; for here you can neither ſit for nothing, nor have any thing for your money.

Again, as many marks of want abounded every where, ſo were the marks of antiquity viſible. Scarce any thing was to be ſeen which had not ſome ſcar upon it, made by the hand of time; not an utenſil, it was manifeſt, had been purchaſed within a dozen years laſt paſt; ſo that whatever money had come into the houſe during that period, at leaſt, muſt have remained in it, unleſs it had been ſent abroad for food, or other periſhable commodities; but theſe were ſupplied by a ſmall portion of the fruits of the farm, in which the farmer allowed he had a very good bargain. In fact, it is inconceivable what ſums may be collected by ſtarving only, and how eaſy it is for a man to die rich, if he will but be contented to live miſerable.

Nor is there in this kind of ſtarving any thing ſo terrible as ſome apprehend. It neither waſtes a man's fleſh, nor robs him of his cheerfulneſs. The famous Cornaro's caſe well proves the contrary; and ſo did farmer Francis, who was of a round ſtature, had a plump round face, with a kind of ſmile on it, and ſeemed to borrow an air of wretchedneſs, rather from his coat's age, than from his own.

The truth is, there is a certain diet, which emaciates men more than any poſſible degree of abſtinence; though I do not remember to have ſeen any caution againſt it, either in Cheney, Arbuthnot, or in any other modern writer on regimen. Nay, the very name is not, I believe, in the learned Dr. James's dictionary; all which is the more extraordinary, as it is a very common food in this kingdom, and the college themſelves were not long ſince very liberally entertained with it, by the preſent attorney and other eminent lawyers, in Lincoln's-inn-hall, and were all made horribly ſick by it.

But

But though it ſhould not be found among our Engliſh phyſical writers, we may be aſſured of meeting with it among the Greeks; for nothing conſiderable in nature eſcapes their notice; though many things conſiderable in them, it is to be feared, have eſcaped the notice of their readers. The Greeks, then, to all ſuch as feed too voraciouſly on this diet, give the name of HEAUTOFAGI, which our phyſicians will, I ſuppoſe, tranſlate *men that eat themſelves.*

As nothing is ſo deſtructive to the body as this kind of food, ſo nothing is ſo plentiful and cheap; but it was perhaps the only cheap thing the farmer diſliked. Probably living much on fiſh might produce this diſguſt; for Diodorus Siculus attributes the ſame averſion in a people of Æthiopia to the ſame cauſe; he calls them the fiſh-eaters, and aſſerts, that they cannot be brought to eat a ſingle meal with the Heautofagi by any perſuaſion, threat, or violence whatever, not even though they ſhould kill their children before their faces.

What hath puzzled our phyſicians, and prevented them from ſetting this matter in the cleareſt light, is poſſibly one ſimple miſtake, ariſing from a very excuſable ignorance; that the paſſions of men are capable of ſwallowing food as well as their appetites; that the former, in feeding, reſemble the ſtate of thoſe animals who chew the cud; and therefore, ſuch men, in ſome ſenſe, may be ſaid to prey on themſelves, and as it were to devour their own entrails. And hence enſues a meagre aſpect, and thin habit of body, as ſurely as from what is called a conſumption.

Our farmer was one of theſe. He had no more paſſion than an Ichthuofagus or Æthiopian fiſher. He wiſhed not for any thing, thought not of any thing; indeed, he ſcarce did any thing, or ſaid any thing. Here I cannot be underſtood ſtrictly; for then I muſt deſcribe a non-entity, whereas I would

rob

rob him of nothing but that free agency which is the cauſe of all the corruption and of all the miſery of human nature. No man, indeed, ever did more than the farmer, for he was an abſolute ſlave to labour all the week; but in truth, as my ſagacious reader muſt have at firſt apprehended, when I ſaid he reſigned the care of the houſe to his wife, I meant more than I then expreſſed, even the houſe and all that belonged to it; for he was really a farmer, only under the direction of his wife. In a word, ſo compoſed, ſo ſerene, ſo placid a countenance, I never ſaw; and he ſatisfied himſelf by anſwering to every queſtion he was aſked; "I don't "know any thing about it, Sir; I leaves all that "to my wife."

Now as a couple of this kind would, like two veſſels of oil, have made no compoſition in life, and for want of all ſavour muſt have palled every taſte; nature, or fortune, or both of them, took care to provide a proper quantity of acid, in the materials that formed the wife, and to render her a perfect *Helpmate* for ſo tranquil a huſband. She abounded in whatſoever he was defective; that is to ſay, in almoſt every thing. She was indeed as vinegar to oil, or a briſk wind to a ſtanding-pool, and preſerved all from ſtagnation and corruption.

Quin the player, on taking a nice and ſevere ſurvey of a fellow-comedian, burſt forth into this exclamation, "If that fellow be not a rogue, God "Almighty doth not write a legible hand." Whether he gueſſed right or no, is not worth my while to examine; certain it is, that the latter having wrought his features into a proper harmony to become the characters of Iago, Shylock, and others of the ſame caſt, gave us a ſemblance of truth to the obſervation, that was ſufficient to confirm the wit of it. Indeed, we may remark, in favour of the phyſiognomiſt, though the law has made him a

rogue

rogue and vagabond, that nature is ſeldom curious in her works within, without employing ſome little pains on the outſide; and this more particularly in miſchievous characters, in forming which, as Mr. Derham obſerves in venomous inſects, as the ſting or ſaw of a waſp, ſhe is ſometimes wonderfully induſtrious. Now, when ſhe hath thus completely armed her hero to carry on a war with man, ſhe never fails of furniſhing that innocent lambkin with ſome means of knowing his enemy, and foreſeeing his deſigns. Thus ſhe hath been obſerved to act in the caſe of a rattleſnake, which never meditates a human prey without giving warning of his approach.

This obſervation will, I am convinced, hold moſt true, if applied to the moſt venomous individuals of human inſects. A tyrant, a trickſter, and a bully, generally wear the marks of their ſeveral diſpoſitions in their countenances; ſo do the vixen, the ſhrew, the ſcold, and all other females of the like kind. But, perhaps, nature had never afforded a ſtronger example of all this, than in the caſe of Mrs. Francis. She was a ſhort, ſquat woman; her head was cloſely joined to her ſhoulders, where it was fixed ſomewhat awry; every feature of her countenance was ſharp and pointed; her face was furrowed with the ſmall-pox; and her complexion, which ſeemed to be able to turn milk to curds, not a little reſembled in colour ſuch milk as had already undergone that operation. She appeared, indeed, to have many ſymptoms of a deep jaundice in her look; but the ſtrength and firmneſs of her voice overbalanced them all; the tone of this was a ſharp treble at a diſtance, for I ſeldom heard it on the ſame floor; but was uſually waked with it in the morning, and entertained with it almoſt continually through the whole day.

Though vocal be uſually put in oppoſition to inſtrumental muſic; I queſtion whether this might not be thought to partake of the nature of both; for

for ſhe played on two inſtruments, which ſhe ſeemed to keep for no other uſe from morning till night; theſe were two maids, or rather ſcolding-ſtocks, who, I ſuppoſe, by ſome means or other, earned their board, and ſhe gave them their lodging gratis, or for no other ſervice than to keep her lungs in conſtant exerciſe.

She differed, as I have ſaid, in every particular from her huſband; but very remarkably in this, that as it was impoſſible to diſpleaſe him, ſo it was as impoſſible to pleaſe her; and as no art could remove a ſmile from his countenance, ſo could no art carry it into hers. If her bills were remonſtrated againſt, ſhe was offended with the tacit cenſure of her fair-dealing; if they were not, ſhe ſeemed to regard it as a tacit ſarcaſm on her folly, which might have ſet down larger prices with the ſame ſucceſs. On this latter hint ſhe did indeed improve; for ſhe daily raiſed ſome of her articles. A pennyworth of fire was to-day rated at a ſhilling, to-morrow at eighteen pence; and if ſhe dreſt us two diſhes for two ſhillings on the Saturday, we paid half a crown for the cookery of one on the Sunday; and wherever ſhe was paid, ſhe never left the room without lamenting the ſmall amount of her bill; ſaying, 'ſhe 'knew not how it was that others got their money 'by gentlefolks, but for her part ſhe had not the 'art of it.' When ſhe was aſked why ſhe complained, when ſhe was paid all ſhe demanded; ſhe anſwered, 'ſhe could not deny that, nor did ſhe 'know ſhe had omitted any thing; but that it was 'but a poor bill for gentlefolks to pay.'

I accounted for all this by her having heard, that it is a maxim with the principal innholders on the continent, to levy conſiderable ſums on their gueſts, who travel with many horſes and ſervants, though ſuch gueſts ſhould eat little or nothing in their houſes; the method being, I believe, in ſuch caſes,

to

to lay a capitation on the horſes, and not on their maſters. But ſhe did not conſider, that in moſt of theſe inns a very great degree of hunger, without any degree of delicacy, may be ſatisfied; and that in all ſuch inns there is ſome appearance, at leaſt, of proviſion, as well as of a man-cook to dreſs it, one of the hoſtlers being always furniſhed with a cook's cap, waiſtcoat, and apron, ready to attend gentlemen and ladies on their ſummons; that the caſe therefore of ſuch inns differed from hers, where there was nothing to eat or to drink; and in reality no houſe to inhabit, no chair to ſit upon, nor any bed to lie in; that one third or fourth part therefore of the levy impoſed at inns was, in truth, a higher tax than the whole was when laid on in the other, where, in order to raiſe a ſmall ſum, a man is obliged to ſubmit to pay as many various ways for the ſame thing as he doth to the government, for the light which enters through his own window into his own houſe, from his own eſtate; ſuch are the articles of bread and beer, firing, eating, and dreſſing dinner.

The foregoing is a very imperfect ſketch of this extraordinary couple; for every thing is here lowered inſtead of being heightened. Thoſe who would ſee them ſet forth in more lively colours, and with the proper ornaments, may read the deſcriptions of the Furies in ſome of the claſſical poets, or of the Stoic philoſophers in the works of Lucian.

Monday, July 20. This day nothing remarkable paſſed; Mrs. Francis levied a tax of fourteen ſhillings for the Sunday. We regaled ourſelves at dinner with veniſon and good claret of our own; and, in the afternoon, the women, attended by the captain, walked to ſee a delightful ſcene two miles diſtant, with the beauties of which they declared themſelves moſt highly charmed at their return, as well as with the goodneſs of the lady of the man-

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ſion, who had ſlipt out of the way, that my wife and her company might refreſh themſelves with the flowers and fruits with which her garden abounded.

Tueſday, July 21. This day, having paid our taxes of yeſterday, we were permitted to regale ourſelves with more veniſon. Some of this we would willingly have exchanged for mutton; but no ſuch fleſh was to be had nearer than Portſmouth, from whence it would have coſt more to convey a joint to us, than the freight of a Portugal ham from Liſbon to London amounts to; for though the water-carriage be ſomewhat cheaper here than at Deal, yet can you find no waterman who will go on board his boat, unleſs by two or three hours rowing he can get drunk for the reſidue of the week.

And here I have an opportunity, which poſſibly may not offer again, of publiſhing ſome obſervations on that political œconomy of this nation, which, as it concerns only the regulation of the mob, is below the notice of our great men; though on the due regulation of this order depend many emoluments, which the great men themſelves, or at leaſt many who tread cloſe on their heels, may enjoy, as well as ſome dangers which may ſome time or other ariſe from introducing a pure ſtate of anarchy among them. I will repreſent the caſe as it appears to me, very fairly and impartially, between the mob and their betters.

The whole miſchief which infects this part of our œconomy, ariſes from the vague and uncertain uſe of a word called Liberty, of which as ſcarce any two men with whom I have ever converſed ſeem to have one and the ſame idea, I am inclined to doubt whether there be any ſimple univerſal notion repreſented by this word, or whether it conveys any clearer or more determinate idea, than ſome of thoſe

thoſe old Punic compoſitions of ſyllables, preſerved in one of the comedies of Plautus, but at preſent, as I conceive, not ſuppoſed to be underſtood by any one.

By liberty, however, I apprehend, is commonly underſtood the power of doing what we pleaſe; not abſolutely, for then it would be inconſiſtent with law, by whoſe control the liberty of the freeſt people, except only the Hottentots and wild Indians, muſt always be reſtrained.

But, indeed, however largely we extend, or however moderately we confine the ſenſe of the word, no politician will, I preſume, contend that it is to pervade in an equal degree, and be, with the ſame extent, enjoyed by every member of ſociety; no ſuch polity having been ever found, unleſs among thoſe vile people juſt before commemorated. Among the Greeks and Romans, the ſervile and free conditions were oppoſed to each other; and no man who had the misfortune to be enrolled under the former could lay any claim to liberty, till the right was conveyed to him by that maſter whoſe ſlave he was, either by the means of conqueſt, of purchaſe, or of birth.

This was the ſtate of all the free nations in the world; and this, till very lately, was underſtood to be the caſe of our own.

I will not indeed ſay this is the caſe at preſent, the loweſt claſs of our people having ſhaken off all the ſhackles of their ſuperiors, and become not only as free, but even freer, than moſt of their ſuperiors. I believe it cannot be doubted, though, perhaps, we have no recent inſtance of it, that the perſonal attendance of every man who hath three hundred pounds *per annum*, in parliament, is indiſpenſably his duty; and that, if the citizens and burgeſſes of any city or borough ſhall chuſe ſuch a one, however reluctant he appear, he may be

be obliged to attend, and be forcibly brought to his duty by the ſerjeant at arms.

Again, there are numbers of ſubordinate offices, ſome of which are of burthen, and others of expence in the civil government; all of which, perſons who are qualified, are liable to have impoſed on them, may be obliged to undertake and properly execute, notwithſtanding any bodily labour, or even danger, to which they may ſubject themſelves, under the penalty of fines and impriſonment; nay, and what may appear ſomewhat hard, may be compelled to ſatisfy the loſſes which are eventually incident to that of ſheriff in particular, out of their own private fortunes; and though this ſhould prove the ruin of a family, yet the public, to whom the price is due, incurs no debt or obligation to preſerve its officer harmleſs, let his innocence appear ever ſo clearly.

I purpoſely omit the mention of thoſe military or militiary duties, which our old conſtitution laid upon its greateſt members. Theſe might, indeed, ſupply their poſts with ſome other able-bodied men; but if no ſuch could have been found, the obligation nevertheleſs remained, and they were compellable to ſerve in their own proper perſons.

The only one, therefore, who is poſſeſſed of abſolute liberty, is the loweſt member of the ſociety, who, if he prefers hunger, or the wild product of the fields, hedges, lanes and rivers, with the indulgence of eaſe and lazineſs, to a food a little more delicate, but purchaſed at the expence of labour, may lay himſelf under a ſhade; nor can be forced to take the other alternative from that which he hath, I will not affirm whether wiſely or fooliſhly, choſen.

Here I may, perhaps, be reminded of the laſt vagrant act, where all ſuch perſons are compellable to work for the uſual and accuſtomed wages al-

lowed in the place; but this is a clauſe little known to the juſtices of the peace, and leaſt likely to be executed by thoſe who do know it, as they know likewiſe that it is formed on the ancient power of the juſtices to fix and ſettle theſe wages every year, making proper allowances for the ſcarcity and plenty of the times, the cheapneſs and dearneſs of the place; and that *the uſual and accuſtomed wages*, are words without any force or meaning, when there are no ſuch; but every man ſpunges and raps whatever he can get; and will haggle as long, and ſtruggle as hard to cheat his employer of two-pence in a day's labour, as an honeſt tradeſman will to cheat his cuſtomers of the ſame ſum in a yard of cloth or ſilk.

It is a great pity then that this power, or rather this practice, was not revived; but this having been ſo long omitted, that it is become obſolete, will be beſt done by a new law, in which this power, as well as the conſequent power of forcing the poor to labour at a moderate and reaſonable rate, ſhould be well conſidered, and their execution facilitated; for gentlemen who give their time and labour gratis, and even voluntarily, to the public, have a right to expect that all their buſineſs be made as eaſy as poſſible; and to enact laws without doing this, is to fill our ſtatute-books, much too full already, ſtill fuller with dead letter, of no uſe but to the printer of the acts of parliament.

That the evil which I have here pointed at is of itſelf worth redreſſing, is, I apprehend, no ſubject of diſpute; for why ſhould any perſons in diſtreſs be deprived of the aſſiſtance of their fellow-ſubjects, when they are willing amply to reward them for their labour? or, why ſhould the loweſt of the people be permitted to exact ten times the value of their work? For thoſe exactions encreaſe with the degrees of neceſſity in their object, in-

ſomuch that on the former ſide many are horribly impoſed upon, and that often in no trifling matters. I was very well aſſured that at Deal no leſs than ten guineas was required, and paid by the ſupercargo of an Indiaman, for carrying him on board two miles from the ſhore, when ſhe was juſt ready to ſail; ſo that his neceſſity, as his pillager well underſtood, was abſolute. Again, many others whoſe indignation will not ſubmit to ſuch plunder, are forced to refuſe the aſſiſtance, though they are often great ſufferers by ſo doing. On the latter ſide, the loweſt of the people are encouraged in lazineſs and idleneſs; while they live by a twentieth part of the labour that ought to maintain them, which is diametrically oppoſite to the intereſt of the public; for that requires a great deal to be done, not to be paid, for a little. And moreover, they are confirmed in habits of exaction, and are taught to conſider the diſtreſſes of their ſuperiors as their own fair emolument.

But enough of this matter, of which I at firſt intended only to convey a hint to thoſe who are alone capable of applying the remedy, though they are the laſt to whom the notice of thoſe evils would occur, without ſome ſuch monitor as myſelf, who am forced to travel about the world in the form of a paſſenger. I cannot but ſay I heartily wiſh our governors would attentively conſider this method of fixing the price of labour, and by that means of compelling the poor to work, ſince the due execution of ſuch powers will, I apprehend, be found the true and only means of making them uſeful, and of advancing trade, from its preſent viſibly declining ſtate, to the height to which Sir William Petyt, in his Political Arithmetic, thinks it capable of being carried.

In the afternoon the lady of the above-mentioned manſion called at our inn, and left her compli-

ments to us with Mrs. Francis, with an aſſurance, that while we continued wind-bound in that place, where ſhe feared we could be but indifferently accommodated, we were extremely welcome to the uſe of any thing which her garden or her houſe afforded. So polite a meſſage convinced us, in ſpite of ſome arguments to the contrary, that we were not on the coaſt of Africa, or on ſome iſland where the few ſavage inhabitants have little of human in them beſides their form.

And here I mean nothing leſs than to derogate from the merit of this lady, who is not only extremely polite in her behaviour to ſtrangers of her own rank, but ſo extremely good and charitable to all her poor neighbours, who ſtand in need of her aſſiſtance, that ſhe hath the univerſal love and praiſes of all who live near her. But, in reality, how little doth the acquiſition of ſo valuable a character, and the full indulgence of ſo worthy a diſpoſition, coſt thoſe who poſſeſs it? Both are accompliſhed by the very offals which fall from a table moderately plentiful. That they are enjoyed therefore by ſo few, ariſes truly from there being ſo few who have any ſuch diſpoſition to gratify, or who aim at any ſuch character.

Wedneſday, July 22. This morning, after having been mulcted as uſual, we diſpatched a ſervant with proper acknowledgments of the lady's goodneſs; but confined our wants entirely to the productions of her garden. He ſoon returned, in company with the gardener, both richly laden with almoſt every particular which a garden at this moſt fruitful ſeaſon of the year produces.

While we were regaling ourſelves with theſe, towards the cloſe of our dinner, we received orders from our commander, who had dined that day with ſome inferior officers on board a man of war, to return inſtantly to the ſhip; for that the wind

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was become favourable, and he ſhould weigh that evening. Theſe orders were ſoon followed by the captain himſelf, who was ſtill in the utmoſt hurry, though the occaſion of it had long ſince ceaſed; for the wind had, indeed, a little ſhifted that afternoon, but was before this very quietly ſet down in its old quarters.

This laſt was a lucky hit for me; for, as the captain, to whoſe orders we reſolved to pay no obedience, unleſs delivered by himſelf, did not return till paſt ſix; ſo much time ſeemed requiſite to put up the furniture of our bed-chamber or dining-room, for almoſt every article, even to ſome of the chairs, were either our own or the captain's property; ſo much more in conveying it as well as myſelf, as dead a luggage as any, to the ſhore, and thence to the ſhip, that the night threatened firſt to overtake us. A terrible circumſtance to me, in my decayed condition; eſpecially as very heavy ſhowers of rain, attended with a high wind, continued to fall inceſſantly; the being carried through which two miles in the dark, in a wet and open boat, ſeemed little leſs than certain death.

However, as my commander was abſolute, his orders peremptory, and my obedience neceſſary, I reſolved to avail myſelf of a philoſophy which hath been of notable uſe to me in the latter part of my life, and which is contained in this hemiſtich of Virgil.

—*Superanda omnis fortuna ferendo eſt.*

The meaning of which, if Virgil had any, I think I rightly underſtood and rightly applied.

As I was therefore to be entirely paſſive in my motion, I reſolved to abandon myſelf to the conduct of thoſe who were to carry me into a cart when it returned from unloading the goods.

But before this, the captain perceiving what had happened in the clouds, and that the wind remained as much his enemy as ever, came up ſtairs to me, with a reprieve till the morning. This was, I own, very agreeable news, and I little regretted the trouble of refurniſhing my apartment, by ſending back for the goods.

Mrs. Francis was not well pleaſed with this. As ſhe underſtood the reprieve to be only till the morning, ſhe ſaw nothing but lodging to be poſſibly added, out of which ſhe was to deduct fire and candle, and the remainder, ſhe thought, would ſcarce pay her for her trouble. She exerted therefore all the ill-humour of which ſhe was miſtreſs, and did all ſhe could to thwart and perplex every thing during the whole evening.

Thurſday, July 23. Early in the morning the captain, who had remained on ſhore all night, came to viſit us, and to preſs us to make haſte on board. 'I am reſolved,' ſays he, 'not to loſe a 'moment, now the wind is coming about fair; 'for my own part, I never was ſurer of a wind in 'all my life.' I uſe his very words; nor will I preſume to interpret or comment upon them farther, than by obſerving that they were ſpoke in the utmoſt hurry.

We promiſed to be ready as ſoon as breakfaſt was over; but this was not ſo ſoon as was expected; for in removing our goods the evening before, the tea-cheſt was unhappily loſt.

Every place was immediately ſearched, and many where it was impoſſible for it to be; for this was a loſs of much greater conſequence than it may at firſt ſeem to many of my readers. Ladies and valetudinarians do not eaſily diſpenſe with the uſe of this ſovereign cordial, in a ſingle inſtance; but to undertake a long voyage without any probability of being ſupplied with it the whole way, was above

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the reach of patience. And yet, dreadful as this calamity was, it ſeemed unavoidable. The whole town of Ryde could not ſupply a ſingle leaf; for as to what Mrs. Francis and the ſhop called by that name, it was not of Chineſe growth. It did not indeed in the leaſt reſemble tea, either in ſmell or taſte, or in any particular, unleſs in being a leaf; for it was in truth no other than a tobacco of the mundungus ſpecies. And as for the hopes of relief in any other port, they were not to be depended upon; for the captain had poſitively declared he was ſure of a wind, and would let go his anchor no more till he arrived in the Tajo.

When a good deal of time had been ſpent, moſt of it indeed waſted on this occaſion, a thought occurred, which every one wondered at its not having preſented itſelf the firſt moment. This was to apply to the good lady, who could not fail of pitying and relieving ſuch diſtreſs. A meſſenger was immediately diſpatched, with an account of our misfortune, till whoſe return we employed ourſelves in preparatives for our departure, that we might have nothing to do but to ſwallow our breakfaſt when it arrived. The tea-cheſt, though of no leſs conſequence to us than the military cheſt to a general, was given up as loſt, or rather as ſtolen; for though I would not, for the world, mention any particular name, it is certain we had ſuſpicions, and all, I am afraid, fell on the ſame perſon.

The man returned from the worthy lady with much expedition, and brought with him a caniſter of tea, diſpatched with ſo true a generoſity, as well as politeneſs, that if our voyage had been as long again, we ſhould have incurred no danger of being brought to a ſhort allowance in this moſt important article. At the very ſame inſtant likewiſe arrived William the footman, with our own tea-cheſt. It

had been, indeed, left in the hoy, when the other goods were relanded, as William, when he firſt heard it was miſſing, had ſuſpected; and whence, had not the owner of the hoy been unluckily out of the way, he had retrieved it ſoon enough to have prevented our giving the lady an opportunity of diſplaying ſome part of her goodneſs.

To ſearch the hoy was, indeed, too natural a ſuggeſtion to have eſcaped any one, nor did it eſcape being mentioned by many of us; but we were diſſuaded from it by my wife's maid, who perfectly well remembered ſhe had left the cheſt in the bed-chamber; for that ſhe had never given it out of her hand in her way to or from the hoy; but William, perhaps, knew the maid better, and beſt underſtood how far ſhe was to be believed; for otherwiſe he would hardly of his own accord, after hearing her declarations, have hunted out the hoy-man, with much pains and difficulty.

Thus ended this ſcene, which begun with ſuch appearance of diſtreſs, and ended with becoming the ſubject of mirth and laughter.

Nothing now remained but to pay our taxes, which were indeed laid with inconceivable ſeverity. Lodging was raiſed ſixpence, fire in the ſame proportion, and even candles, which had hitherto eſcaped, were charged with a wantonneſs of impoſition, from the beginning, and placed under the ſtile of overſight. We were raiſed a whole pound, whereas we had only burnt ten, in five nights, and the pound conſiſted of twenty-four.

Laſtly, an attempt was made, which almoſt as far exceeds human credulity to believe, as it did human patience to ſubmit to. This was to make us pay as much for exiſting an hour or two as for exiſting a whole day; and dreſſing dinner was introduced as an article, though we left the houſe before either pot or ſpit had approached the fire. Here I own my patience failed me, and I became

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an example of the truth of the obſervation, 'That 'all tyranny and oppreſſion may be carried too far, 'and that a yoke may be made too intolerable for 'the neck of the tameſt ſlave.' When I remonſtrated with ſome warmth againſt this grievance, Mrs. Francis gave me a look, and left the room without making any anſwer. She returned in a minute, running to me with pen, ink, and paper in her hand, and deſired me to make my own bill; 'for ſhe hoped,' ſhe ſaid, 'I did not expect that her 'houſe was to be dirtied, and her goods ſpoiled and 'conſumed for nothing. The whole is but thir-'teen ſhillings. Can gentlefolks lie a whole night 'at a public houſe for leſs? If they can, I am 'ſure it is time to give off being a landlady; but 'pay me what you pleaſe; I would have people 'know that I value money as little as other folks. 'But I was always a fool, as I ſays to my huſband, 'and never knows which ſide my bread is buttered 'of. And yet to be ſure your honour ſhall be 'my warning not to be bit ſo again. Some folks 'knows better than other ſome, how to make their 'bills. Candles! why, yes, to be ſure; why 'ſhould not travellers pay for candles? I am ſure 'I pays for my candles, and the chandler pays the 'King's Majeſty for them; and if he did not, I 'muſt, ſo as it comes to the ſame thing in the end. 'To be ſure I am out of ſixteens at preſent, but 'theſe burn as white and as clear, though not quite 'ſo large. I expects my chandler here ſoon, or I 'would ſend to Portſmouth, if your honour was 'to ſtay any time longer. But when folks ſtays 'only for a wind, you knows, there can be no 'dependance on ſuch!' Here ſhe put on a little ſlyneſs of aſpect, and ſeemed willing to ſubmit to interruption. I interrupted her, accordingly, by throwing down half a guinea, and declared I had no more Engliſh money, which was indeed true; and as ſhe could not immediately change the thirty-

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ſix ſhilling pieces, it put a final end to the diſpute. Mrs. Francis ſoon left the room, and we ſoon after left the houſe; nor would this good woman ſee us, or wiſh us a good voyage.

I muſt not, however, quit this place, where we had been ſo ill treated, without doing it impartial juſtice, and recording what may, with the ſtricteſt truth, be ſaid in its favour.

Firſt then, as to its ſituation, it is, I think, moſt delightful, and in the moſt pleaſant ſpot in the whole iſland. It is true it wants the advantage of that beautiful river, which leads from Newport to Cowes; but the proſpect here extending to the ſea, and taking in Portſmouth, Spithead, and St. Helen's, would be more than a recompence for the loſs of the Thames itſelf, even in the moſt delightful part of Berkſhire or Buckinghamſhire, though another Denham, or another Pope, ſhould unite in celebrating it. For my own part, I confeſs myſelf ſo entirely fond of a ſea-proſpect, that I think nothing on the land can equal it; and if it be ſet off with ſhipping, I deſire to borrow no ornament from the *terra firma*. A fleet of ſhips is, in my opinion, the nobleſt object which the art of man hath ever produced; and far beyond the power of thoſe architects who deal in brick, in ſtone, or in marble.

When the late Sir Robert Walpole, one of the beſt of men and of miniſters, uſed to equip us a yearly fleet at Spithead, his enemies of taſte muſt have allowed that he, at leaſt, treated the nation with a fine ſight for their money. A much finer, indeed, than the ſame expence in an encampment could have produced. For what, indeed, is the beſt idea which the proſpect of a number of hats can furniſh to the mind? but of a number of men forming themſelves into a ſociety, before the art of building more ſubſtantial houſes was known. This, perhaps, would be agreeable enough; but in truth, there is a much worſe idea ready to ſtep in before

before it, and that is of a body of cut-throats, the ſupports of tyranny, the invaders of the juſt liberties and properties of mankind, the plunderers of the induſtrious, the raviſhers of the chaſte, the murderers of the innocent, and, in a word, the deſtroyers of the plenty, the peace, and the ſafety of their fellow-creatures.

And what, it may be ſaid, are theſe men of war, which ſeem ſo delightful an object to our eyes? Are they not alike the ſupport of tyranny, and oppreſſion of innocence, carrying with them deſolation and ruin wherever their maſters pleaſe to ſend them? This is indeed too true, and however the ſhip of war may, in its bulk and equipment, exceed the honeſt merchantman, I heartily wiſh there was no neceſſity for it; for though I muſt own the ſuperior beauty of the object on one ſide, I am more pleaſed with the ſuperior excellence of the idea, which I can raiſe in my mind on the other; while I reflect on the art and induſtry of mankind, engaged in the daily improvements of commerce, to the mutual benefit of all countries, and to the eſtabliſhment and happineſs of ſocial life.

This pleaſant village is ſituated on a gentle aſcent from the water, whence it affords that charming proſpect I have above deſcribed. Its ſoil is a gravel, which, aſſiſted with its declivity, preſerves it always ſo dry, that immediately after the moſt violent rain, a fine lady may walk without wetting her ſilken ſhoes. The fertility of the place is apparent from its extraordinary verdure, and it is ſo ſhaded with large and flouriſhing elms, that its narrow lanes are a natural grove or walk, which, in the regularity of its plantation, vies with the power of art, and in its wanton exuberancy greatly exceeds it.

In a field, in the aſcent of this hill, about a quarter of a mile from the ſea, ſtands a neat little chapel. It is very ſmall, but adequate to the number

ber of inhabitants; for the pariſh doth not ſeem to contain above thirty houſes.

At about two miles diſtant from this pariſh, lives that polite and good lady to whoſe kindneſs we were ſo much obliged. It is placed on a hill, whoſe bottom is waſhed by the ſea, and which, from its eminence at top, commands a view of great part of the iſland, as well as it does that of the oppoſite ſhore. This houſe was formerly built by one Boyce, who, from a blackſmith at Goſport, became poſſeſſed, by great ſucceſs in ſmuggling, of forty thouſand pounds. With part of this he purchaſed an eſtate here, and by chance, probably, fixed on this ſpot for building a large houſe. Perhaps the convenience of carrying on his buſineſs, to which it is ſo well adapted, might dictate the ſituation to him. We can hardly, at leaſt, attribute it to the ſame taſte with which he furniſhed his houſe, or at leaſt his library, by ſending an order to a book-ſeller in London, to pack him up five hundred pounds worth of his handſomeſt books. They tell here ſeveral almoſt incredible ſtories of the ignorance, the folly, and the pride which this poor man and his wife diſcovered during the ſhort continuance of his proſperity: for he did not long eſcape the ſharp eyes of the revenue-ſolicitors, and was by extents from the Court of Exchequer, ſoon reduced below his original ſtate, to that of confinement in the Fleet. All his effects were ſold, and among the reſt, his books by an auction at Portſmouth, for a very ſmall price; for the book-ſeller was now diſcovered to have been perfectly a maſter of his trade, and relying on Mr. Boyce's finding little time to read, had ſent him not only the moſt laſting wares of his ſhop, but duplicates of the ſame, under different titles.

His eſtate and houſe were purchaſed by a gentleman of theſe parts, whoſe widow now enjoys them, and who hath improved them, particularly her gardens,

dens, with ſo elegant a taſte, that the painter who would aſſiſt his imagination in the compoſition of a moſt exquiſite landſcape, or the poet, who would deſcribe an earthly paradiſe, could no where furniſh themſelves with a richer pattern.

We left this place about eleven in the morning, and were again conveyed with more ſunſhine than wind aboard our ſhip.

Whence our captain had acquired his power of prophecy, when he promiſed us and himſelf a proſperous wind, I will not determine; it is ſufficient to obſerve that he was a falſe prophet, and that the weathercocks continued to point as before.

He would not, however, ſo eaſily give up his ſkill in prediction. He perſevered in aſſerting that the wind was changed, and having weighed his anchor, fell down that afternoon to St. Helen's, which was at about the diſtance of five miles; and whither his friend the tide, in defiance of the wind, which was moſt manifeſtly againſt him, ſoftly wafted him in as many hours.

Here about ſeven in the evening, before which time we could not procure it, we ſat down to regale ourſelves with ſome roaſted veniſon, which was much better dreſt than we imagined it would be, and an excellent cold paſty which my wife had made at Ryde, and which we had reſerved uncut to eat on board our ſhip, whither we all cheerfully exulted in being returned from the preſence of Mrs. Francis, who, by the exact reſemblance ſhe bore to a fury, ſeemed to have been with no great propriety ſettled in paradiſe.

Friday, July 24. As we paſſed by Spithead on the preceding evening, we ſaw the two regiments of ſoldiers who were juſt returned from Gibraltar and Minorca; and this day a lieutenant belonging to one of them, who was the captain's nephew, came to pay a viſit to his uncle. He was what is called by ſome a very pretty fellow; indeed, much

too pretty a fellow at his years; for he was turned of thirty-four, though his addreſs and converſation would have become him more before he had reached twenty. In his converſation, it is true, there was ſomething military enough, as it conſiſted chiefly of oaths, and of the great actions and wiſe ſayings of Jack, and Will, and Tom of our regiment, a phraſe eternally in his mouth; and he ſeemed to conclude, that it conveyed to all the officers ſuch a degree of public notoriety and importance, that it intitled him, like the head of a profeſſion, or a firſt miniſter, to be the ſubject of converſation among thoſe who had not the leaſt perſonal acquaintance with him. This did not much ſurpriſe me, as I have ſeen ſeveral examples of the ſame; but the defects in his addreſs, eſpecially to the women, were ſo great, that they ſeemed abſolutely inconſiſtent with the behaviour of a pretty fellow, much leſs of one in a red coat; and yet, beſides having been eleven years in the army, he had had, as his uncle informed me, an education in France. This, I own, would have appeared to have been abſolutely thrown away, had not his animal ſpirits, which were likewiſe thrown away upon him in great abundance, borne the viſible ſtamp of the growth of that country. The character, to which he had an indiſputable title, was that of a merry fellow; ſo very merry was he, that he laughed at every thing he ſaid, and always before he ſpoke. Poſſibly, indeed, he often laughed at what he did not utter, for every ſpeech begun with a laugh, though it did not always end with a jeſt. There was no great analogy between the characters of the uncle and the nephew, and yet they ſeemed entirely to agree in enjoying the honour which the red-coat did to his family. This the uncle expreſſed with great pleaſure in his countenance, and ſeemed deſirous of ſhewing all preſent the honour which he had for his nephew, who, on his ſide, was at ſome pains to convince

convince us of his concurring in this opinion, and, at the ſame time, of diſplaying the contempt he had for the parts, as well as the occupation of his uncle, which he ſeemed to think reflected ſome diſgrace on himſelf, who was a member of that profeſſion which makes every man a gentleman. Not that I would be underſtood to inſinuate, that the nephew endeavoured to ſhake off or diſown his uncle, or indeed, to keep him at any diſtance. On the contrary, he treated him with the utmoſt familiarity, often calling him Dick, and dear Dick, and old Dick, and frequently beginning an oration with D——n me, Dick.

All this condeſcenſion on the part of the young man, was received with ſuitable marks of complaiſance and obligation by the old one; eſpecially, when it was attended with evidences of the ſame familiarity with general officers, and other perſons of rank; one of whom, in particular, I know to have the pride and inſolence of the devil himſelf, and who, without ſome ſtrong bias of intereſt, is no more liable to converſe familiarly with a lieutenant, than of being miſtaken in his judgment of a fool; which was not, perhaps, ſo certainly the caſe of the worthy lieutenant, who, in declaring to us the qualifications which recommended men to his countenance and converſation, as well as what effectually ſet a bar to all hopes of that honour, exclaimed, 'No, Sir, by the D—, I hate all fools '—No, d—n me, excuſe me for that. That's a 'little too much, old Dick. There are two or 'three officers of our regiment, whom I know to 'be fools; but d—n me, if I am ever ſeen in their 'company. If a man hath a fool of a relation, 'Dick, you know he can't help that, old boy.'

Such jokes as theſe the old man not only took in good part, but glibly gulped down the whole narrative of his nephew; nor did he, I am convinced, in the leaſt doubt of our as readily ſwallowing

lowing the ſame. This made him ſo charmed with the lieutenant, that it is probable we ſhould have been peſtered with him the whole evening, had not the north wind, dearer to our ſea-captain, even than this glory of his family, ſprung ſuddenly up, and called aloud to him to weigh his anchor.

While this ceremony was performing, the ſea-captain ordered out his boat to row the land captain to ſhore; not indeed on an uninhabited iſland, but one which, in this part, looked but little better, not preſenting us the view of a ſingle houſe. Indeed, our old friend, when his boat returned on ſhore, perhaps being no longer able to ſtifle his envy of the ſuperiority of his nephew, told us, with a ſmile, that the young man had a good five mile to walk, before he could be accommodated with a paſſage to Portſmouth.

It appeared now, that the captain had been only miſtaken in the date of his prediction, by placing the event a day earlier than it happened; for the wind which now aroſe, was not only favourable, but briſk, and was no ſooner in reach of our ſails than it ſwept us away by the back of the Iſle of Wight, and having in the night carried us by Chriſt-church and Peveral-point, brought us the next noon, *Saturday*, *July* 29. off the iſland of Portland, ſo famous for the ſmallneſs and ſweetneſs of its mutton, of which a leg ſeldom weighs four pounds. We would have bought a ſheep, but our captain would not permit it; though he needed not have been in ſuch a hurry, for preſently the wind, I will not poſitively aſſert in reſentment of his ſurlineſs, ſhewed him a dog's trick, and ſlily ſlipt back again to his ſummer-houſe in the ſouth-weſt.

The captain now grew outrageous, and declaring open war with the wind, took a reſolution, rather more bold than wiſe, of ſailing in defiance of it, and in its teeth. He ſwore he would let go his anchor no more, but would beat the ſea while he had

had either yard or ſail left. He accordingly ſtood from the ſhore, and made ſo large a tack, that before night, though he ſeemed to advance but little on his way, he was got out of ſight of land.

Towards the evening, the wind began, in the captain's own language, and, indeed, it freſhened ſo much, that before ten it blew a perfect hurricane. The captain having got, as he ſuppoſed, to a ſafe diſtance, tacked again towards the Engliſh ſhore; and now the wind veered a point only in his favour, and continued to blow with ſuch violence, that the ſhip ran above eight knots or miles an hour, during this whole day and tempeſtuous night, till bed-time. I was obliged to betake myſelf once more to my ſolitude; for my women were again all down in their ſea-ſickneſs, and the captain was buſy on deck; for he began to grow uneaſy, chiefly, I believe, becauſe he did not well know where he was, and would, I am convinced, have been very glad to have been in Portland-road, eating ſome ſheep's-head broth.

Having contracted no great degree of good-humour, by living a whole day alone, without a ſingle ſoul to converſe with, I took but ill phyſic to purge it off, by a bed-converſation with the captain; who, amongſt many bitter lamentations of his fate, and proteſting he had more patience than a Job, frequently intermixed ſummons to the commanding officer on the deck, who now happened to be one Morriſon, a carpenter, the only fellow that had either common ſenſe or common civility in the ſhip. Of Morriſon he enquired every quarter of an hour concerning the ſtate of affairs; the wind, the care of the ſhip, and other matters of navigation. The frequency of theſe ſummons, as well as the ſolicitude with which they were made, ſufficiently teſtified the ſtate of the captain's mind; he endeavoured to conceal it, and would have given no

ſmall alarm to a man, who had either not learnt what it is to die, or known what it is to be miſerable. And my dear wife and child muſt pardon me, if what I did not conceive to be any great evil to myſelf, I was not much terrified with the thoughts of happening to them; in truth, I have often thought they are both too good, and too gentle, to be truſted to the power of any man I know, to whom they could poſſibly be ſo truſted.

Can I ſay then I had no fear? indeed, I cannot, reader, I was afraid for thee, leſt thou ſhouldſt have been deprived of that pleaſure thou art now enjoying; and that I ſhould not live to draw out on paper, that military character which thou didſt peruſe in the journal of yeſterday.

From all theſe fears we were relieved, at ſix in the morning, by the arrival of Mr. Morriſon, who acquainted us that he was ſure he beheld land very near; for he could not ſee half a mile, by reaſon of the hazineſs of the weather. This land, he ſaid, was, he believed, the Berry-head, which forms one ſide of Torbay; the captain declared that it was impoſſible, and ſwore, on condition he was right, he would give him his mother for a maid. A forfeit which became afterwards ſtrictly due, and payable; for the captain whipping on his night-gown, ran up, without his breeches, and within half an hour returning into the cabbin, wiſhed me joy of our lying ſafe at anchor in the bay.

Sunday, July 26. Things now began to put on an aſpect very different from what they had lately worn; the news that the ſhip had almoſt loſt its mizen, and that we had procured very fine clouted cream and freſh bread and butter from the ſhore, reſtored health and ſpirits to our women, and we all ſat down to a very cheerful breakfaſt.

But however pleaſant our ſtay promiſed to be here, we were all deſirous it ſhould be ſhort: I reſolved

reſolved immediately to diſpatch my man into the country, to purchaſe a preſent of cyder for my friends of that which is called Southam, as well as to take with me a hogſhead of it to Liſbon; for it is, in my opinion, much more delicious than that which is the growth of Herefordſhire. I purchaſed three hogſheads for five pounds ten ſhillings, all which I ſhould have ſcarce thought worth mentioning, had I not believed it might be of equal ſervice to the honeſt farmer who ſold it me, and who is by the neighbouring gentlemen reputed to deal in the very beſt, and to the reader, who from ignorance of the means of providing better for himſelf, ſwallows at a dearer rate the juice of Middleſex turnip, inſtead of that Vinom Pomonæ, which Mr. Giles Leverance of Cheeſhurſt, near Dartmouth in Devon, will, at the price of forty ſhillings per hogſhead, ſend in double caſks to any part of the world. Had the wind been very ſudden in ſhifting, I had loſt my cyder, by an attempt of a boatman to exact, according to cuſtom. He required five ſhillings for conveying my man a mile and half to the ſhore, and four more if he ſtaid to bring him back. This I thought to be ſuch inſufferable impudence, that I ordered him to be immediately chaſed from the ſhip, without any anſwer. Indeed, there are few inconveniencies that I would not rather encounter than encourage the inſolent demands of theſe wretches, at the expence of my own indignation, of which I own, they are not the only objects, but rather thoſe who purchaſe a paultry convenience by encouraging them. But of this I have already ſpoken very largely. I ſhall conclude, therefore, with the leave which this fellow took of our ſhip; ſaying, he ſhould know it again, and would not put off from the ſhore to relieve it in any diſtreſs whatever.

It will, doubtleſs, ſurpriſe many of my readers to hear, that when we lay at anchor within a mile

or two of a town, ſeveral days together, and even in the moſt temperate weather, we ſhould frequently want freſh proviſions and herbage, and other emoluments of the ſhore, as much as if we had been a hundred leagues from land. And this too, while numbers of boats were in our ſight, whoſe owners get their livelihood by rowing people up and down, and could be at any time ſummoned by a ſignal to our aſſiſtance, and while the captain had a little boat of his own with men always ready to row it at his command.

This, however, hath been partly accounted for already, by the impoſing diſpoſition of the people; who aſked ſo much more than the proper price of their labour. And as to the uſefulneſs of the captain's boat, it requires to be a little expatiated upon, as it will tend to lay open ſome of the grievances which demand the utmoſt regard of our legiſlature, as they affect the moſt valuable part of the King's ſubjects, thoſe by whom the commerce of the nation is carried into execution.

Our captain then, who was a very good and experienced ſeaman, having been above thirty years the maſter of a veſſel, part of which he had ſerved, ſo he phraſed it, as commander of a privateer; and had diſcharged himſelf with great courage and conduct, and with as great ſucceſs, diſcovered the utmoſt averſion to the ſending his boat aſhore, whenever we lay wind-bound in any of our harbours. This averſion did not ariſe from any fear of wearing out his boat by uſing it, but was, in truth, the reſult of experience, that it was eaſier to ſend his men on ſhore than to recal them. They acknowledged him to be their maſter while they remained on ſhip-board, but did not allow his power to extend to the ſhores, where they had no ſooner ſet their foot, than every man became *ſui juris*, and thought himſelf at full liberty to return when he pleaſed. Now it is not any delight that

theſe fellows have in the freſh air, or verdant fields on the land. Every one of them would prefer his ſhip and his hammock to all the ſweets of Arabia the Happy; but unluckily for them, there are in every ſea-port in England certain houſes, whoſe chief livelihood depends on providing entertainment for the gentlemen of the jacket. For this purpoſe, they are always well-furniſhed with thoſe cordial liquors, which do immediately inſpire the heart with gladneſs, baniſhing all careful thoughts, and, indeed, all others from the mind, and opening the mouth with ſongs of cheerfulneſs and thankſgiving, for the many wonderful bleſſings with which a ſea-faring life overflows.

For my own part, however whimſical it may appear, I confeſs, I have thought the ſtrange ſtory of Circe in the Odyſſey, no other than an ingenious allegory; in which Homer intended to convey to his countrymen the ſame kind of inſtruction, which we intend to communicate to our own in this digreſſion. As teaching the art of war to the Greeks, was the plain deſign of the Iliad; ſo was teaching them the art of navigation the no leſs manifeſt intention of the Odyſſey. For the improvement of this, their ſituation was moſt excellently adapted; and accordingly we find Thucydides, in the beginning of his hiſtory, conſiders the Greeks as a ſet of pirates, or privateers, plundering each other by ſea. This being probably the firſt inſtitution of commerce before the Ars Cauponaria was invented, and merchants, inſtead of robbing, began to cheat and outwit each other, and by degrees changed the Metabletic, the only kind of traffic allowed by Ariſtotle in his Politics, into the Chrematiſtic.

By this allegory then I ſuppoſe Ulyſſes to have been the captain of a merchant-ſhip, and Circe ſome good alewife, who made his crew drunk with the ſpirituous liquors of thoſe days. With this the

transformation into ſwine, as well as all other incidents of the fable, will notably agree; and thus a key will be found out for unlocking the whole myſtery, and forging, at leaſt, ſome meaning to a ſtory, which, at preſent, appears very ſtrange and abſurd.

Hence, moreover, will appear the very near reſemblance between the ſea-faring men of all ages and nations; and here perhaps may be eſtabliſhed the truth and juſtice of that obſervation, which will occur oftener than once in this voyage, that all human fleſh is not the ſame fleſh, but that there is one kind of fleſh of landmen, and another of ſeamen.

Philoſophers, divines, and others, who have treated the gratification of human appetites with contempt, have, among other inſtances, inſiſted very ſtrongly on that ſatiety which is ſo apt to overtake them, even in the very act of enjoyment. And here they more particullary deſerve our attention, as moſt of them may be ſuppoſed to ſpeak from their own experience; and very probably gave us their leſſons with a full ſtomach. Thus hunger and thirſt, whatever delight they may afford while we are eating and drinking, paſs both away from us with the plate and the cup; and though we ſhould imitate the Romans, if, indeed, they were ſuch dull beaſts, which I can ſcarce believe, to unload the belly like a dungpot, in order to fill it again with another load, yet would the pleaſure be ſo conſiderably leſſened, that it would ſcarce repay us the trouble of purchaſing it with ſwallowing a baſon of camomile-tea. A ſecond haunch of veniſon, or a ſecond doſe of turtle, would hardly allure a city glutton with its ſmell. Even the celebrated Jew himſelf, when well filled with Calipaſh and Calipee, goes contentedly home to tell his money, and expects no more pleaſure from his throat,

throat, during the next twenty-four hours. Hence I ſuppoſe Dr. South took that elegant compariſon of the joys of a ſpeculative man to the ſolemn ſilence of an Archimedes over a problem, and thoſe of a glutton to the ſtillneſs of a ſow at her waſh. A ſimile, which, if it became the pulpit at all, could only become it in the afternoon.

Whereas, in thoſe potations which the mind ſeems to enjoy, rather than the bodily appetite, there is happily no ſuch ſatiety; but the more a man drinks, the more he deſires; as if, like Mark Anthony in Dryden, his appetite encreaſed with feeding, and this to ſuch an immoderate degree, *ut nullus ſit deſiderio aut pudor aut modus.* Hence, as with the gang of Captain Ulyſſes, enſues ſo total a transformation, that the man no more continues what he was. Perhaps, he ceaſes for a time to be at all; or, though he may retain the ſame outward form and figure he had before, yet is his nobler part, as we are taught to call it, ſo changed, that, inſtead of being the ſame man, he ſcarce remembers what he was a few hours before. And this transformation being once obtained, is ſo eaſily preſerved by the ſame potations, which induced no ſatiety, that the captain in vain ſends or goes in queſt of his crew. They know him no longer; or, if they do, they acknowledge not his power, having indeed as entirely forgotten themſelves as if they had taken a large draught of the river of Lethe.

Nor is the captain always ſure of even finding out the place to which Circe hath conveyed them. There are many of thoſe houſes in every port-town. Nay, there are ſome where the ſorcereſs doth not truſt only to her drugs; but hath inſtruments of a different kind to execute her purpoſes, by whoſe means the tar is effectually ſecreted from the knowledge and purſuit of his captain. This

would, indeed, be very fatal, was it not for one circumſtance; that the ſailor is ſeldom provided with the proper bait for theſe harpies. However, the contrary ſometimes happens, as theſe harpies will bite at almoſt any thing, and will ſnap at a pair of ſilver buttons or buckles, as ſurely as at the ſpecie itſelf. Nay, ſometimes they are ſo voracious, that the very naked hook will go down, and the jolly young ſailor is ſacrificed for his own ſake.

In vain, at ſuch a ſeaſon as this, would the vows of a pious heathen have prevailed over Neptune, Æolus, or any other marine deity. In vain would the prayers of a Chriſtian captain be attended with the like ſucceſs. The wind may change, how it pleaſes, while all hands are on ſhore; the anchor would remain firm in the ground, and the ſhip would continue in durance, unleſs, like other forcible priſon-breakers, it forcibly got looſe for no good purpoſe.

Now, as the favour of winds and courts, and ſuch like, is always to be laid hold on at the very firſt motion, for within twenty-four hours all may be changed again; ſo, in the former caſe, the loſs of a day may be the loſs of a voyage: for, though it may appear to perſons not well ſkilled in navigation, who ſee ſhips meet and ſail by each other, that the wind blows ſometimes eaſt and weſt, north and ſouth, backwards and forwards, at the ſame inſtant; yet, certain it is, that the land is ſo contrived, that even the ſame wind will not, like the ſame horſe, always bring a man to the end of his journey; but, that the gale which the mariner prayed heartily for yeſterday, he may as heartily deprecate to-morrow; while all uſe and benefit, which would have ariſen to him from the weſterly wind of to-morrow, may be totally loſt and thrown away, by neglecting the offer of the eaſterly blaſt which blows to-day.

Hence

Hence enſues grief and diſreputation to the innocent captain, loſs and diſappointment to the worthy merchant, and not ſeldom great prejudice to the trade of a nation, whoſe manufactures are thus liable to lie unſold in a foreign warehouſe, the market being foreſtalled by ſome rival whoſe ſailors are under a better diſcipline. To guard againſt theſe inconveniencies, the prudent captain takes every precaution in his power; he makes the ſtrongeſt contracts with his crew, and thereby binds them ſo firmly, that none but the greateſt or leaſt of men can break through them with impunity; but for one of theſe two reaſons, which I will not determine, the ſailor, like his brother fiſh the eel, is too ſlippery to be held, and plunges into his element with perfect impunity.

To ſpeak a plain truth, there is no truſting to any contract with one whom the wiſe citizens of London call a bad man; for, with ſuch a one, though your bond be ever ſo ſtrong, it will prove in the end good for nothing.

What then is to be done in this caſe? What, indeed! but to call in the aſſiſtance of that tremendous magiſtrate, the juſtice of peace, who can, and often doth, lay good and bad men in equal durance; and though he ſeldom cares to ſtretch his bonds to what is great, never finds any thing too minute for their detention, but will hold the ſmalleſt reptile alive ſo faſt in his nooſe, that he can never get out till he is let drop through it.

Why, therefore, upon the breach of thoſe contracts, ſhould not an immediate application be made to the neareſt magiſtrate of this order, who ſhould be empowered to convey the delinquent either to ſhip or to priſon, at the election of the captain, to be fettered by the leg in either place.

But,

But, as the caſe now ſtands, the condition of this poor captain, without any commiſſion, and of this abſolute commander without any power, is much worſe than we have hitherto ſhewn it to be; for, notwithſtanding all the aforeſaid contracts to ſail in the good ſhip the Elizabeth, if the ſailor ſhould, for better wages, find it more his intereſt to go on board the better ſhip, the Mary, either before their ſetting out, or on their ſpeedy meeting in ſome port, he may prefer the latter without any other danger, than that of 'doing what he 'ought not to have done,' contrary to a rule which he is ſeldom Chriſtian enough to have much at heart, while the captain is generally too good a Chriſtian to puniſh a man out of revenge only, when he is to be at a conſiderable expence for ſo doing. There are many other deficiencies in our laws, relating to maritime affairs, and which would probably have been long ſince corrected, had we any ſeamen in the Houſe of Commons. Not that I would inſinuate that the legiſlature wants a ſupply of many gentlemen in the ſea-ſervice: but, as theſe gentlemen are, by their attendance in the houſe, unfortunately prevented from ever going to ſea, and there learning what they might communicate to their landed brethren, theſe latter remain as ignorant in that branch of knowledge, as they would be if none but courtiers and fox-hunters had been elected into parliament, without a ſingle fiſh among them. The following ſeems to me to be an effect of this kind, and it ſtrikes me the ſtronger, as I remember the caſe to have happened, and remember it to have been diſpuniſhable. A captain of a trading veſſel, of which he was part owner, took in a large freight of oats at Liverpool, conſigned to the market at Bear-key; this he carried to a port in Hampſhire, and there ſold it as his own, and freighting his veſſel with wheat

wheat for the port of Cadiz in Spain, dropt it at Oporto in his way, and there ſelling it for his own uſe, took in a lading of wine, with which he ſailed again, and having converted it in the ſame manner, together with a large ſum of money with which he was intruſted, for the benefit of certain merchants, ſold the ſhip and cargo in another port, and then wiſely ſat down contented with the fortune he had made, and returned to London to enjoy the remainder of his days, with the fruits of his former labours and a good conſcience.

The ſum he brought home with him, conſiſted of near ſix thouſand pounds, all in ſpecie, and moſt of it in that coin which Portugal diſtributes ſo liberally over Europe.

He was not yet old enough to be paſt all ſenſe of pleaſure, nor ſo puffed up with the pride of his good fortune, as to overlook his old acquaintances the journeymen tailors, from among whom he had been formerly preſſed into the ſea-ſervice, and having there laid the foundation of his future ſucceſs, by his ſhares in prizes, had afterwards become captain of a trading veſſel, in which he purchaſed an intereſt, and had ſoon begun to trade in the honourable manner above-mentioned.

The captain now took up his reſidence at an alehouſe in Drury-lane, where, having all his money by him in a trunk, he ſpent above five pounds a day among his old friends the gentlemen and ladies of thoſe parts.

The merchant of Liverpool having luckily had notice from a friend, during the blaze of his fortune, did, by the aſſiſtance of a juſtice of peace, without the aſſiſtance of the law, recover his whole loſs. The captain, however, wiſely choſe to refund no more; but perceiving with what haſty ſtrides envy was purſuing his fortune, he took ſpeedy means to retire out of her reach, and to enjoy

enjoy the reſt of his wealth in an inglorious obſcurity; nor could the ſame juſtice overtake him time enough to aſſiſt a ſecond merchant, as he had done the firſt.

This was a very extraordinary caſe, and the more ſo, as the ingenious gentleman had ſteered entirely clear of all crimes in our law.

Now, how it comes about that a robbery ſo very eaſy to be committed, and to which there is ſuch immediate temptation always before the eyes of theſe fellows, ſhould receive the encouragement of impunity, is to be accounted for only from the overſight of the legiſlature, as that overſight can only be, I think, derived from the reaſons I have aſſigned for it.

But I will dwell no longer on this ſubject. If what I have here ſaid ſhould ſeem of ſufficient conſequence to engage the attention of any man in power, and ſhould thus be the means of applying any remedy, to the moſt inveterate evils at leaſt, I have obtained my whole deſire, and ſhall have lain ſo long wind-bound in the ports of this kingdom to ſome purpoſe. I would indeed have this work, which, if I ſhould live to finiſh it, a matter of no great certainty, if indeed of any great hope to me, will be probably the laſt I ſhall ever undertake, to produce ſome better end than the mere diverſion of the reader.

Monday. This day our captain went aſhore, to dine with a gentleman who lives in theſe parts, and who ſo exactly reſembles the character given by Homer of Axylus, that the only difference I can trace between them is, the one living by the highway, erected his hoſpitality chiefly in favour of land travellers; and the other living by the waterſide, gratified his humanity by accommodating the wants of the mariner.

In the evening our commander received a viſit from a brother baſhaw, who lay wind-bound in the

the ſame harbour. This latter captain was a Swiſs. He was then maſter of a veſſel bound to Guinea, and had formerly been a privateering, when our own hero was employed in the ſame laudable ſervice. The honeſty and freedom of the Switzer, his vivacity, in which he was in no reſpect inferior to his near neighbours the French, the aukward and affected politeneſs, which was likewiſe of French extraction, mixed with the brutal roughneſs of the Engliſh tar; for he had ſerved under the colours of this nation, and his crew had been of the ſame, made ſuch an odd variety, ſuch a hotch potch of character, that I ſhould have been much diverted with him, had not his voice, which was as loud as a ſpeaking trumpet, unfortunately made my head ach. The noiſe which he conveyed into the deaf ears of his brother captain, who ſat on one ſide of him, the ſoft addreſſes, with which, mixed with aukward bows, he ſaluted the ladies on the other, were ſo agreeably contraſted, that a man muſt not only have been void of all taſte of humor, and inſenſible of mirth, but duller than Cibber is repreſented in the Dunciad, who could be unentertained with him a little while: for, I confeſs, ſuch entertainments ſhould always be very ſhort, as they are very liable to pall. But he ſuffered not this to happen at preſent. For having given us his company a quarter of an hour only, he retired, after many apologies for the ſhortneſs of his viſit.

Tueſday. The wind being leſs boiſterous than it had hitherto been ſince our arrival here, ſeveral fiſhing boats, which the tempeſtuous weather yeſterday had prevented from working, came on board us with fiſh. This was ſo freſh, ſo good in kind, and ſo very cheap, that we ſupplied ourſelves in great numbers, among which were very large ſoals at four-pence a pair, and whitings, of almoſt a prepoſterous ſize, at nine-pence a ſcore.

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The only fiſh which bore any price was a john dorée, as it is called. I bought one of at leaſt four pounds weight for as many ſhillings. It reſembles a turbot in ſhape, but exceeds it in firmneſs and flavour. The price had the appearance of being conſiderable, when oppoſed to the extraordinary cheapneſs of others of value; but was, in truth, ſo very reaſonable, when eſtimated by its goodneſs, that it left me under no other ſurpriſe, than how the gentlemen of this country, not greatly eminent for the delicacy of their taſte, had diſcovered the preference of the dorée to all other fiſh: but I was informed that Mr. Quin, whoſe diſtinguiſhing tooth hath been ſo juſtly celebrated, had lately viſited Plymouth, and had done thoſe honours to the dorée, which are ſo juſtly due to it from that ſect of modern philoſophers, who, with Sir Epicure Mammon, or Sir Epicure Quin, their head, ſeem more to delight in a fiſh-pond than in a garden, as the old Epicureans are ſaid to have done.

Unfortunately for the fiſhmongers of London, the dorée reſides only in thoſe ſeas; for could any of this company but convey one to the temple of luxury under the Piazza, where Macklin the high prieſt daily ſerves up his rich offerings to that goddeſs, great would be the reward of that fiſhmonger, in bleſſings poured down upon him from the goddeſs, as great would his merit be towards the high prieſt, who could never be thought to overrate ſuch valuable incenſe.

And here having mentioned the extreme cheapneſs of fiſh in the Devonſhire ſea, and given ſome little hint of the extreme dearneſs with which this commodity is diſpenſed by thoſe who deal in it in London, I cannot paſs on without throwing forth an obſervation or two, with the ſame view with which I have ſcattered my ſeveral remarks through this voyage, ſufficiently ſatisfied in having finiſhed my

my life, as I have, probably, loſt it, in the ſervice of my country, from the beſt of motives, though it ſhould be attended with the worſt of ſucceſs. Means are always in our power; ends are very ſeldom ſo.

Of all the animal foods with which man is furniſhed, there are none ſo plenty as fiſh. A little rivulet, that glides almoſt unperceived through a vaſt tract of rich land, will ſupport more hundreds with the fleſh of its inhabitants, than the meadow will nouriſh individuals. But if this be true of rivers, it is much truer of the ſea-ſhores, which abound with ſuch immenſe variety of fiſh, that the curious fiſherman, after he hath made his draught, often culls only the daintieſt part, and leaves the reſt of his prey to periſh on the ſhore.

If this be true, it would appear, I think, that there is nothing which might be had in ſuch abundance, and conſequently ſo cheap, as fiſh, of which nature ſeems to have provided ſuch inexhauſtible ſtores with ſome peculiar deſign. In the production of terreſtrial animals, ſhe proceeds with ſuch ſlowneſs, that in the larger kind a ſingle female ſeldom produces more than one a year, and this again requires three, four, or five years more to bring it to perfection. And though the leſſer quadrupeds, thoſe of the wild kind particularly, with the birds, do multiply much faſter, yet can none of theſe bear any proportion with the aquatic animals, of whom every female matrix is furniſhed with an annual offſpring, almoſt exceeding the power of numbers, and which, in many inſtances at leaſt, a ſingle year is capable of bringing to ſome degree of maturity.

What then ought in general to be ſo plentiful, what ſo cheap, as fiſh? What then ſo properly the food of the poor? So in many places they are, and ſo might they always be, in great cities which are always ſituated near the ſea, or on the conflux

of large rivers. How comes it then, to look no farther abroad for inſtances, that in our city of London the caſe is ſo far otherwiſe, that except that of ſprats, there is not one poor palate in a hundred that knows the taſte of fiſh.

It is true, indeed, that this taſte is generally of ſuch excellent flavour, that it exceeds the power of French cookery to treat the palates of the rich with any thing more exquiſitely delicate; ſo that was fiſh the common food of the poor, it might put them too much upon an equality with their betters, in the great article of eating, in which, at preſent, in the opinion of ſome, the great difference in happineſs between man and man conſiſts. But this argument I ſhall treat with the utmoſt diſdain: for if ortolans were as big as buſtards, and at the ſame time as plenty as ſparrows, I ſhould hold it yet reaſonable to indulge the poor with the dainty, and that for this cauſe eſpecially, that the rich would ſoon find a ſparrow, if as ſcarce as an ortolan, to be much the greater, as it would certainly be the rarer, dainty of the two.

Vanity or ſcarcity will be always the favourite of luxury, but honeſt hunger will be ſatisfied with plenty. Not to ſearch deeper into the cauſe of the evil, I ſhall think it abundantly ſufficient to propoſe the remedies of it. And, firſt, I humbly ſubmit the abſolute neceſſity of immediately hanging all the fiſhmongers within the bills of mortality; and however it might have been ſome time ago the opinion of mild and temporizing men, that the evil complained of might be removed by gentler methods, I ſuppoſe at this day there are none who do not ſee the impoſſibility of uſing ſuch with any effect. *Cuncta prius tentanda* might have been formerly urged with ſome plauſibility, but *cuncta prius tentata* may now be replied: for ſurely, if a few monopolizing fiſhmongers could defeat that excellent ſcheme of the Weſtminſter market, to the erecting

erecting which ſo many juſtices of peace, as well as other wiſe and learned men, did ſo vehemently apply themſelves, that they might be truly ſaid not only to have laid the whole ſtrength of their heads, but of their ſhoulders too, to the buſineſs, it would be a vain endeavour for any other body of men to attempt to remove ſo ſtubborn a nuiſance.

If it ſhould be doubted, whether we can bring this caſe within the letter of any capital law now ſubſiſting? I am aſhamed to own it cannot; for ſurely no crime better deſerves ſuch puniſhment; but the remedy may, nevertheleſs, be immediate, and if a law was made the beginning of next ſeſſions, to take place immediately, by which the ſtarving thouſands of poor was declared to be felony, without benefit of clergy, the fiſhmongers would be hanged before the end of the ſeſſions.

A ſecond method of filling the mouths of the poor, if not with loaves, at leaſt with fiſhes, is to deſire the magiſtrates to carry into execution one, at leaſt, out of near a hundred acts of parliament, for preſerving the ſmall fry of the river of Thames, by which means as few fiſh would ſatisfy thouſands, as may now be devoured by a ſmall number of individuals. But while a fiſherman can break through the ſtrongeſt meſhes of an act of parliament, we may be aſſured he will learn ſo to contrive his own meſhes, that the ſmalleſt fry will not be able to ſwim through them.

Other methods may, we doubt not, be ſuggeſted by thoſe who ſhall attentively conſider the evil here hinted at; but we have dwelt too long on it already, and ſhall conclude with obſerving, that it is difficult to affirm, whether the atrocity of the evil itſelf, the facility of curing it, or the ſhameful neglect of the cure, be the more ſcandalous, or more aſtoniſhing.

After having, however, gloriouſly regaled myſelf with this food, I was waſhing it down with ſome good claret, with my wife and her friend in the cabbin, when the captain's valet de chambre, head cook, houſe and ſhip ſteward, footman in livery and out on't, ſecretary and fore-maſt-man, all burſt into the cabbin at once, being, indeed, all but one perſon, and without ſaying, by your leave, began to pack half a hogſhead of ſmall beer in bottles, the neceſſary conſequence of which muſt have been, either a total ſtop to converſation at that cheerful ſeaſon, when it is moſt agreeable, or the admitting that polyonymous officer aforeſaid to the participation of it. I deſired him, therefore, to delay his purpoſe a little longer, but he refuſed to grant my requeſt; nor was he prevailed on to quit the room till he was threatened with having one bottle to pack more than his number, which then happened to ſtand empty within my reach.

With theſe menaces he retired at laſt, but not without muttering ſome menaces on his ſide, and which, to our great terror, he failed not to put into immediate execution.

Our captain was gone to dinner this day with his Swiſs brother; and though he was a very ſober man, was a little elevated with ſome champaign, which, as it coſt the Swiſs little or nothing, he diſpenſed at his table more liberally than our hoſpitable Engliſh noblemen put about thoſe bottles, which the ingenious Peter Taylor teaches a led captain to avoid by diſtinguiſhing by the name of that generous liquor, which all humble companions are taught to poſtpone to the flavour of methuen, or honeſt port.

While our two captains were thus regaling themſelves, and celebrating their own heroic exploits, with all the inſpiration which the liquor, at leaſt, of wit could afford them, the polyonymous officer arrived, and being ſaluted by the name of honeſt Tom,

Tom, was ordered to ſit down and take his glaſs before he delivered his meſſage; for every ſailor is by turns his captain's mate over a cann, except only that captain baſhaw who preſides in a man of war, and who, upon earth, has no other mate, unleſs it be another of the ſame baſhaws.

Tom had no ſooner ſwallowed his draught, than he haſtily began his narrative, and faithfully related what had happened on board our ſhip; we ſay faithfully, though from what happened it may be ſuſpected that Tom choſe to add, perhaps, only five or ſix immaterial circumſtances, as is always, I believe, the caſe, and may poſſibly have been done by me in relating this very ſtory, though it happened not many hours ago.

No ſooner was the captain informed of the interruption which had been given to his officer, and, indeed, to his orders, for he thought no time ſo convenient as that of his abſence for cauſing any confuſion in the cabbin, than he leapt with ſuch haſte from his chair, that he had like to have broke his ſword, with which he always begirt himſelf when he walked out of his ſhip, and ſometimes when he walked about in it, at the ſame time graſping eagerly that other implement called a cockade, which modern ſoldiers wear on their helmets with the ſame view as the ancients did their creſts, to terrify the enemy; he muttered ſomething, but ſo inarticulately, that the word *damn* was only intelligible; he then haſtily took leave of the Swiſs captain, who was too well-bred to preſs his ſtay on ſuch an occaſion, and leapt firſt from the ſhip to his boat, and then from his boat to his own ſhip, with as much fierceneſs in his looks as he had ever expreſſed on boarding his defenceleſs prey, in the honourable calling of a privateer.

Having regained the middle deck, he pauſed a moment while Tom and others loaded themſelves with bottles, and then deſcending into the cabbin

exclaimed with a thundering voice, D—n me, why arn't the bottles ſtoed in, according to my orders?

I anſwered him very mildly, that I had prevented his man from doing it, as it was at an inconvenient time to me, and as in his abſence, at leaſt, I eſteemed the cabbin to be my own. 'Your cabbin,' repeated he many times, 'no d—me, 'tis my cab-'bin. Your cabbin! d—me! I have brought my 'hogs to a fair market. I ſuppoſe, indeed, you 'think it your cabbin, and your ſhip, by your com-'manding in it; but I will command in it, d—n 'me! I will ſhew the world I am the commander, 'and no body but I! Did you think I ſold you 'the command of my ſhip for that pitiful thirty 'pounds? I wiſh I had not ſeen you nor your 'thirty pounds aboard of her.' He then repeated the words thirty pounds often, with great diſdain, and with a contempt which, I own, the ſum did not ſeem to deſerve in my eye, either in itſelf, or on the preſent occaſion; being, indeed, paid for the freight of ——— weight of human fleſh, which is above fifty per cent. dearer than the freight of any other luggage, whilſt in reality it takes up leſs room, in fact, no room at all.

In truth, the ſum was paid for nothing more, than for a liberty to ſix perſons, (two of them ſervants) to ſtay on board a ſhip while ſhe ſails from one port to another, every ſhilling of which comes clear into the captain's pocket. Ignorant people may perhaps imagine, eſpecially when they are told that the captain is obliged to ſuſtain them, that their diet, at leaſt, is worth ſomething; which may probably be now and then ſo far the caſe, as to deduct a tenth part from the neat profits on this account; but it was otherwiſe at preſent: for when I had contracted with the captain at a price which I by no means thought moderate, I had ſome content in thinking I ſhould have no more to pay for

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my voyage; but I was whiſpered that it was expected the paſſengers ſhould find themſelves in ſeveral things; ſuch as tea, wine, and ſuch like; and particularly that gentlemen ſhould ſtowe of the latter a much larger quantity than they could uſe, in order to leave the remainder as a preſent to the captain, at the end of the voyage; and it was expected, likewiſe, that gentlemen ſhould put aboard ſome freſh ſtores, and the more of ſuch things were put aboard, the welcomer they would be to the captain.

I was prevailed with by theſe hints, to follow the advice propoſed; and accordingly, beſides tea, and a large hamper of wine, with ſeveral hams and tongues, I cauſed a number of live chickens and ſheep to be conveyed aboard; in truth, treble the quantity of proviſion which would have ſupported the perſons I took with me, had the voyage continued three weeks, as it was ſuppoſed, with a bare poſſibility, it might.

Indeed, it continued much longer; but, as this was occaſioned by our being wind-bound in our own ports, it was by no means of any ill conſequence to the captain, as the additional ſtores of fiſh, freſh meat, butter, bread, &c. which I conſtantly laid in, greatly exceeded the conſumption, and went ſome way in maintaining the ſhip's crew. It is true, I was not obliged to do this; but it ſeemed to be expected; for the captain did not think himſelf obliged to do it; and, I can truly ſay, I ſoon ceaſed to expect it of him. He had, I confeſs, on board, a number of fowls and ducks ſufficient for a Weſt-India voyage; all of them, as he often ſaid, 'Very fine birds, and of the 'largeſt breed.' This, I believe, was really the fact, and, I can add, that they were all arrived at the full perfection of their ſize. Nor was there, I am convinced, any want of proviſions of a more ſubſtantial kind; ſuch as dried beef, pork, and fiſh;

ſo that the captain ſeemed ready to perform his contract, and amply to provide for his paſſengers. What I did then, was not from neceſſity, but, perhaps, from a leſs excuſable motive, and was, by no means, chargeable to the account of the captain.

But let the motive have been what it would, the conſequence was ſtill the ſame; and this was ſuch, that I am firmly perſuaded the whole pitiful thirty pounds came pure and neat into the captain's pocket, and not only ſo, but attended with the value of ten pounds more in ſundries, into the bargain. I muſt confeſs myſelf therefore at a loſs how the epithet *pitiful* came to be annexed to the above ſum; for not being a pitiful price for what it was given, I cannot conceive it to be pitiful in itſelf; nor do I believe it is ſo thought by the greateſt men in the kingdom; none of whom would ſcruple to ſearch for it in the dirtieſt kennel, where they had only a reaſonable hope of ſucceſs.

How, therefore, ſuch a ſum ſhould acquire the idea of pitiful, in the eyes of the maſter of a ſhip, ſeems not eaſy to be accounted for; ſince it appears more likely to produce in him ideas of a different kind. Some men, perhaps, are no more ſincere in the contempt for it which they expreſs, than others in their contempt of money in general; and I am the rather inclined to this perſuaſion, as I have ſeldom heard of either, who have refuſed or refunded this their deſpiſed object. Beſides, it is ſometimes impoſſible to believe theſe profeſſions, as every action of the man's life is a contradiction to it. Who can believe a tradeſman, who ſays he would not tell his name for the profit he gets by the ſelling ſuch a parcel of goods, when he hath told a thouſand lies in order to get it?

Pitiful, indeed, is often applied to an object, not abſolutely, but comparatively with our expectations, or with a greater object: In which

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ſenſe it is not eaſy to ſet any bounds to the uſe of the word. Thus, a handful of halfpence daily appear pitiful to a porter, and a handful of ſilver to a drawer. The latter, I am convinced, at a polite tavern, will not tell his name (for he will not give you any anſwer) under the price of gold. And in this ſenſe, thirty pounds may be accounted pitiful by the loweſt mechanic.

One difficulty only ſeems to occur, and that is this: How comes it that, if the profits of the meaneſt arts are ſo conſiderable, the profeſſors of them are not richer than we generally ſee them? One anſwer to this ſhall ſuffice. Men do not become rich by what they get, but by what they keep. He who is worth no more than his annual wages or ſalary, ſpends the whole; he will be always a beggar, let his income be what it will; and ſo will be his family when he dies. This we ſee daily to be the caſe of eccleſiaſtics, who, during their lives, are extremely well provided for, only becauſe they deſire to maintain the honour of the cloth by living like gentlemen, which would, perhaps, be better maintained by living unlike them.

But, to return from ſo long a digreſſion, to which the uſe of ſo improper an epithet gave occaſion, and to which the novelty of the ſubject allured, I will make the reader amends by conciſely telling him, that the captain poured forth ſuch a torrent of abuſe, that I very haſtily, and very fooliſhly, reſolved to quit the ſhip. I gave immediate orders to ſummons a hoy to carry me that evening to Dartmouth, without conſidering any conſequence. Thoſe orders I gave in no very low voice; ſo that thoſe above ſtairs might poſſibly conceive there was more than one maſter in the cabbin. In the ſame tone I likewiſe threatened the captain with that which, he afterwards ſaid, he feared more than any rock or quickſand. Nor can we wonder at this, when we are told he had been twice obliged

to bring to, and caſt anchor there before, and had neither time eſcaped without the loſs of almoſt his whole cargo.

The moſt diſtant ſound of law thus frightened a man, who had often, I am convinced, heard numbers of cannon roar round him with intrepidity. Nor did he ſooner ſee the hoy approaching the veſſel, than he ran down again into the cabbin, and, his rage being perfectly ſubſided, he tumbled on his knees, and a little too abjectly implored for mercy.

I did not ſuffer a brave man and an old man, to remain a moment in this poſture; but I immediately forgave him.

And here, that I may not be thought the ſly trumpeter of my own praiſes, I do utterly diſclaim all praiſe on the occaſion. Neither did the greatneſs of my mind dictate, nor the force of my Chriſtianity exact this forgiveneſs. To ſpeak truth, I forgave him from a motive which would make men much more forgiving, if they were much wiſer than they are; becauſe it was convenient for me ſo to do.

Wedneſday. This morning the captain dreſt himſelf in ſcarlet, in order to pay a viſit to a Devonſhire ſquire, to whom a captain of a ſhip is a gueſt of no ordinary conſequence, as he is a ſtranger and a gentleman, who hath ſeen a great deal of the world in foreign parts, and knows all the news of the times.

The ſquire, therefore, was to ſend his boat for the captain; but a moſt unfortunate accident happened; for, as the wind was extremely rough, and againſt the hoy, while this was endeavouring to avail itſelf of great ſeamanſhip, in hawling up againſt the wind, a ſudden ſquall carried off ſail and yard; or, at leaſt, ſo diſabled them, that they were no longer of any uſe, and unable to reach the ſhip; but the captain, from the deck, ſaw his

hopes

hopes of veniſon diſappointed, and was forced either to ſtay on board his ſhip, or to hoiſt forth his own long-boat, which he could not prevail with himſelf to think of, though the ſmell of the veniſon had had twenty times its attraction. He did, indeed, love his ſhip as his wife, and his boats as his children, and never willingly truſted the latter, poor things! to the dangers of the ſeas.

To ſay truth, notwithſtanding the ſtrict rigour with which he preſerved the dignity of his ſtation, and the haſty impatience with which he reſented any affront to his perſon or orders, diſobedience to which he could in no inſtance brook in any perſon on board, he was one of the beſt-natured fellows alive. He acted the part of a father to his ſailors; he expreſſed great tenderneſs for any of them when ill, and never ſuffered any, the leaſt work of ſupererogation to go unrewarded by a glaſs of gin. He even extended his humanity, if I may ſo call it, to animals, and even his cats and kittens had large ſhares in his affections. An inſtance of which we ſaw this evening, when the cat, which had ſhewn it could not be drowned, was found ſuffocated under a feather-bed in the cabbin. I will not endeavour to deſcribe his lamentations with more prolixity than barely by ſaying, they were grievous, and ſeemed to have ſome mixture of the Iriſh howl in them. Nay, he carried his fondneſs even to inanimate objects, of which we have above ſet down a pregnant example in his demonſtration of love and tenderneſs towards his boats and ſhip. He ſpoke of a ſhip which he had commanded formerly, and which was long ſince no more, which he had called the Princeſs of Brazil, as a widower of a deceaſed wife. This ſhip, after having followed the honeſt buſineſs of carrying goods and paſſengers for hire many years, did at laſt take to evil courſes and turn privateer, in which ſervice, to uſe his own words, ſhe

ſhe received many dreadful wounds, which he himſelf had felt, as if they had been his own.

Thurſday. As the wind did not yeſterday diſcover any purpoſe of ſhifting, and the water in my belly grew troubleſome, and rendered me ſhort-breathed; I began a ſecond time to have apprehenſions of wanting the aſſiſtance of a trochar, when none was to be found; I therefore concluded to be tapped again, by way of precaution; and accordingly I this morning ſummoned on board a ſurgeon from a neighbouring pariſh, one whom the captain greatly recommended, and who did indeed perform his office with much dexterity. He was, I believe, likewiſe a man of great judgment and knowledge in the profeſſion; but of this I cannot ſpeak with perfect certainty; for when he was going to open on the dropſy at large, and on the particular degree of the diſtemper under which I laboured, I was obliged to ſtop him ſhort, for the wind was changed, and the captain in the utmoſt hurry to depart; and to deſire him, inſtead of his opinion, to aſſiſt me with his execution.

I was now once more delivered from my burthen, which was not indeed ſo great as I had apprehended, wanting two quarts of what was let out at the laſt operation.

While the ſurgeon was drawing away my water, the ſailors were drawing up the anchor; both were finiſhed at the ſame time, we unfurled our ſails, and ſoon paſſed the Berry-head, which forms the mouth of the bay.

We had not however ſailed far, when the wind, which had, though with a ſlow pace, kept us company about ſix miles, ſuddenly turned about, and offered to conduct us back again; a favour, which, though ſorely againſt the grain, we were obliged to accept.

Nothing remarkable happened this day; for as to the firm perſuaſion of the captain that he was under

under the ſpell of witchcraft, I would not repeat it too often, though indeed he repeated it an hundred times every day; in truth, he talked of nothing elſe, and ſeemed not only to be ſatisfied in general of his being bewitched, but actually to have fixed, with good certainty, on the perſon of the witch, whom, had he lived in the days of Sir Matthew Hale, he would have infallibly indicted, and very poſſibly have hanged for the deteſtable ſin of witchcraft; but that law, and the whole doctrine that ſupported it, are now out of faſhion; and witches, as a learned divine once choſe to expreſs himſelf, are put down by act of parliament. This witch, in the captain's opinion, was no other than Mrs. Francis of Ryde, who, as he inſinuated, out of anger to me, for not ſpending more money in her houſe than ſhe could produce any thing to exchange for, or any pretence to charge for, had laid this ſpell on his ſhip.

Though we were again got near our harbour by three in the afternoon, yet it ſeemed to require a full hour or more, before we could come to our former place of anchoring, or birth, as the captain called it. On this occaſion we exemplified one of the few advantages, which the travellers by water have over the travellers by land. What would the latter often give for the ſight of one of thoſe hoſpitable manſions, where he is aſſured *that there is good entertainment for man and horſe*; and where both may conſequently promiſe themſelves to aſſuage that hunger which exerciſe is ſo ſure to raiſe in a healthy conſtitution.

At their arrival at this manſion, how much happier is the ſtate of the horſe than that of the maſter? The former is immediately led to his repaſt, ſuch as it is, and whatever it is, he falls to it with appetite. But the latter is in a much worſe ſituation. His hunger, however violent, is always in ſome degree delicate, and his food muſt have ſome kind

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of ornament, or as the more uſual phraſe is, of dreſſing, to recommend it. Now all dreſſing requires time; and therefore, though, perhaps, the ſheep might be juſt killed before you came to the inn, yet in cutting him up, fetching the joint, which the landlord by miſtake ſaid he had in the houſe, from the butcher at two miles diſtance, and afterwards warming it a little by the fire, two hours at leaſt muſt be conſumed, while hunger, for want of better food, preys all the time on the vitals of the man.

How different was the caſe with us? we carried our proviſion, our kitchen, and our cook with us, and we were at one and the ſame time travelling on our road, and ſitting down to a repaſt of fiſh, with which the greateſt table in London can ſcarce at any rate be ſupplied.

Friday. As we were diſappointed of our wind, and obliged to return back the preceding evening, we reſolved to extract all the good we could out of our misfortune, and to add conſiderably to our freſh ſtores of meat and bread, with which we were very indifferently provided when we hurried away yeſterday. By the captain's advice we likewiſe laid in ſome ſtores of butter, which we ſalted and potted ourſelves, for our uſe at Liſbon, and we had great reaſon afterwards to thank him for his advice.

In the afternoon, I perſuaded my wife, whom it was no eaſy matter for me to force from my ſide, to take a walk on ſhore, whither the gallant captain declared he was ready to attend her. Accordingly, the ladies ſet out, and left me to enjoy a ſweet and comfortable nap after the operation of the preceding day.

Thus we enjoyed our ſeparate pleaſures full three hours, when we met again; and my wife gave the foregoing account of the gentleman, whom I have before compared to Axylus, and of his habitation, to both which ſhe had been introduced by the captain,

tain, in the ſtile of an old friend and acquaintance, though this foundation of intimacy ſeemed to her to be no deeper laid than in an accidental dinner, eaten many years before, at this temple of hoſpitality, when the captain lay wind-bound in the ſame bay.

Saturday. Early this morning the wind ſeemed inclined to change in our favour. Our alert captain ſnatched its very firſt motion, and got under ſail with ſo very gentle a breeze, that as the tide was againſt him, he recommended to a fiſhing hoy to bring after him a vaſt ſalmon and ſome other proviſions which lay ready for him on ſhore.

Our anchor was up at ſix, and before nine in the morning we had doubled the Berry-head, and were arrived off Dartmouth, having gone full three miles in as many hours, in direct oppoſition to the tide, which only befriended us out of our harbour; and though the wind was, perhaps, our friend, it was ſo very ſilent, and exerted itſelf ſo little in our favour, that, like ſome cool partiſans, it was difficult to ſay whether it was with us or againſt us. The captain, however, declared the former to be the caſe, during the whole three hours; but at laſt he perceived his error; or rather, perhaps, this friend, which had hitherto wavered in chuſing his ſide, became now more determined. The captain then ſuddenly tacked about, and aſſerting that he was bewitched, ſubmitted to return to the place from whence he came. Now, though I am as free from ſuperſtition as any man breathing, and never did believe in witches, notwithſtanding all the excellent arguments of my Lord Chief Juſtice Hale in their favour, and long before they were put down by act of parliament, yet by what power a ſhip of burthen ſhould ſail three miles againſt both wind and tide, I cannot conceive; unleſs there was ſome ſupernatural interpoſition in the caſe; nay, could we admit that the wind ſtood neuter, the difficulty would

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ſtill remain. So that we muſt of neceſſity conclude, that the ſhip was either bewinded or bewitched.

The captain, perhaps, had another meaning. He imagined himſelf, I believe, bewitched, becauſe the wind, inſtead of perſevering in its change in his favour, for change it certainly did that morning, ſhould ſuddenly return to its favourite ſtation, and blow him back towards the Bay. But if this was his opinion, he ſoon ſaw cauſe to alter; for he had not meaſured half the way back, when the wind again declared in his favour, and ſo loudly that there was no poſſibility of being miſtaken.

The orders for the ſecond tack were given, and obeyed with much more alacrity, than thoſe had been for the firſt. We were all of us indeed in high ſpirits on the occaſion; though ſome of us a little regretted the good things we were likely to leave behind us by the fiſherman's neglect; I might give it a worſe name, for he faithfully promiſed to execute the commiſſion, which he had had abundant opportunity to do; but *Nautica fides* deſerves as much to be proverbial, as ever *Punica fides* could formerly have done. Nay, when we conſider that the Carthaginians came from the Phenicians, who are ſuppoſed to have produced the firſt mariners, we may probably ſee the true reaſon of the adage, and it may open a field of very curious diſcoveries to the antiquarian.

We were, however, too eager to purſue our voyage, to ſuffer any thing we left behind us to interrupt our happineſs, which, indeed, many agreeable circumſtances conſpired to advance. The weather was inexpreſſibly pleaſant, and we were all ſeated on the deck, when our canvas began to ſwell with the wind. We had likewiſe in our view above thirty other ſail around us, all in the ſame ſituation. Here an obſervation occurred to me, which, perhaps, though extremely obvious, did not

not offer itſelf to every individual in our little fleet: when I perceived with what different ſucceſs we proceeded, under the influence of a ſuperior power, which, while we lay almoſt idle ourſelves, puſhed us forward on our intended voyage, and compared this with the ſlow progreſs which we had made in the morning, of ourſelves, and without any ſuch aſſiſtance, I could not help reflecting how often the greateſt abilities lie wind-bound as it were in life; or if they venture out, and attempt to beat the ſeas, they ſtruggle in vain againſt wind and tide, and if they have not ſufficient prudence to put back, are moſt probably caſt away on the rocks and quick-ſands, which are every day ready to devour them.

It was now our fortune to ſet out *melioribus avibus*. The wind freſhened ſo briſkly in our poop, that the ſhore appeared to move from us, as faſt as we did from the ſhore. The captain declared he was ſure of a wind, meaning its continuance; but he had diſappointed us ſo often, that he had loſt all credit. However, he kept his word a little better now, and we loſt ſight of our native land, as joyfully, at leaſt, as it is uſual to regain it.

Sunday. The next morning, the captain told me he thought himſelf thirty miles to the weſtward of Plymouth, and before evening declared that the Lizard point, which is the extremity of Cornwall, bore ſeveral leagues to leeward. Nothing remarkable paſt this day, except the captain's devotion, who, in his own phraſe, ſummoned all hands to prayers, which were read by a common ſailor upon deck, with more devout force and addreſs, than they are commonly read by a country curate, and received with more decency and attention by the ſailors than are uſually preſerved in city congregations. I am indeed aſſured, that if any ſuch affected diſregard of the ſolemn office in which they were engaged, as I have ſeen practiſed by fine gentlemen and ladies, expreſſing a kind of apprehenſion

henſion leſt they ſhould be ſuſpected of being really in earneſt in their devotion, had been ſhewn here, they would have contracted the contempt of the whole audience. To ſay the truth, from what I obſerved in the behaviour of the ſailors in this voyage, and on comparing it with what I have formerly ſeen of them at ſea and on ſhore, I am convinced that on land there is nothing more idle and diſſolute; in their own element, there are no perſons near the level of their degree, who live in the conſtant practice of half ſo many good qualities. They are, for much the greater part, perfect maſters of their buſineſs, and always extremely alert, and ready in executing it, without any regard to fatigue or hazard. The ſoldiers themſelves are not better diſciplined, nor more obedient to orders than theſe whilſt aboard; they ſubmit to every difficulty which attends their calling with cheerfulneſs, and no leſs virtues than patience and fortitude are exerciſed by them every day of their lives.

All theſe good qualities, however, they always leave behind them on ſhipboard; the ſailor out of water is, indeed, as wretched an animal as the fiſh out of water; for though the former hath in common with amphibious animals the bare power of exiſting on the land, yet if he be kept there any time, he never fails to become a nuiſance.

The ſhip having had a good deal of motion ſince ſhe was laſt under ſail, our women returned to their ſickneſs, and I to my ſolitude; having, for twenty-four hours together, ſcarce opened my lips to a ſingle perſon. This circumſtance of being ſhut up within the circumference of a few yards, with a ſcore of human creatures, with not one of whom it was poſſible to converſe, was perhaps ſo rare, as ſcarce ever to have happened before, nor could it ever happen to one who diſliked it more than myſelf, or to myſelf at a ſeaſon when I wanted more food for my ſocial diſpoſition, or could con-

verſe leſs wholeſomely and happily with my own thoughts. To this accident, which fortune opened to me in the Downs, was owing the firſt ſerious thought which I ever entertained of enrolling myſelf among the voyage-writers; ſome of the moſt amuſing pages, if, indeed, there be any which deſerve that name, were poſſibly the production of the moſt diſagreeable hours which ever haunted the author.

Monday. At noon the captain took an obſervation, by which it appeared that Uſhant bore ſome leagues northward of us, and that we were juſt entering the bay of Biſcay. We had advanced a very few miles in this bay before we were entirely becalmed; we furled our ſails, as being of no uſe to us, while we lay in this moſt diſagreeable ſituation, more deteſted by the ſailors than the moſt violent tempeſt; we were alarmed with the loſs of a fine piece of ſalt beef, which had been hung in the ſea to freſhen it; this being, it ſeems, the ſtrange property of ſalt-water. The thief was immediately ſuſpected, and preſently afterwards taken by the ſailors. He was, indeed, no other than a huge ſhark, who, not knowing when he was well off, ſwallowed another piece of beef, together with a great iron crook on which it was hung, and by which he was dragged into the ſhip.

I ſhould ſcarce have mentioned the catching this ſhark, though ſo exactly conformable to the rules and practice of voyage-writing, had it not been for a ſtrange circumſtance that attended it. This was the recovery of the ſtolen beef out of the ſhark's maw, where it lay unchewed and undigeſted, and whence, being conveyed into the pot, the fleſh, and the thief that had ſtolen it, joined together in furniſhing variety to the ſhip's crew.

During this calm we likewiſe found the maſt of a large veſſel, which the captain thought had lain at leaſt three years in the ſea. It was ſtuck all

over with a little ſhell-fiſh or reptile called a barnacle, and which probably are the prey of the rock-fiſh, as our captain calls it, aſſerting, that it is the fineſt fiſh in the world; for which we are obliged to conſide entirely in his taſte; for, though he ſtruck the fiſh with a kind of harping-iron, and wounded him, I am convinced, to death, yet he could not poſſeſs himſelf of his body; but the poor wretch eſcaped to linger out a few hours, with probably great torments.

In the evening our wind returned, and ſo briſkly, that we ran upwards of twenty leagues before the next day's [*Tueſday*'s] Obſervation, which brought us to Lat. 47°. 42′. The captain promiſed us a very ſpeedy paſſage through the bay, but he deceived us, or the wind deceived him, for it ſo ſlackened at ſun-ſet, that it ſcarce carried us a mile in an hour during the whole ſucceeding night.

Wedneſday. A gale ſtruck up a little after ſun-riſing, which carried us between three and four knots or miles an hour. We were this day at noon about the middle of the bay of Biſcay, when the wind once more deſerted us, and we were ſo entirely becalmed, that we did not advance a mile in many hours. My freſh-water reader will perhaps conceive no unpleaſant idea from this calm; but it affected us much more than a ſtorm could have done; for as the iraſcible paſſions of men are apt to ſwell with indignation long after the injury which firſt raiſed them is over, ſo fared it with the ſea. It roſe mountains high, and lifted our poor ſhip up and down, backwards and forwards, with ſo violent an emotion, that there was ſcarce a man in the ſhip better able to ſtand than myſelf. Every utenſil in our cabbin rolled up and down, as we ſhould have rolled ourſelves, had not our chairs been faſt laſhed to the floor. In this ſituation, with our tables likewiſe faſtened by ropes, the captain and myſelf took our meal with ſome difficulty, and

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ſwallowed a little of our broth, for we ſpilt much the greater part. The remainder of our dinner being an old, lean, tame duck roaſted, I regretted but little the loſs of, my teeth not being good enough to have chewed it.

Our women, who began to creep out of their holes in the morning, retired again within the cabbin to their beds, and were no more heard of this day, in which my whole comfort was to find, by the captain's relation, that the ſwelling was ſometimes much worſe; he did, indeed, take this occaſion to be more communicative than ever, and informed me of ſuch miſadventures that had befallen him within forty-ſix years at ſea, as might frighten a very bold ſpirit from undertaking even the ſhorteſt voyage. Were theſe, indeed, but univerſally known, our matrons of quality would poſſibly be deterred from venturing their tender offspring at ſea; by which means our navy would loſe the honour of many a young commodore, who at twenty-two is better verſed in maritime affairs than real ſeamen are made by experience at ſixty.

And this may, perhaps, appear the more extraordinary, as the education of both ſeems to be pretty much the ſame; neither of them having had their courage tried by Virgil's deſcription of a ſtorm, in which, inſpired as he was, I doubt whether our captain doth not exceed him.

In the evening the wind, which continued in the N. W. again freſhened, and that ſo briſkly, that Cape Finiſterre appeared by this day's obſervation to bear a few miles to the ſouthward. We now indeed ſailed, or rather flew, near ten knots an hour; and the captain, in the redundancy of his good-humour, declared he would go to church at Liſbon on Sunday next, for that he was ſure of a wind; and, indeed, we all firmly believed him. But the event again contradicted him; for we were again viſited by a calm in the evening.

But here, though our voyage was retarded, we were entertained with a ſcene which as no one can behold without going to ſea, ſo no one can form an idea of any thing equal to it on ſhore. We were ſeated on the deck, women and all, in the ſereneſt evening that can be imagined. Not a ſingle cloud preſented itſelf to our view, and the ſun himſelf was the only object which engroſſed our whole attention. He did indeed ſet with a majeſty which is incapable of deſcription, with which, while the horizon was yet blazing with glory, our eyes were called off to the oppoſite part to ſurvey the moon, which was then at full, and which in riſing preſented us with the ſecond object that this world hath offered to our viſion. Compared to theſe the pageantry of theatres, or ſplendor of courts, are ſights almoſt below the regard of children.

We did not return from the deck till late in the evening; the weather being inexpreſſibly pleaſant, and ſo warm, that even my old diſtemper perceived the alteration of the climate. There was indeed a ſwell, but nothing comparable to what we had felt before, and it affected us on the deck much leſs than in the cabbin.

Friday. The calm continued till ſun-riſing, when the wind likewiſe aroſe; but unluckily for us, it came from a wrong quarter; it was S. S. E. which is that very wind which Juno would have ſolicited of Æolus, had Æneas been in our latitude bound for Liſbon.

The captain now put on his moſt melancholy aſpect, and reſumed his former opinion, that he was bewitched. He declared, with great ſolemnity, that this was worſe and worſe, for that a wind directly in his teeth was worſe than no wind at all. Had we purſued the courſe which the wind perſuaded us to take, we had gone directly for Newfoundland, if we had not fallen in with Ireland in

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our way. Two ways remained to avoid this; one was to put into a port of Galicia; the other, to beat to the weſtward with as little ſail as poſſible; and this was our captain's election.

As for us, poor paſſengers, any port would have been welcome to us; eſpecially, as not only our freſh proviſions, except a great number of old ducks and fowls, but even our bread was come to an end, and nothing but ſea biſcuit remained, which I could not chew. So that now, for the firſt time in my life, I ſaw what it was to want a bit of bread.

The wind, however, was not ſo unkind as we had apprehended; but having declined with the ſun, it changed at the approach of the moon, and became again favourable to us; though ſo gentle, that the next day's obſervation carried us very little to the ſouthward of Cape Finiſterre. This evening at ſix, the wind, which had been very quiet all day, roſe very high, and continuing in our favour, drove us ſeven knots an hour.

This day we ſaw a ſail, the only one, as I heard of, we had ſeen in our whole paſſage through the Bay. I mention this on account of what appeared to me ſomewhat extraordinary. Though ſhe was at ſuch a diſtance, that I could only perceive ſhe was a ſhip, the ſailors diſcovered ſhe was a ſnow bound to a port in Galicia.

Sunday. After prayers, which our good captain read on the deck with an audible voice, and with but one miſtake, of a lion for Elias, in the ſecond leſſon for this day, we found ourſelves far advanced in 42°, and the captain declared we ſhould ſup off Porte. We had not much wind this day; but, as this was directly in our favour, we made it up with ſail, of which we crowded all we had. We went only at the rate of four miles an hour, but with ſo uneaſy a motion, continually rolling from ſide to

ſide, that I ſuffered more than I had done in our whole voyage; my bowels being almoſt twiſted out of my belly. However, the day was very ſerene and bright, and the captain, who was in high ſpirits, affirmed he had never paſſed a pleaſanter at ſea.

The wind continued ſo briſk that we ran upward of ſix knots an hour the whole night.

Monday. In the morning, our captain concluded that he was got into lat. 40°, and was very little ſhort of the Burlings, as they are called in the charts. We came up with them at five in the afternoon, being the firſt land we had diſtinctly ſeen ſince we left Devonſhire. They conſiſt of abundance of little rocky iſlands, a little diſtant from the ſhore, three of them only ſhewing themſelves above the water.

Here the Portugueſe maintain a kind of garriſon, if we may allow it that name. It conſiſts of malefactors, who are baniſhed hither for a term, for divers ſmall offences. A policy which they may have copied from the Egyptians, as we may read in Diodorus Siculus. That wiſe people, to prevent the corruption of good manners by evil communication, built a town on the Red-Sea, whither they tranſported a great number of their criminals, having firſt ſet an indelible mark on them, to prevent their returning and mixing with the ſober part of their citizens.

Theſe rocks lie about fifteen leagues north-weſt of cape Roxent; or, as it is commonly called, the rock of Liſbon; which we paſt early the next morning. The wind, indeed, would have carried us thither ſooner; but the captain was not in a hurry, as he was to loſe nothing by his delay.

Tueſday. This is a very high mountain, ſituated on the northern ſide of the mouth of the river Tajo, which riſing about Madrid, in Spain, and ſoon

ſoon becoming navigable for ſmall craft, empties itſelf, after a long courſe, into the ſea, about four leagues below Liſbon.

On the ſummit of the rock ſtands a hermitage, which is now in the poſſeſſion of an Engliſhman, who was formerly maſter of a veſſel trading to Liſbon; and having changed his religion and his manners, the latter of which, at leaſt, were none of the beſt, betook himſelf to this place, in order to do penance for his ſins. He is now very old, and hath inhabited this hermitage for a great number of years, during which he hath received ſome countenance from the royal family; and particularly from the preſent queen dowager, whoſe piety refuſes no trouble or expence by which ſhe may make a proſelyte; being uſed to ſay, that the ſaving one ſoul would repay all the endeavours of her life.

Here we waited for the tide, and had the pleaſure of ſurveying the face of the country, the ſoil of which, at this ſeaſon, exactly reſembles an old brick kiln, or a field where the green-ſward is pared up and ſet a burning, or rather a ſmoaking, in little heaps, to manure the land. The ſight will, perhaps, of all others, make an Engliſhman proud of, and pleaſed with, his own country, which in verdure excels, I believe, every other country. Another deficiency here, is the want of large trees, nothing above a ſhrub being here to be diſcovered in the circumference of many miles.

At this place we took a pilot on board, who, being the firſt Portugueſe we ſpoke to, gave us an inſtance of that religious obſervance which is paid by all nations to their laws; for, whereas, it is here a capital offence to aſſiſt any perſon in going on ſhore from a foreign veſſel, before it hath been examined, and every perſon in it viewed by the magiſtrates of health, as they are called, this

worthy pilot, for a very ſmall reward, rowed the Portugueſe prieſt to ſhore at this place, beyond which he did not dare to advance; and in venturing whither he had given ſufficient teſtimony of love for his native country.

We did not enter the Tajo till noon, when, after paſſing ſeveral old caſtles, and other buildings, which had greatly the aſpect of ruins, we came to the caſtle of Belliſle, where we had a full proſpect of Liſbon, and were, indeed, within three miles of it.

Here we were ſaluted with a gun, which was a ſignal to paſs no farther, till we had complied with certain ceremonies, which the laws of this country require to be obſerved by all ſhips which arrive in this port. We were obliged then to caſt anchor, and expect the arrival of the officers of the cuſtoms, without whoſe paſſport no ſhip muſt proceed farther than this place.

Here likewiſe we received a viſit from one of thoſe magiſtrates of health before-mentioned. He refuſed to come on board the ſhip, till every perſon in her had been drawn up on deck, and perſonally viewed by him. This occaſioned ſome delay on my part, as it was not the work of a minute to lift me from the cabbin to the deck. The captain thought my particular caſe might have been excuſed from this ceremony; and that it would be abundantly ſufficient if the magiſtrate, who was obliged afterwards to viſit the cabbin, ſurveyed me there. But this did not ſatisfy the magiſtrate's ſtrict regard to his duty. When he was told of my lameneſs, he called out with a voice of authority, 'Let him be 'brought up,' and his orders were preſently complied with. He was, indeed, a perſon of great dignity, as well as of moſt exact fidelity in the diſcharge of his truſt. Both which are the more admirable, as his ſalary is leſs than thirty pounds Engliſh, *per annum*.

Before

Before a ſhip hath been viſited by one of thoſe magiſtrates, no perſon can lawfully go on board her; nor can any on board depart from her. This I ſaw exemplified in a remarkable inſtance. The young lad, whom I have mentioned as one of our paſſengers, was here met by his father, who, on the firſt news of the captain's arrival, came from Liſbon to Belliſle in a boat, being eager to embrace a ſon whom he had not ſeen for many years. But when he came along-ſide our ſhip, neither did the father dare aſcend, nor the ſon deſcend, as the magiſtrate of health had not been yet on board.

Some of my readers will, perhaps, admire the great caution of this policy, ſo nicely calculated for the preſervation of this country from all peſtilential diſtempers. Others will as probably regard it as too exact and formal to be conſtantly perſiſted in, in ſeaſons of the utmoſt ſafety, as well as in times of danger. I will not decide either way; but will content myſelf with obſerving, that I never yet ſaw or heard of a place where a traveller had ſo much trouble given him at his landing as here. The only uſe of which, as all ſuch matters begin and end in form only, is to put it into the power of low and mean fellows to be either rudely officious, or groſsly corrupt, as they ſhall ſee occaſion to prefer the gratification of their pride or of their avarice.

Of this kind, likewiſe, is that power which is lodged with other officers here, of taking away every grain of ſnuff, and every leaf of tobacco, brought hither from other countries, though only for the temporary uſe of the perſon, during his reſidence here. This is executed with great inſolence, and as it is in the hands of the dregs of the people, very ſcandalouſly; for, under pretence of ſearching for tobacco and ſnuff, they are ſure to ſteal whatever they can find, inſomuch, that when they came on board, our ſailors addreſſed us in the Covent-

Covent-Garden language, 'Pray, gentlemen and 'ladies, take care of your ſwords and watches.' Indeed, I never yet ſaw any thing equal to the contempt and hatred which our honeſt tars every moment expreſſed for theſe Portugueſe officers.

At Belliſle lies buried Catharine of Arragon, widow of Prince Arthur, eldeſt ſon of our Henry VII. afterwards married to, and divorced from, Henry VIII. Cloſe by the church where her remains are depoſited, is a large convent of Geronymites, one of the moſt beautiful piles of building in all Portugal.

In the evening at twelve, our ſhip having received previous viſits from all the neceſſary parties, took the advantage of the tide, and having ſailed up to Liſbon, caſt anchor there, in a calm, and a moon-ſhiny night, which made the paſſage incredibly pleaſant to the women, who remained three hours enjoying it, whilſt I was left to the cooler tranſports of enjoying their pleaſures at ſecond-hand; and yet, cooler as they may be, whoever is totally ignorant of ſuch ſenſation, is at the ſame time void of all ideas of friendſhip.

Wedneſday. Liſbon, before which we now lay at anchor, is ſaid to be built on the ſame number of hills with old Rome; but theſe do not all appear to the water; on the contrary, one ſees from thence one vaſt high hill and rock, with buildings ariſing above one another, and that in ſo ſteep and almoſt perpendicular a manner, that they all ſeem to have but one foundation.

As the houſes, convents, churches, &c. are large, and all built with white ſtone, they look very beautiful at a diſtance; but as you approach nearer, and find them to want every kind of ornament, all idea of beauty vaniſhes at once. While I was ſurveying the proſpect of this city, which bears ſo little reſemblance to any other that I have ever ſeen, a re-

a reflexion occurred to me, that if a man was ſuddenly to be removed from Palmyra hither, and ſhould take a view of no other city, in how glorious a light would the ancient architecture appear to him? and what deſolation and deſtruction of arts and ſciences would he conclude had happened between the ſeveral æras of theſe cities?

I had now waited full three hours upon deck, for the return of my man, whom I had ſent to beſpeak a good dinner (a thing which had been long unknown to me) on ſhore, and then to bring a Liſbon chaiſe with him to the ſea-ſhore; but, it ſeems, the impertinence of the providore was not yet brought to a concluſion. At three o'clock, when I was, from emptineſs, rather faint than hungry, my man returned, and told me, there was a new law lately made, that no paſſenger ſhould ſet his foot on ſhore without a ſpecial order from the providore; and that he himſelf would have been ſent to priſon for diſobeying it, had he not been protected as the ſervant of the captain. He informed me likewiſe, that the captain had been very induſtrious to get this order, but that it was then the providore's hour of ſleep, a time when no man, except the king himſelf, durſt diſturb him.

To avoid prolixity, though in a part of my narrative which may be more agreeable to my reader than it was to me, the providore having at laſt finiſhed his nap, diſpatched this abſurd matter of form, and gave me leave to come, or rather to be carried, on ſhore.

What it was that gave the firſt hint of this ſtrange law is not eaſy to gueſs. Poſſibly, in the infancy of their defection, and before their government could be well eſtabliſhed, they were willing to guard againſt the bare poſſibility of ſurpriſe, of the ſucceſs of which bare poſſibility the Trojan horſe will remain for ever on record, as a great and memorable example. Now the Portugueſe have no walls

walls to ſecure them, and a veſſel of two or three hundred tuns will contain a much larger body of troops than could be concealed in that famous machine, though Virgil tells us (ſomewhat hyperbolically, I believe) that it was as big as a mountain.

About ſeven in the evening I got into a chaiſe on ſhore, and was driven through the naſtieſt city in the world, though at the ſame time one of the moſt populous, to a kind of coffee-houſe, which is very pleaſantly ſituated on the brow of a hill, about a mile from the city, and hath a very fine proſpect of the river Tajo from Liſbon to the ſea.

Here we regaled ourſelves with a good ſupper, for which we were as well charged, as if the bill had been made on the Bath road, between Newbury and London.

And now we could joyfully ſay,
Egreſſi optata Troës potiuntur arena.

Therefore in the words of Horace,
——*hic Finis chartæque viæque.*

A FRAGMENT OF A COMMENT ON LORD BOLINGBROKE's ESSAYS.

A

FRAGMENT, &c.

I MUST confeſs myſelf to be one of thoſe who brought with me to the peruſal of the late publiſhed volumes of Lord Bolingbroke, a very high prejudice to the doctrines ſaid to have been eſtabliſhed in them; but at the ſame time, can as truly aſſert, that I had the higheſt, and ſtrongeſt prepoſſeſſion, in favour of the abilities of the author. Such, indeed, was this prepoſſeſſion, that it might, I think, be a ſufficient warrant of a man's candour againſt any prejudice whatever; and it is in the true ſpirit of this candour that I declare, upon the peruſal, I have found my prepoſſeſſions greatly abated, and my prejudices not in the leaſt removed.

Could it therefore be ſuppoſed, that all mankind were alike able to try the cauſe of truth, and to form their judgment on the weight of argument and evidence only, I think there could be no danger in leaving the deciſion of this matter upon his lordſhip's own reaſoning, without any attempt to anſwer him. But when we conſider how very weak the abilities of mankind in general are, in diſquiſitions of this nature; how much weaker they are rendered for this purpoſe by want of due attention; and, laſtly, how apt they are to carry any little partiality which they have preconceived before the examination of a cauſe, up to the final de-

ciſion

ciſion of it in their minds, it may poſſibly be very dangerous to the ſociety to ſuffer ſuch pernicious doctrines to ſtand unobjected to with ſo great a name at their head. Many, I am convinced, will think the authority of this name alone ſufficient to eſtabliſh their own belief upon, without any farther inquiry at all. Many others will imagine very little inquiry neceſſary, and, though they did not intirely acquieſce in taking his word, will be eaſily cajoled with his reaſons, which, however little they may have of ſubſtance, have much of the ſpecious ornaments of wit and language, with all the allurements of novelty both of ſtyle and manner; and, finally, with an appearance, at leaſt, of reading, very ſingular and extenſive.

From which laſt particular may ariſe a third ſort very worthy of receiving ſome aſſiſtance on this occaſion; ſuch, I mean, as have not the leaſt inclination to his lordſhip's doctrines, nor would, indeed, aſſent to them on the authority of any man breathing, who may yet have wanted leiſure or opportunity ſufficient to provide themſelves with a proper fund of knowledge, to give a ready anſwer to various aſſertions which will occur in the works now under conſideration, and which, though they have the worſt of tendencies, have in reality themſelves no better ſupport (and not always ſo good a one) than ſome very weak and ſlender hypotheſes, and are at other times built on the revival of old chimerical principles which have been confuted and exploded long ago.

Now, to all theſe indifferent conſtitutions, we ſhall endeavour to apply our ſeveral antidotes. And here, luckily for us, we are provided with an argument which muſt moſt effectually ſilence thoſe who are the moſt difficult of all others to be uſually dealt with in the way of reaſoning; ſuch are the perſons I mentioned in the firſt claſs, who believe from

from authority only, and who have not yet, with the ſchools, given up the irreſiſtable argument of, he Himſelf ſaid it.

The force of this argument, however, even in the days when it flouriſhed moſt, drew all its ſtrength from a ſuppoſition that, if he himſelf ſaid it, he himſelf believed it: for, if it could have been proved of Ariſtotle that he had aſſerted *pro* and *con*, and had, with the ſame clearneſs, affirmed in one part of his works the ſame thing to be, and in another the ſame things not to be, none of his ſcholars would have known which he believed, and all others would, perhaps, have thought that he had no belief at all in, nor indeed any knowledge of, the matter.

If, therefore, his lordſhip ſhall appear to have made uſe of this duplicity of aſſertion, and that not in one or two, but in many inſtances, may we not draw the like concluſions? Luckily, perhaps, for his lordſhip, we may not be driven to the ſame abſolute degree of uncertainty as muſt have reſulted from the caſe of Ariſtotle, as I have put it above; ſince our noble author himſelf ſeems to have left us a kind of clue, which will ſufficiently lead to the diſcovery of his meaning, and will ſhew us, as often as he is pleaſed to aſſert both ſides of a contradiction, on which ſide we are to believe him.

And here I ſhall premiſe two cautions: one of which I ſhall borrow from the rules eſtabliſhed among writers; the reaſonableneſs of the other I ſhall endeavour to evince, from a rule given us by one of the greateſt lawyers whom this kingdom ever bred.

The firſt is, that of interpreting the ſenſe of an author with the utmoſt candour, ſo as not to charge him with any groſs and invidious meaning, when his words are ſuſceptible of a much more benign and favourable ſenſe.

The ſecond is, the obſervation formed upon the works of judge Littleton, by lord chief juſtice Coke; this is, that whenever that great lawyer is pleaſed to put down two opinions directly contradicting each other, that the latter opinion is always the beſt, and always his own.

To apply theſe to the preſent purpoſe, I firſt of all recommend to the candour of the reader, that whenever he ſhall find two aſſertions directly contrary to each other (and many ſuch we do promiſe to produce to him) one of which directly tends to take away all religion whatever, and the other as directly to eſtabliſh natural religion at leaſt, that he will be ſo kind, ſince it is impoſſible that my lord ſhould have believed both, to imagine that he rather believed the latter; eſpecially as this latter, from its contradicting the apparent purpoſe of the author, appears to have been laſt ſet down; and, conſequently, will have my lord Coke's ſanction in favour of the ſuperior authority.

Laſtly, if it ſhould ever happen that his lordſhip's ſentiments ſhould be more clearly expreſſed in favour of the worſe than of the better doctrine, we will endeavour all that in us lies to explain and illuſtrate thoſe hints; by which, we truſt, he will always aſſiſt a careful and accurate examiner in reſcuing the eſoteric purity of his doctrines from that leſs amiable appearance in which their exoteric garb repreſents them.

In ſhort, we doubt not but to make it appear as a fact beyond all conteſt, that his lordſhip was in jeſt through the whole work which we have undertaken to examine. If an inflamed zealot ſhould, in his warmth, compare ſuch jeſting to his in the Pſalmiſt; or, if a cooler diſpoſition ſhould aſk, how it was poſſible to jeſt with matters of ſuch importance? I confeſs I have no defence againſt the accuſation, nor can give any ſatisfactory anſwer to the queſtion. To this, indeed, I could ſay, and it is

all

all that I could ſay, that my lord Bolingbroke was a great genius, ſent into the world for great and aſtoniſhing purpoſes. That the ends, as well as means, of action in ſuch perſonages, are above the comprehenſion of the vulgar. That his life was one ſcene of the wonderful throughout. That, as the temporal happineſs, the civil liberties and properties of Europe, were the game of his earlieſt youth, there could be no ſport ſo adequate to the entertainment of his advanced age, as the eternal and final happineſs of all mankind. That this is the nobleſt conſervation of character, and might, if perceived in himſelf, poſſibly lead our great genius to ſee the Supreme Being in the light of a dramatic poet, and that part of his works which we inhabit as a drama, 'The ſenſitive inhabitants of our globe,' ſays lord Bolingbroke *, 'like the *dramatis perſonæ*, 'have different characters, and are applied to dif-'ferent purpoſes of action in every ſcene. The 'ſeveral parts of the material world, like the ma-'chines of a theatre, were contrived not for the 'actors, but for the action; and the whole order 'and ſyſtem of the drama would be diſordered and 'ſpoiled, if any alteration was made in either. 'The nature of every creature, his manner of being, 'is adapted to his ſtate here, to the place he is to 'inhabit, and, as we may ſay, to the part he is to 'act.' It hath been, I think, too common with poets to aggrandize their profeſſion with ſuch kind of ſimilies, and I have, ſomewhere in an Engliſh dramatic writer, met with one ſo nearly reſembling the above, that his lordſhip might be almoſt ſuſpected to have read it likewiſe; but ſuch conceits are inconſiſtent with any (even the leaſt) pretence to philoſophy. I recollect, indeed, a ſingle inſtance, in the writings of Jordano Bruno, who was burnt at Rome for hereſy, or, if we believe Scioppius, for

* Vol. V. p. 377.

moſt horrid blaſphemy, the latter end of the fifteenth century; and who, from a want of a due correſpondence between the paſſive powers of matter, and the active power of God, compares the Supreme Being to a fiddler, who hath ſkill to play, but cannot for want of a fiddle. This, it muſt be confeſſed, is going ſomewhat farther; as much farther, in reality, as to deſcend from the ſtage to the orcheſtra. This ludicrous treatment of the Being ſo univerſally (for half a dozen madmen muſt not be allowed to ſtrip any opinion of univerſality) acknowledged to be the cauſe of all things, whilſt it ſounds ſo ill in the grave voice of reaſon, very well becomes the lips of a droll: for novelty, boldneſs, and even abſurdity, as they all tend to ſurpriſe, do often give a poignancy to wit, and ſerve to enhance a jeſt. This affords a ſecond reaſon why we may ſuſpect his lordſhip was not over ſerious in the work before us.

Thirdly, That his lordſhip never thought proper to reviſe this performance, is a very ſtrong argument that he could not be in earneſt either in believing himſelf in his own doctrines, or in endeavouring to imprint ſuch a belief on others. That he did not in fact reviſe his works is manifeſt, from the numerous contradictions that occur in them, and theſe often in the ſame page; ſo that, for the moſt part, they could not eſcape the dulleſt and bluntest degree of penetration; ſurely we cannot impute ſuch repeated overſight to one who hath ſo explicitly aſſerted, * That to be liable to contradict yourſelf, is to be liable to one of the greateſt of human imperfections! An author, in the firſt hurry of ſetting down his thoughts on a ſubject which warms him, may poſſibly, indeed, aſſert two opinions not perfectly reconcilable with each other; nay, there are ſome writers from whom we can

* Eſſays, p. 181.

reaſonably

reaſonably expect no leſs; ſince, as Archbiſhop Tillotſon obſerves, it is hard to contradict truth and nature, without contradicting one's-ſelf. But to expunge ſuch miſtakes is the office of reviſal and correction; and therefore, a work in which theſe miſtakes abound, is very juſtly called an incorrect performance. As this work therefore doth, more than any which I ever ſaw, afford us inſtances of what his lordſhip calls the greateſt human imperfection, charity ſhews me no more candid way of accounting for them than this which I have mentioned.

Laſtly, The very form and title, under which the noble lord had thought proper to introduce his philoſophy into the world, is a very ſtrong evidence of the juſtice of all the foregoing obſervations. We may form, I think, one general precept from the trite ſtory of Archimedes; this is, not to undertake any great work without preconcerting ſuch means as may be adequate to the execution. Now to turn the material word topſy-turvy, is a project ſcarce more difficult in appearance, than to perform the ſame notable exploit in the intellectual. And yet Archimedes might as judiciouſly have fixed his machine *in vacuo*, as his lordſhip hath choſen to argue againſt the beſt eſtabliſhed ſyſtems in the intellectual world, in fragments of eſſays. This method, not to mention the indignity it offers to the ſubject in diſpute, is treating the whole body of the learned with more ſupercilious diſreſpect than nature ſeems yet to have qualified any member of that body to expreſs towards the reſt of his brethren; and which muſt appear to be wonderful, if ſerious, in one who expreſſes ſo modeſt an opinion of his own critical talents; though, as to his modeſty, it muſt indeed be confeſſed to be ſomewhat ſeaſoned with a due mixture of contempt.

But whatever may leſſen the idea of his lordſhip's modeſty, there is only one way to leſſen that of his abſurdity;

abſurdity; this is, to conclude that he was in jeſt: nay, there is one way to ſee this abſurdity in an amiable light; for in ſuch a light will he appear, if we ſuppoſe that he puts on the jack-pudding's coat with the noble view of expoſing and ridiculing thoſe pernicious tenets which have lately been propagated with a zeal more difficult to be accounted for than its ſucceſs.

That ſuch an attempt of expoſing any popular error would always prove victorious, is, I think, extremely probable. My lord Shaftſbury hath been blamed for ſaying, 'That ridicule is one of thoſe 'principal lights or natural mediums by which 'things are to be viewed, in order to a thorough 'recognition; for that truth, it is ſuppoſed, may 'bear all lights *.' Perhaps there may be ſome juſtice in this cenſure, as truth may by ſuch a trial be ſubjected to miſrepreſentation, and become a more eaſy prey to the malice of its enemies; a flagrant inſtance of which we have in the caſe of Socrates.

But whatever objection there may be againſt trying truth by ridicule, there can be none, I apprehend, of making uſe of its aſſiſtance in expelling and baniſhing all falſehood and impoſture, when once fairly convicted, out of ſociety; and as this method is for this purpoſe very unexceptionable, ſo is it generally the moſt efficacious that can be invented; as will appear by ſome examples which will occur in the courſe of our comment on his lordſhip's eſſays, or fragments of eſſays, on which we ſhall now enter without further preface or apology.

* Eſſay on the freedom of wit and humour, part I. ſect. I.

SECT. I.

AND here, as a proof that we are as liable to be corrupted by our books as by our companions, I am in danger of ſetting out with a contradiction. Nay, I muſt yet venture to do this in ſome degree with my eyes open, and muſt lay my defence on a diſtinction rather too nice, and which relies too much on the candour of my reader.

The truth is, our noble author's chief ſtrength lies in that very circumſtance which I have before aſſerted to be of itſelf alone a ſufficient argument of his weakneſs; whereas, on the contrary, his manner affords ſuch a protection to his matter, that if he had deſigned to reſerve to himſelf the ſole privilege of anſwering his own doctrine, he could not have invented a more ingenious or effectual contrivance. It hath been alleged as a good reaſon for not anſwering certain books, that one muſt be obliged firſt to read them; but ſurely we ſhall find few men ſo very charitable, or ſo much our friends, to give them order and method with a view only of complimenting them with an anſwer.

This, however, I attempted, though I own with no great ſucceſs; and that not ſo much, I apprehend, from want of ſufficient matter to make out ſuch colourable ſyſtems as may be expected in ſuch a writer, as from a certain dark, cautious, and looſe manner of expreſſing his ſentiments, which muſt ariſe either from a writer's deſire of not being very eaſily explained, or from an incapacity of making himſelf very clearly underſtood. The difficulties ariſing to the commentator on theſe fragments, will appear to be aſſignable only to the former cauſe: for a very indifferent reader will be ſeldom at a loſs in comprehending his lordſhip in his own works; but

but to transfer his doctrines with their authority (i. e. the *ipse dixit* of the author) into another work, is often very difficult, and without long quotations, too apt to tire the reader, impoſſible. In this light a very fine thought of Mr. Pope's occurs to my memory:

" Tho' index-learning turns no ſtudent pale,
" It holds the eel of ſcience by the tail."

The beſt way then of proceeding with ſo ſlippery a reaſoner; the only way, indeed, in which I ſee any poſſibility of proceeding with him, is firſt to lay down ſome general rules, all of which will hereafter be proved out of his writings, and then purſuing him chapter by chapter, to extract the ſeveral proofs, however ſcattered and diſperſed, which tend to eſtabliſh both parts of the contradictions, which I ſhall now ſet down.

Our noble author ſets out in his firſt ſection, with a ſly inſinuation, that it is poſſible for the graveſt of philoſophers on the graveſt of ſubjects, to advance propoſitions in jeſt. 'It is more probable,' ſays Lord B———, 'and it is more candid to believe, 'that this philoſopher (Deſcartes) was in earneſt, 'than that he was in jeſt, when he advanced this 'propoſition *,' *concerning the immutability and eternity of certain mathematical truths.* I will add, that I believe that an idea of ſuch jeſting had never any footing in a human head, till it firſt found admiſſion into that of this noble lord.

In the ſame ſection his lordſhip proceeds thus: 'The ancients thought matter eternal, and aſſumed 'that the Demiurgus, or Divine Architect, com- 'poſed the frame of the world with materials which 'were ready prepared, and independently on him, 'in a confuſed chaos. Much in the ſame manner 'ſuch metaphyſicians as the learned Cudworth

* Eſſays, p. 4.

'have imagined a ſort of intellectual chaos, a chaos 'of eternal ideas, of incorporeal eſſences, inde-'pendent on God, ſelf-exiſtent, and therefore co-'eval with the Supreme Being, and therefore an-'terior to all other natures. In this intellectual 'chaos God ſees, and man muſt endeavour to ſee, 'the natures, the real eſſences of things; and thus 'the foundations of morality are laid higher than 'the exiſtence of any moral agents, before there 'was any ſyſtem of being from which the obli-'gations to it could reſult, or to which they could 'be applied; juſt as the ſame philoſophers ſuppoſe 'the incorporeal eſſences of white and black to 'have exiſted when there was no ſuch thing as co-'lour, and thoſe of a ſquare and circle, when there 'was neither form nor figure *.'

Here I am afraid the learned peer hath gone no farther for his erudition than the firſt or ſecond pages of Ovid's Metamorphoſis; for could he be recalled from the dead, contrary to his own doctrine, as he hath recalled Deſcartes, and were aſked whom he meant by the ancients, he could not certainly anſwer in general, the ancient philoſophers, for then the whole tribe of atheiſts would be ready to teſtify againſt him. If he ſhould anſwer, that he meant the ancient atheiſts only, and leſs he cannot be ſuppoſed to mean by thoſe who are well-bred enough to ſuppoſe he meant any thing, he will be far from finding even among theſe an univerſal concurrence with his opinion. Thales, the chief of the Grecian ſages, and who is ſaid to have firſt turned his thoughts to phyſiological enquiries, affirmed the independent pre-exiſtence of God from all eternity. The words of Laertius are remarkable, and I will render them with the moſt literal exactneſs in my power. He aſſerted, ſays Laer-

* Ibid. page 6.

tius, 'That God was the oldeſt of all beings, for 'he exiſted *without a previous cauſe* EVEN IN THE 'WAY OF GENERATION; that the world was the 'moſt beautiful of all things; for *it was* CREATED 'BY God, &c.*' This notion of the creation Ariſtotle tells us, was agreeable to the concurrent voice of all antiquity: 'All,' ſays he, 'aſſert the 'creation of the world; but they differ in this, 'that ſome will have the world ſuſceptible of diſſo-'lution, which others deny †.' On this occaſion Ariſtotle names Empedocles and Heraclitus, but, which is ſomewhat remarkable, never mentions Thales. The opinion itſelf is oppoſed by the Stagyrite; and this oppoſition he was forced to maintain, or he muſt have given up the eternity of the world, which he very juſtly aſſerts to be inconſiſtent with any idea of its creation. But he will diſmiſs the ancients from the bar, and ſee how his lordſhip will ſupport his arraignment of the moderns. The charge againſt them is, that they have holden certain ideas, or incorporeal eſſences to be ſelf-exiſtent. Concerning theſe doctrines his lordſhip thus harangues in the very ſame page ‡, Mr. Locke obſerves, how impoſſible 'it is for us to 'conceive certain relations, habitudes, and con-'nections, viſibly included in ſome of our ideas, 'to be ſeparable from them even by infinite power. 'Let us obſerve, on this occaſion, how impoſſi-'ble, or, at leaſt, how extremely difficult it is for 'us to ſeparate the idea of eternity from certain 'moral and mathematical truths, as well as from 'ſuch as are called neceſſary, and are ſelf-evident 'on one hand; and, on the other, how impoſſible 'it is to conceive that truths ſhould exiſt before the

* Diog. Laert. lib. i. ſect. 35. where I ſubmit to the learned reader the conſtruction he will obſerve I have given to the different import of thoſe terms ἀγέννητον and ποίημα; the firſt of which may be conſidered as a qualified, the latter as an abſolute cauſe.

† Ariſtot. de cœlo, lib. i. cap. 10. ‡ Eſſay, page 6.

'things

'things to which they are relative; or particular 'natures and eſſences, before the ſyſtem of univer-'ſal nature, and when there was no being but the 'ſuper-eſſential Being *.'

If I had any inclination to cavil, I might, with truth, aſſert that no ſuch paſſage is to be found in Mr. Locke. His words are: 'In ſome of our 'ideas there are certain relations, habitudes, and 'connections, ſo viſibly included in the nature of 'the ideas themſelves, that we cannot conceive 'them ſeparable from them by any power what-'ſoever *.' It may be anſwered, perhaps, that the violence is done rather to the expreſſion, than to the meaning of this truly great man; but if I ſhould candidly admit that he ſeems, from the immediate context, to mean no leſs (I ſay, ſeems to mean; for, whoever will carefully compare what is ſaid in another part of the ſame book †, of the powers of the mind in forming the archetypes of its complex ideas of mixed modes, may poſſibly think he ſees ſufficient reaſon for reſolving what is here affirmed of arbitrary (not infinite) power, into the human mind only; I may yet reply, that ſuch a violence even to the expreſſion of ſuch a writer on ſuch a ſubject, is by no means void of blame, nor even of ſuſpicion, when it is left without a reference to conceal itſelf in a large folio, where it will not be eaſily detected by any but thoſe who are pretty familiarly acquainted with the original.

But it is time to cloſe this article, which, I think, ſeems to eſtabliſh contradiction the firſt; for under what other term ſhall we range the arguing *pro* and *con* in the ſame breath; for where is the force of the accuſation, or, as a lawyer would call it, the gift of the indictment againſt poor Cudworth? is it not (to uſe my lord's own phraſe) 'the laying the 'foundations of morality higher than the exiſtence

* Eſſay on Human Underſtanding, l. iv. cap. 3. § 29.

† Locke's Eſſay, l. ii. cap. 31.

'of any moral agents?' And what ſays my lord to enforce the charge? Why, truly, he alleges, in defence of the accuſed, that it was impoſſible for him to have done otherwiſe, and produces the authority of Mr. Locke to confirm this impoſſibility.

The generoſity of this ſudden tranſition from accuſer to advocate would convince all men on which ſide his lordſhip had here delivered his real ſentiments, was it not ſomewhat controled by his having concealed from his readers, that the philoſopher, a little afterwards, in the ſame book *, hath endeavoured to prove, and, I think, actually hath proved, that there is no abſurdity in what my lord Bolingbroke objects, provided the doctrine be rightly underſtood, ſo as not to eſtabliſh innate principles. That the actual exiſtence of the ſubjects of mathematical or moral ideas is not in the leaſt neceſſary to give us a ſufficient evidence of the neceſſity of thoſe ideas; and that, in the diſputes of the mathematician as well as of the moraliſt, the exiſtence of the ſubject matter is rarely called in queſtion; nor is it more neceſſary to their demonſtrations and concluſions, than it would be to prove the truth of Tully's Offices, to ſhew that there was ſome man who lived up to that idea of perfect goodneſs, of which Tully hath given us a pattern. There is ſomewhat very myſterious in all this; but we have not promiſed to explain contradictions farther than by ſhewing to which ſide his lordſhip's authority ſeems to incline. And ſurely it is better to decide in favour of poſſibility, and to lay the foundations of morality too high, than to give it no foundation at all.

Deſunt cætera.

* Locke's Eſſays, lib. iv. cap. 9.

AN

ENQUIRY

Into the CAUSES of the late

INCREASE of ROBBERS, &c.

WITH SOME

PROPOSALS for Remedying this GROWING EVIL.

IN WHICH

The preſent reigning VICES are impartially expoſed; and the Laws that relate to the Proviſion for the POOR, and to the Puniſhment of FELONS are largely and freely examined.

Non jam ſunt mediocres hominum libidines, non humanæ audaciæ ac tolerandæ. Nihil cogitant niſi cædem, niſi incendia, niſi rapinas.

CIC. in Catil. 2da.

TO THE

RIGHT HONOURABLE

PHILIP Lord HARDWICK,

Lord High Chancellor of *Great Britain.*

MY LORD,

AS the reformation of any part of our civil polity requires as much the knowledge of the ſtateſman as of the lawyer, the following ſheets are, with the ſtricteſt propriety, addreſſed to a perſon of the higheſt eminence in both theſe capacities.

The ſubject of this treatiſe cannot be thought unworthy of ſuch a protection, becauſe it touches only thoſe evils which have ariſen in the lower branches of our conſtitution. This conſideration will account for their having hitherto eſcaped your lordſhip's notice; and that alone will account for their having ſo long prevailed; but your lordſhip will not, for this reaſon, think it below your regard; ſince, however ignoble the parts may be in which the diſeaſe is firſt engendered, it will in time be ſure to affect the whole body.

The ſubject, indeed, is of ſuch importance, that we may truly apply to it thoſe words of *Cicero*, in his firſt book of laws: *Ad Reipublicæ formandas et ſtabiliendas vires, et ad ſanandos Populos omnis pergit Oratio.* How far

I have been able to ſucceed in the execution, muſt be ſubmitted to your lordſhip's candour. I hope I have no immodeſt opinion of my own abilities; but, in truth, I have much leſs confidence in my authority. Indeed, the higheſt authority is neceſſary to any degree of ſucceſs in an attempt of this kind. Permit me, therefore, my lord, to fly to the protection of the higheſt which doth now exiſt, or which perhaps ever did exiſt, in this kingdom.

This great ſanction is, I am convinced, always ready to ſupport what really tends to the public utility: if I fail, therefore, of obtaining the honour of it, I ſhall be fully ſatisfied that I do not deſerve it, and ſhall ſit down contented with the merit of a good intent; for ſurely there is ſome praiſe due to the bare deſign of doing a ſervice to the public. Nor can my enemies, I think, deny that I am entirely diſintereſted in my endeavour, unleſs they ſhould diſcover the gratification which my ambition finds in the opportunity of this addreſs.

I am, with the moſt profound reſpect,

MY LORD,

Your lordſhip's moſt obedient,

moſt devoted humble ſervant,

HENRY FIELDING.

PREFACE.

THERE is nothing ſo much talked of, and ſo little underſtood in this country, as the *Conſtitution*. It is a word in the mouth of every man; and yet when we come to diſcourſe of the matter, there is no ſubject on which our ideas are more confuſed and perplexed. Some, when they ſpeak of the conſtitution, confine their notions to the law; others to the legiſlature; others, again, to the governing or executive part; and many there are, who jumble all theſe together in one idea. One error, however, is common to them all; for all ſeem to have the conception of ſomething uniform and permanent, as if the conſtitution of England partook rather of the nature of the ſoil than of the climate, and was as fixed and conſtant as the former, not as changing and variable as the latter.

Now in this word, *The Conſtitution*, are included the original and fundamental law of the kingdom, from whence all powers are derived, and by which they are circumſcribed; all legiſlative and executive authority; all thoſe municipal proviſions which are commonly called *The Laws*; and, laſtly, the cuſtoms, manners, and habits of the people. Theſe, joined together, do, I apprehend, form the political, as the ſeveral members of the body, the animal œconomy, with the humours and habit, compoſe that which is called the natural conſtitution.

The Greek philoſophy will, perhaps, help us to a better idea; for neither will the ſeveral conſtituent parts, nor the contexture of the whole, give an adequate notion of the word. By the *Conſtitution* is, indeed, rather meant ſomething which reſults from the order and diſpoſition of the whole; ſomething reſembling that harmony for which the *Theban* in *Plato's Phædo* contends; which he calls ἀόρατον τι καὶ ἀσώματον, *ſomething inviſible and incorporeal.* For many

many of the Greeks imagined the ſoul to reſult from the κρασις or compoſition of the parts of the body; when theſe were properly tempered together, as harmony doth from the proper compoſition of the ſeveral parts in a well-tuned muſical inſtrument: In the ſame manner, from the diſpoſition of the ſeveral parts in a ſtate, ariſes that which we call the *Conſtitution.*

In this diſpoſition the laws have ſo conſiderable a ſhare, that, as no man can perfectly underſtand the whole, without knowing the parts of which it is compoſed, it follows, that, to have a juſt notion of our conſtitution, without a competent knowledge of the laws, is impoſſible. Without this, the reading over our hiſtorians, may afford amuſement, but will very little inſtruct us in the true eſſentials of our conſtitution. Nor will this knowledge alone ſerve our purpoſe. The mere lawyer, however ſkilful in his profeſſion, who is not verſed in the genius, manners, and habits of the people, makes but a wretched politician. Hence the hiſtorian, who is ignorant of our law, and the lawyer, who is ignorant of our hiſtory, have agreed in that common error, remarked above, of conſidering our conſtitution as ſomething fixed and permanent; for the exterior form of government (however the people are changed) ſtill, in a great degree, remains what it was; and the ſame, notwithſtanding all its alterations, may be ſaid of the law.

To explain this a little farther: From the original of the lower houſe of parliament to this day, the ſupreme power hath been veſted in the king and the two houſes of parliament. Theſe two houſes have, each at different times, carried very different weights in the balance, and yet the form of government remained ſtill one and the ſame; ſo hath it happened to the law; the ſame courts of juſtice, the ſame form of trials, &c. have preſerved the notion of identity, though, in real truth, the preſent governing

ing powers, and the preſent legal proviſions, bear ſo little reſemblance to thoſe of our anceſtors in the reign of king John, or indeed in later times, that could any lawyer or ſtateſman of thoſe days be recalled to life, he would make, I believe, a very indifferent figure in Weſtminſter-hall, or in any of the parts there adjacent.

To perceive the alterations in our conſtitution doth, in fact, require a pretty juſt knowledge both of the people and of the laws; for either of theſe may be greatly changed, without producing any immediate effect on the other. The alterations in the great wheels of ſtate abovementioned, which are ſo viſible in our hiſtorians, are not noticed in our laws, as very few of the great changes in the law have fallen under the eye of our hiſtorians.

Many of both kinds have appeared in our conſtitution; but I ſhall at preſent confine myſelf to one only, as being that which principally relates to the ſubject of the following treatiſe.

If the conſtitution, as I have above aſſerted, be the reſult of the diſpoſition of the ſeveral parts beforementioned, it follows, that this diſpoſition can never be altered, without producing a proportional change in the conſtitution. 'If the ſoul,' ſays Simmias in *Plato*, 'be a harmony reſulting from 'the diſpoſition of the corporeal parts, it follows, 'that when this diſpoſition is confounded, and the 'body is torn by diſeaſes or other evils, the ſoul im-'mediately (whatever be her divinity) muſt periſh.' This will be apparent, if we caſt our eyes a moment towards the animal œconomy; and it is no leſs true in the political.

The cuſtoms, manners, and habits of the people, do, as I have ſaid, form one part of the political conſtitution; if theſe are altered therefore, this muſt be changed likewiſe; and here, as in the natural body, the diſorder of any part will, in its conſequence, affect the whole.

One

One known diviſion of the people in this nation is into the nobility, the gentry, and the commonalty. What alterations have happened among the two former of theſe, I ſhall not at preſent enquire; but that the laſt, in their cuſtoms, manners, and habits, are greatly changed from what they were, I think to make appear.

If we look into the earlieſt ages, we ſhall find the condition of this third part to have been very low and mean. The higheſt order of this rank, before the conqueſt, were thoſe tenants in ſocage; who held their lands by the ſervice of the plough; who, as Lyttleton tells us, 'were to come with their 'plough for certain days in the year, to plough and 'ſow the demeſne of the lords;' as the villains, ſaith the ſame author, 'were to carry and recarry 'the dung of his lord, ſpread it upon his land, and to 'perform ſuch like ſervices.'

This latter was rightly accounted a ſlaviſh tenure. The villains were indeed conſidered in law as a kind of chattle belonging to their maſters; for though theſe had not the power of life and death over them, nor even of maiming them with impunity, yet theſe villains had not even the capacity of purchaſing lands or goods; but the lord, on ſuch purchaſe, might enter into the one, and ſeize the other for his own uſe. And as for the land which they held in villenage, though lord Coke ſays, it was not only held at the will of the lord, but according to the cuſtom of the manor; yet, in ancient times, if the lord ejected them, they were manifeſtly without remedy.

And as to the former, though they were accounted freemen, yet were they obliged to ſwear fealty to their lord; and though Mr. Rapin be miſtaken, when he ſays they could not alienate the land (for before the ſtatute of *Magna Charta*, chap. 32. they could have given or ſold the whole, but without any alteration of the tenure) yet was the eſtate of theſe

theſe but very mean. 'Though they are called 'freemen,' ſays lord Coke, 'yet they ploughed, 'harrowed, reaped, and mowed, &c. for the lord; and Bracton, *Dicuntur Socmanni eo quod deputati ſunt tantummodo ad culturam.*

Beſides ſuch as were bound by their tenures to the ſervice of agriculture, the number of freemen below the degree of gentry, and who got their livelihood in the mercantile or mechanical way, was very inconſiderable. As to the ſervants, they were chiefly bound by tenure, and thoſe of the lower ſort differed very little from ſlaves.

That this eſtate of the commonalty is greatly changed, is apparent; and to this alteration many cauſes in ſubſequent ages have contributed.

Firſt, The oath of fealty, or fidelity, which of old time was adminiſtered with great ceremony, became afterwards to be omitted; and though this fealty ſtill remained incident to every ſocage tenure, yet the omiſſion of the form was not without its conſequences; for, as lord Coke ſays, ſpeaking of homage, *Prudent antiquity did, for the more ſolemnity and better memory and obſervation of that which is to be done, expreſs ſubſtances under ceremonies.*

2*dly*, Whereas in the ancient tenures the principal reſervation was of perſonal ſervices from the inferior tenants, the rent being generally trifling, ſuch as hens, capons, roſes, ſpurs, hawks, &c. afterwards the avarice or neceſſity of the lords incited them to convert theſe for the moſt part into money, which tended greatly to weaken the power of the lord, and to raiſe the freedom and independency of the tenant.

3*dly*, The diſmembering manors by leaſes for years, as it flowed from the ſame ſources, ſo it produced the ſame effects. Theſe were probably very rare before the reign of Edward I, at which time the ſtatute of Glocester ſecured the eſtate of this tenant.

4*thly*, The

4*thly*, The eſtate of the villain or copyhold ſeems clearly, as I have ſaid, to have originally been holden only at the will of the lord; but the law was afterwards altered, and in the reign of Edward IV, ſome of the beſt judges were of opinion, that if the copyholder was unlawfully ejected by his lord, he ſhould have an action of treſpaſs againſt him at the common law.

From this time the eſtate of the copyholder (which, as Briton tells us, was formerly a baſe tenure) began to grow into repute, and, though ſtill diſtinguiſhed in ſome privileges from a freehold, became the poſſeſſion of many opulent and powerful perſons.

By theſe and ſuch like means the commonalty, by degrees, ſhook off their vaſſalage, and became more and more independent on their ſuperiors. Even ſervants, in proceſs of time, acquired a ſtate of freedom and independency, unknown to this rank in any other nation; and which, as the law now ſtands, is inconſiſtent with a ſervile condition.

But nothing hath wrought ſuch an alteration in this order of people, as the introduction of trade. This hath indeed given a new face to the whole nation, hath in a great meaſure ſubverted the former ſtate of affairs, and hath almoſt totally changed the manners, cuſtoms, and habits of the people, more eſpecially of the lower ſort. The narrowneſs of their fortune is changed into wealth; the ſimplicity of their manners into craft; their frugality into luxury; their humility into pride, and their ſubjection into equality.

The philoſopher, perhaps, will think this a bad exchange, and may be inclined to cry out with the poet,

——*Sævior armis*
Luxuria incubuit.——
Nullum crimen abeſt, facinuſque libidinis, ex quo
Paupertas Romana perît.

Again,

Again,

Prima peregrinos obſcœna pecunia mores
Intulit, et turpi fregerunt ſæcula luxu
Divitiæ molles——

But the politician finds many emoluments to compenſate all the moral evils introduced by trade, by which the grandeur and power of the nation is carried to a pitch that it could never otherwiſe have reached; arts and ſciences are improved, and human life is embelliſhed with every ornament, and furniſhed with every comfort which it is capable of taſting.

In all theſe aſſertions he is right; but ſurely he forgets himſelf a little, when he joins the philoſopher in lamenting the introduction of luxury as a caſual evil; for as riches are the *certain* conſequence of trade, ſo is luxury the no leſs *certain* conſequence of riches; nay, trade and luxury do indeed ſupport each other; and this latter, in its turn, becomes as uſeful to trade, as trade had been before to the ſupport of luxury.

To prevent this conſequence therefore of a flouriſhing commerce is totally to change the nature of things, and to ſeparate the effect from the cauſe. A matter as impoſſible in the political body as in the natural. Vices and diſeaſes, with like phyſical neceſſity, ariſe from certain habits in both; and to reſtrain and palliate the evil conſequences, is all that lies within the reach of art. How far it is the buſineſs of the politician to interfere in the caſe of luxury, we have attempted to ſhew in the following treatiſe.

Now, to conceive that ſo great a change as this in the people ſhould produce no change in the conſtitution, is to diſcover, I think, as great ignorance as would appear in the phyſician, who ſhould aſſert, that the whole ſtate of the blood may be entirely altered from poor to rich, from cool to inflamed,

without producing any alteration in the conſtitution of the man.

To put this in the cleareſt light; there appear to me to be four ſorts of political power; that of bodily ſtrength, that of the mind, the power of the purſe, and the power of the ſword. Under the ſecond of theſe diviſions may be ranged all the art of the legiſlator and politician, all the power of laws and government. Theſe do conſtitute the civil power; and a ſtate may then be ſaid to be in good order, when all the other powers are ſubſervient to this; when they own its ſuperior excellence and energy, pay it a ready obedience, and all unite in ſupport of its rule.

But ſo far are theſe powers from paying ſuch voluntary ſubmiſſion, that they are all extremely apt to rebel, and to aſſert their own ſuperiority; but none is more rebellious in its nature, or more difficult to be governed, than that of the purſe or money. Self-opinion, arrogance, inſolence, and impatience of rule, are its almoſt inſeparable companions.

Now if theſe aſſertions are true, what an immenſe acceſſion of this power hath accrued to the commonalty by the increaſe of trade? for though the other orders have acquired an addition by the ſame means, yet this is not in the ſame proportion, as every reader, who will revolve the propoſition but a moment in his own mind, muſt be ſatisfied.

And what may we hence conclude? is that civil power, which was adapted to the government of this order of people in that ſtate in which they were at the conqueſt, capable of ruling them in their preſent ſituation? hath this civil power kept equal pace with them in the increaſe of its force, or hath it not rather, by the remiſſneſs of the magiſtrate, loſt much of its ancient energy? where is now that power of the ſheriff, which could formerly awaken and arm a whole county in an inſtant?

ſtant? where is that *poſſe comitatus*, which attended at his beck? what is become of the conſtitutions of Alfred, which the reader will find ſet forth at large in the following treatiſe? what of the ancient conſervators of the peace? have the juſtices, on whom this whole power devolves, an authority ſufficient for the purpoſe? in ſome counties, perhaps, you may find an overgrown tyrant, who lords it over his neighbours and tenants with deſpotic ſway, and who is as regardleſs of the law as he is ignorant of it; but as to the magiſtrate of a leſs fortune, and more knowledge, every riotous independent butcher or baker, with two or three thouſand pounds in his pocket, laughs at his power, and every pettyfogger makes him tremble.

It is a common and popular complaint, that the juſtices of peace have already too much power. Indeed, a very little is too much, if it be abuſed; but, in truth, this complaint proceeds from a miſtake of buſineſs for power: The buſineſs of the juſtice is indeed multiplied by a great number of ſtatutes; but I know not of any (the riot act perhaps excepted) which hath at all enlarged his power. And what the force of that act is, and how able the magiſtrate is, by means of the civil power alone, to execute it in any popular commotion, I have myſelf experienced. But when a mob of chairmen or ſervants, or a gang of thieves and ſharpers, are almoſt too big for the civil authority to ſuppreſs, what muſt be the caſe in a ſeditious tumult, or general riot of the people?

From what hath been ſaid, I may, I think, conclude, that the conſtitution of this country is altered from its ancient ſtate.

2*dly*, That the power of the commonalty hath received an immenſe addition; and that the civil power having not increaſed, but decreaſed, in the ſame proportion, is not able to govern them.

What may and muſt be the conſequences of this, as well as what remedy can be applied to it, I leave to the conſideration of others: I have proceeded far enough already on the ſubject, to draw ſufficient ill-will on myſelf, from unmeaning or ill-meaning people, who either do not foreſee the miſchievous tendency of a total relaxation of government, or who have ſome private wicked purpoſe to effect from public confuſion.

In plain truth, the principal deſign of this whole work, is to rouſe the CIVIL power from its preſent lethargic ſtate. A deſign, which alike oppoſes thoſe wild notions of liberty that are inconſiſtent with all government, and thoſe pernicious ſchemes of government, which are deſtructive of true liberty. However contrary indeed theſe principles may ſeem to each other, they have both the ſame common intereſt; or, rather, the former are the wretched tools of the latter; for anarchy is almoſt ſure to end in ſome kind of tyranny.

Dr. Middleton, in his life of Cicero, hath a fine obſervation to my preſent purpoſe, with which I will conclude this Preface.

'From the railleries of the Romans (ſays he) 'on the *barbarity and miſery of our iſland*, one cannot 'help reflecting on the ſurpriſing fate and revolu- 'tions of kingdoms; how Rome, once the miſtreſs 'of the world, the ſeat of arts, empire, and glory, 'now lies ſunk in ſloth, ignorance, and poverty; 'enſlaved to the moſt cruel, as well as to the moſt 'contemptible of tyrants, *ſuperſtition* and *religious impoſture:* while this remote country, anciently 'the jeſt and contempt of *the polite Romans*, is be- 'come the happy ſeat of liberty, plenty, and letters; 'flouriſhing in all the arts and refinements of civil 'life; yet running perhaps the ſame courſe, which 'Rome itſelf had run before it; from virtuous in- 'duſtry to wealth; from wealth to luxury; from

'luxury to an impatience of diſcipline and corrup-
'tion of morals; till, by a total degeneracy and
'loſs of virtue, being grown ripe for deſtruction,
'it falls a prey at laſt to ſome hardy oppreſſor, and,
'with the loſs of liberty, loſing every thing elſe that
'is valuable, ſinks gradually again into its original
'barbariſm.'

AN

ENQUIRY

INTO THE

CAUSES of the late INCREASE of ROBBERS, &c.

INTRODUCTION.

THE great increaſe of robberies within theſe few years, is an evil which to me appears to deſerve ſome attention; and the rather as it ſeems (though already become ſo flagrant) not yet to have arrived to that height of which it is capable, and which it is likely to attain; for diſeaſes in the political, as in the natural body, ſeldom fail going on to their criſis, eſpecially when nouriſhed and encouraged by faults in the conſtitution. In fact, I make no doubt, but that the ſtreets of this town, and the roads leading to it, will ſhortly be impaſſable without the utmoſt hazard; nor are we threatened with ſeeing leſs dangerous gangs of rogues among us, than thoſe which the Italians call the Banditti.

Should this ever happen to be the caſe, we ſhall have ſufficient reaſon to lament that remiſſneſs by which this evil was ſuffered to grow to ſo great a height. All diſtempers, if I may once more reſume the alluſion, the ſooner they are oppoſed, admit of the eaſier and the ſafer cure. The great difficulty of extirpating deſperate gangs of robbers, when once collected into a body, appears from our own hiſtory in former times. France hath given us a later ex-

ample in the long reign of Cartouche, and his Banditti; and this under an abſolute monarchy, which affords much more ſpeedy and efficacious remedies againſt theſe political diſorders, than can be adminiſtered in a free ſtate, whoſe forms of correction are extremely ſlow and incertain, and whoſe puniſhments are the mildeſt and the moſt void of terror of any other in the known world.

For my own part, I cannot help regarding theſe depredations in a moſt ſerious light; nor can I help wondering that a nation ſo jealous of her liberties, that from the ſlighteſt cauſe, and often without any cauſe at all, we are always murmuring at our ſuperiors, ſhould tamely and quietly ſupport the invaſion of her properties by a few of the loweſt and vileſt among us: doth not this ſituation in reality level us with the moſt enſlaved countries? if I am to be aſſaulted, and pillaged, and plundered; if I can neither ſleep in my own houſe, nor walk the ſtreets, nor travel in ſafety; is not my condition almoſt equally bad whether a licenced or unlicenced rogue, a dragoon or a robber, be the perſon who aſſaults and plunders me? the only difference which I can perceive is, that the latter evil appears to be more eaſy to remove.

If this be, as I clearly think it is, the caſe, ſurely there are few matters of more general concern than to put an immediate end to theſe outrages, which are already become ſo notorious, and which, as I obſerved, do ſeem to threaten us with ſuch a dangerous increaſe. What indeed may not the public apprehend, when they are informed as an unqueſtionable fact, that there are at this time a great gang of rogues, whoſe number falls little ſhort of a hundred, who are incorporated in one body, have officers and a treaſury; and have reduced theft and robbery into a regular ſyſtem. There are of this ſociety of men who appear in all diſguiſes, and mix in moſt companies. Nor are they better verſed in

every

every art of cheating, thieving, and robbing, than they are armed with every method of evading the law, if they ſhould ever be diſcovered, and an attempt made to bring them to juſtice. Here, if they fail in reſcuing the priſoner, or (which ſeldom happens) in bribing or deterring the proſecutor, they have for their laſt reſource ſome rotten members of the law to forge a defence for them, and a great number of falſe witneſſes ready to ſupport it.

Having ſeen the moſt convincing proofs of all this, I cannot help thinking it high time to put ſome ſtop to the further progreſs of ſuch impudent and audacious inſults, not only on the properties of the ſubject, but on the national juſtice, and on the laws themſelves. The means of accompliſhing this (the beſt which ſuggeſt themſelves to me) I ſhall ſubmit to the public conſideration, after having firſt enquired into the cauſes of the preſent growth of this evil, and whence we have great reaſon to apprehend its further increaſe. Some of theſe I am too well verſed in the affairs of this world to expect to ſee removed; but there are others, which, without being over ſanguine, we may hope to remedy; and thus perhaps one ill conſequence, at leaſt, of the more ſtubborn political diſeaſes may ceaſe.

SECT. I.

Of too frequent and expenſive diverſions among the lower kind of people.

FIRST then, I think, that the vaſt torrent of luxury, which of late years hath poured itſelf into this nation, hath greatly contributed to produce, among many others, the miſchief I here complain of. I aim not here to ſatirize the great, among whom luxury is probably rather a moral than a political evil. But vices no more than diſeaſes will ſtop with them; for bad habits are as infectious by

example, as the plague itſelf by contact. In free countries, at leaſt, it is a branch of liberty claimed by the people to be as wicked and as profligate as their ſuperiors. Thus while the nobleman will emulate the grandeur of a prince; and the gentleman will aſpire to the proper ſtate of the nobleman, the tradeſman ſteps from behind his counter into the vacant place of the gentleman. Nor doth the confuſion end here; it reaches the very dregs of the people, who aſpiring ſtill to a degree beyond that which belongs to them, and not being able by the fruits of honeſt labour to ſupport the ſtate which they affect, they diſdain the wages to which their induſtry would entitle them; and abandoning themſelves to idleneſs, the more ſimple and poor-ſpirited betake themſelves to a ſtate of ſtarving and beggary, while thoſe of more art and courage become thieves, ſharpers, and robbers.

Could luxury be confined to the palaces of the great, the ſociety would not, perhaps, be much affected with it; at leaſt, the miſchiefs, which I am now intending to obviate, can never be the conſequence. For though, perhaps, there is not more of real virtue in the higher ſtate, yet the ſenſe of honour is there more general and prevalent. But there is a much ſtronger reaſon. The means bear no probable proportion to the end; for the loſs of thouſands, or of a great eſtate, is not to be relieved or ſupplied by any means of common theft or robbery.—With regard to ſuch evils therefore, the legiſlature might be juſtified in leaving the puniſhment as well as the pernicious conſequence, to end in the miſery, diſtreſs, and ſometimes utter ruin of a private family. But when this vice deſcends downward to the tradeſman, the mechanic, and the labourer, it is certain to engender many political miſchiefs, and among the reſt it is moſt evidently the parent of theft and robbery, to which not only the motive of want but of ſhame conduces; for there is no greater degree of ſhame than

than the tradeſman generally feels at the firſt inability to make his regular payments; nor is there any difficulty which he would not undergo to avoid it. Here then the highway promiſes, and hath, I doubt not, often given relief. Nay, I remember very lately a highwayman who confeſſed ſeveral robberies before me, his motive to which, he aſſured me (and ſo it appeared) was to pay a bill that was ſhortly to become due. In this caſe therefore the public becomes intereſted, and conſequently the legiſlature is obliged to interpoſe.

To give a final blow to luxury by any general prohibition, if it would be adviſable, is by no means poſſible. To ſay the truth, bad habits in the body politic, eſpecially if of any duration, are ſeldom to be wholly eradicated. Palliatives alone are to be applied; and theſe too in a free conſtitution muſt be of the gentleſt kind, and as much as poſſible adapted to the taſte and genius of the people.

The gentleſt method which I know, and at the ſame time perhaps one of the moſt effectual, of ſtopping the progreſs of vice, is by removing the temptation. Now the two great motives to luxury, in the mind of man, are vanity and voluptuouſneſs. The former of theſe operates but little in this regard with the lower order of people. I do not mean that they have leſs of this paſſion than their betters; but the apparent impoſſibility of gratifying it this way deters them, and diverts at leaſt this paſſion into another channel; for we find it puts them rather on vying with each other in the reputation of wealth, than in the outward appearance of ſhew and grandeur. Voluptuouſneſs or the love of pleaſure is that alone which leads them into luxury. Here then the temptation is with all poſſible care to be withdrawn from them.

Now what greater temptation can there be to voluptuouſneſs, than a place where every ſenſe and appetite of which it is compounded, are fed and delighted;

lighted; where the eyes are feaſted with ſhow, and the ears with muſic, and where gluttony and drunkenneſs are allured by every kind of dainty; nay, where the fineſt women are expoſed to view, and where the meaneſt perſon who can dreſs himſelf clean, may in ſome degree mix with his betters, and thus perhaps ſatisfy his vanity as well as his love of pleaſure?

It may poſſibly be ſaid that theſe diverſions are cheap: I anſwer, that is one objection I have to them; was the price as high as that of a ridotto, or an opera, it would, like theſe diverſions, be confined to the higher people only; beſides, the cheapneſs is really a deluſion. Unthinking men are often deceived into expence, as I once knew an honeſt gentleman, who carried his wife and two daughters to a maſquerade, being told that he could have four tickets for four guineas; but found afterwards, that in dreſſes, maſques, chairs, &c. the night's entertainment coſt him almoſt twelve. I am convinced that many thouſands of honeſt tradeſmen have found their expences exceed their computation in a much greater proportion. And the ſum of ſeven or eight ſhillings (which is a very moderate allowance for the entertainment of the ſmalleſt family) repeated once or twice a week through a ſummer, will make too large a deduction from the reaſonable profits of any low mechanic.

Beſides the actual expence in attending theſe places of pleaſure, the loſs of time and neglect of buſineſs are conſequences which the inferior tradeſman can by no means ſupport. To be born for no other purpoſe than to conſume the fruits of the earth is the privilege (if it may be really called a privilege) of very few. The greater part of mankind muſt ſweat hard to produce them, or ſociety will no longer anſwer the purpoſes for which it was ordained. *Six days ſhalt thou labour*, was the poſitive command of God in his own republic. A ſeverity, however, which the divine wiſdom was pleaſed ſomewhat to relax; and

and appointed certain times of reſt and recreation for his people. Such were the feaſt of the unleavened bread, the feaſt of the weeks, and the feaſt of the tabernacles. On which occaſions it is written, *Thou ſhalt rejoice before the Lord thy God, thou, and thy ſon, and thy daughter, and thy ſervant, and thy maid, and the levite that is within thy gates, and the ſtranger, and the fatherleſs, and the widow* [*a*].

All other nations have imitated this divine inſtitution. It is true, among the Greeks, ariſing from the nature of their ſuperſtition, there were many feſtivals; yet ſcarce any of theſe were univerſal, and few attended with any other than religious ceremonies [*b*]. The Roman calendar is thinner ſtrewed with theſe ſeaſons of idleneſs. Indeed there ſeems to have been one only kind of univerſal ſport and revelling amongſt them, which they called the *Saturnalia*, when much too great indulgence was given to all kinds of licentiouſneſs. Public ſcenes of rendezvous they had none. As to the Grecian women, it is well known they were almoſt intirely confined to their own houſes; where the very entertainment of their fineſt ladies was only works of the finer ſort. And the Romans by the Orchian law, which was made among many others for the ſuppreſſion of luxury, and was publiſhed in the third year from Cato's cenſorſhip, thought proper to limit the number of perſons who were to aſſemble even at any private feaſt [*c*]. Nay, the exhibitions of the theatre were ſuffered only at particular ſeaſons, and on holydays.

[*a*] Exod. chap. xxxiv. Deut. chap. xvi.

[*b*] The gods, ſays Plato, pitying the laborious condition to which men were born, appointed holy rites to themſelves, as ſeaſons of reſt to men; and gave them the Muſes, with Apollo their leader, and Bacchus, to aſſiſt in the celebrations, &c. De Leg. l. ii. p. 787. edit. Ficini.

[*c*] Macrob. Saturnal. lib. ii. c. xiii. Note, This RIOT ACT paſſed in one of the freeſt ages of the Roman republic.

Nor

Nor are our own laws ſilent on this head, with regard at leaſt to the loweſt ſort of people, whoſe diverſions have been confined to certain ſtated times. Mr. Pulton [*d*], ſpeaking of thoſe games and aſſemblies of the people which are lawful, ſays, that they are lawful at certain places and ſeaſons of the year, allowed by old and ancient cuſtoms. The ſtatute of Henry VIII. [*e*] goes farther, and expreſsly enacts, that no manner of artificer or craftſman, of any handicraft or occupation, huſbandman, apprentice, &c. ſhall play at the tables, tennis, dice, cards, bowls, &c. out of Chriſtmas, under the penalty of 20*s*.

Thus we find that by divine as well as human inſtitution, as well by our own laws as thoſe of other countries, the diverſions of the people have been limited and reſtrained to certain ſeaſons: Under which limitations, Seneca calls theſe diverſions the neceſſary temperament of labour. 'Some remiſſion, 'ſays he, muſt be given to our minds, which will 'ſpring up the better, and more briſk from reſt. 'It is with the mind as with a fruitful field, whoſe 'fertility will be exhauſted if we give it no inter-'miſſion. The ſame will accrue to the mind by 'inceſſant labours, whereas both from gentle remiſ-'ſion will acquire ſtrength. From conſtant labour 'ariſes a certain dulneſs and languor of the ſpirits; 'nor would men with ſuch eagerneſs affect them, if 'ſport or merriment had not a certain natural 'ſweetneſs inherent in themſelves; the frequent uſe 'of which however will deſtroy all gravity and force 'in our minds. Sleep is neceſſary to our refreſh-'ment, but if this be continued night and day, it 'will become death. There is a great difference 'between the remiſſion of any thing and its diſ-'ſolution. Lawgivers, therefore, inſtituted certain 'holydays, that the people might be compelled by

[*d*] De Pace, fol. 25. [*e*] 33 Hen. VIII. c. ix.

'law

'law to merriment, interpoſing this as a neceſſary 'temperament to their labours [*f*].'

Thus the Greek and Latin philoſopher, though they derive the inſtitution differently, the one alleging a divine and the other a human original, both agree that a neceſſary relaxation from labour was the only end for which diverſion was invented and allowed to the people. This inſtitution, as the former of theſe great writers tells us, was groſsly perverted even in his time; but ſurely neither then, nor in any age or nation, until now, was this perverſion carried to ſo ſcandalous an exceſs as it is at preſent in this kingdom, and eſpecially in and near the metropolis, where the places of pleaſure are almoſt become numberleſs; for, beſides thoſe great ſcenes of rendezvous, where the nobleman and his tailor, the lady of quality and her tirewoman, meet together and form one common aſſembly, what an immenſe variety of places have this town and its neighbourhood ſet apart for the amuſement of the loweſt order of the people; and where, the maſter of the houſe, or wells, or garden, may be ſaid to angle only in the kennels, where, baiting with the vileſt materials, he catches only the thoughtleſs and taſteleſs rabble? and theſe are carried on, not on a ſingle day, or in a ſingle week; but all of them during half, and ſome during the whole year.

If a computation was made of the money expended in theſe temples of idleneſs by the artificer, the handicraft, the apprentice, and even the common labourer, the ſum would appear exceſſive; but without putting myſelf to that trouble, I believe the reader will permit me to conclude that it is much greater than ſuch perſons can or ought to afford; eſpecially as idleneſs, its neceſſary attendant, adds greatly to the debtor's ſide in the account; and that the neceſſary conſequence muſt be ruin to many, who, from being uſeful members of the ſociety, will

[*f*] Sen. De Tranquill. Animi, p. 167. edit. Lipſ.

become

become a heavy burden or abſolute nuiſance to the public. It being indeed a certain method to fill the ſtreets with beggars, and the gaols with debtors and thieves.

That this branch of luxury hath grown to its preſent height, is owing partly to a defect in the laws; and this defect may, with great decency and reſpect to the legiſlature, be very truly imputed to the recency of the evil; for as our anceſtors knew it not, they may be well excuſed for not having foreſeen and guarded againſt it. If therefore it ſhould ſeem now neceſſary to be retrenched, a new law will, I apprehend, be neceſſary for that purpoſe; the powers of the magiſtrate being ſcarce extenſive enough, under any proviſion extant, to deſtroy a hydra now become ſo pregnant and dangerous. And it would be too dangerous as well as too invidious a taſk to oppoſe the mad humours of the populace, by the force of any doubtful obſolete law; which, as I have hinted before, could not have been directly levelled at a vice, which did not exiſt at the time when the law was made.

But while I am recommending ſome reſtraint of this branch of luxury, which ſurely appears to be neceſſary, I would be underſtood to aim at the retrenchment only, not at the extirpation of diverſion; nay, and in this reſtraint, I confine myſelf entirely to the lower order of people. Pleaſure always hath been, and always will be, the principal buſineſs of perſons of faſhion and fortune, and more eſpecially of the ladies, for whom I have infinitely too great an honour and reſpect to rob them of any their leaſt amuſement. Let them have their plays, operas, and oratorios, their maſquerades and ridottos; their aſſemblies, drums, routs, riots, and hurricanes; their Ranelagh and Vauxhall; their Bath, Tunbridge, Briſtol, Scarborough, and Cheltenham; and let them have their beaus and danglers to attend them at all theſe; it is the only uſe for which ſuch beaus are fit;

fit; and I have ſeen, in the courſe of my life, that it is the only one to which, by ſenſible women, they are applied.

In diverſion, as in many other particulars, the upper part of life is diſtinguiſhed from the lower. Let the great therefore anſwer for the employment of their time to themſelves, or to their ſpiritual governors. The ſociety will receive ſome temporal advantage from their luxury. The more toys which children of all ages conſume, the briſker will be the circulation of money, and the greater the increaſe of trade.

The buſineſs of the politician is only to prevent the contagion from ſpreading to the uſeful part of mankind, the ΕΠΙΠΟΝΟΝ ΠΕΦΥΚΟΣ ΓΕΝΟΣ[g]; and this is the buſineſs of perſons of faſhion and fortune too, in order that the labour and induſtry of the reſt may adminiſter to their pleaſures, and furniſh them with the means of luxury. To the upper part of mankind time is an enemy, and (as they themſelves often confeſs) their chief labour is to kill it; whereas, with the others, time and money are almoſt ſynonymous; and as they have very little of each to ſpare, it becomes the legiſlature, as much as poſſible, to ſuppreſs all temptations whereby they may be induced too profuſely to ſquander either the one or the other; ſince all ſuch profuſion muſt be repaired at the coſt of the public.

Such places of pleaſure, therefore, as are totally ſet apart for the uſe of the great world, I meddle not with. And though Ranelagh and Vauxhall, by reaſon of their price, are not entirely appropriated to the people of faſhion, yet they are ſeldom frequented by any below the middle rank; and a ſtrict regard to decency is preſerved in them both. But ſurely two ſuch places are ſufficient to contain all thoſe who have any title to ſpend their time in this idle, though otherwiſe innocent way. Nor ſhould ſuch a faſhion

[g] Plato.

be

be allowed to ſpread into every village round London, and by degrees all over the kingdom; by which means, not only idleneſs, but all kinds of immorality, will be encouraged.

I cannot diſmiſs this head, without mentioning a notorious nuiſance which hath lately ariſen in this town; I mean, thoſe balls where men and women of looſe reputation meet in diſguiſed habits. As to the maſquerade in the Hay-market, I have nothing to ſay; I really think it a ſilly rather than a vicious entertainment; but the caſe is very different with theſe inferior maſquerades; for theſe are indeed no other than the temples of drunkenneſs, leudneſs, and all kind of debauchery.

SECT. II.

Of DRUNKENNESS, *a ſecond conſequence of luxury among the vulgar.*

BUT the expence of money, and loſs of time, with their certain conſequences, are not the only evils which attend the luxury of the vulgar; drunkenneſs is almoſt inſeparably annexed to the pleaſures of ſuch people. A vice by no means to be conſtrued as a ſpiritual offence alone, ſince ſo many temporal miſchiefs ariſe from it; amongſt which are very frequently robbery and murder itſelf.

I do not know a more excellent inſtitution than that of Pittacus, mentioned by Ariſtotle in his Politics[*b*]; by which a blow given by a drunken man, was more ſeverely puniſhed than if it had been given by one that was ſober; *for Pittacus*, ſays Ariſtotle, *conſidered the utility of the public (as drunken men are more apt to ſtrike) and not the excuſe, which might otherwiſe be allowed to their drunkenneſs.* And ſo far both the civil law and our own have followed this inſtitution, that neither have admitted drunkenneſs to be an excuſe for any crime.

[*b*] L. ii. c. x.

This

This odious vice (indeed the parent of all others) as hiſtory informs us, was firſt introduced into this kingdom by the Danes, and with very miſchievous effects. Wherefore that excellent prince Edgar the peaceable, when he ſat about reforming the manners of his people, applied himſelf very particularly to the remedy of this great evil, and ordered ſilver or gold pins to be fixed to the ſides of their pots and cups, beyond which it was not lawful for any perſon to drink [*i*].

What penalty was affixed to the breach of this inſtitution, I know not; nor do I find any puniſhment in our books for the crime of drunkenneſs, till the time of Jac. I. in the fourth year of whoſe reign it was enacted, 'That every perſon lawfully 'convicted of drunkenneſs, ſhall, for every ſuch of-'fence, forfeit the ſum of five ſhillings, to be paid 'within a week next after his, her, or their con-'viction, to the hands of the churchwardens of the 'pariſh where, &c. to the uſe of the poor. In de-'fault of payment, the ſum to be levied by diſtreſs, 'and, in default of diſtreſs, the offender is to be com-'mitted to the ſtocks, there to remain for the ſpace 'of ſix hours [*k*].'

For the ſecond offence they are to be bound to their good behaviour, with two ſureties, in a recognizance of ten pounds [*l*].

Nor is only that degree of drunkenneſs forbidden, which Mr. Dalton deſcribes, 'ſo as to ſtagger and 'reel to and fro, and where the ſame legs which 'carry him into a houſe, cannot carry him out, 'again [*m*];' for, by the ſame act of parliament, all perſons who continue drinking or tipling in any inn, victualling-houſe, or alehouſe, in their own city, town or pariſh (unleſs ſuch as being invited by a traveller, ſhall accompany him during his neceſſary

[*i*] Eachard, p. 38. [*k*] Jac. I. chap. v. [*l*] Jac. I. chap. v. ſect. 6. [*m*] Dalt. chap. vii. ſect. 5.

abode there; or except labouring and handicraftſmen in cities, and corporate and market towns, upon a working day, for an hour at dinner-time, in ale-houſes, where they take their diet; and except labourers and workmen, who, during their continuance in any work, ſhall lodge or victual in any inn, &c. or except for ſome urgent and neceſſary occaſion, to be allowed by two juſtices of the peace) ſhall forfeit the ſum of three ſhillings and ſixpence, for the uſe of the poor; to be levied as before, and, for want of diſtreſs, to be put in the ſtocks for four hours [*n*].

This act hath been ſtill farther enforced by another in the ſame reign [*o*]. By the latter act, the tipler is liable, whether his habitation be within the ſame or any other pariſh. 2*dly*, The proof by one witneſs is made ſufficient; and, 3*dly*, A very extraordinary clauſe is added, by which the oath of the party offending, after having confeſſed his own crime, is made evidence againſt any other offender, though at the ſame time.

Thus we ſee the legiſlature have taken the utmoſt care not only to puniſh, but even to prevent this vice of drunkenneſs, which the preamble of one of the foregoing ſtatutes calls a *loathſome* and *odious ſin*, and the root and foundation of many other enormous ſins, as murder, &c. Nor doth the wiſdom of our law ſtop here. Our cautious anceſtors have endeavoured to remove the temptation, and, in a great meaſure, to take away from the people their very power of offending this way. And this by going to the fountain-head, and endeavouring to regulate and reſtrain the ſcenes of theſe diſorders, and to confine them to thoſe uſes for which they were at firſt deſigned; namely, for the reſt, refreſhment, and convenience of travellers.

[*n*] Jac I. chap iv. ſect. 4. & 1 Jac. I. chap. ix.
[*o*] 21 Jac. I. chap. vii.

A curſory

A curſory view of the ſtatutes on this head will demonſtrate of what conſequence to ſociety the ſuppreſſion of this vice was in the opinion of our anceſtors.

By the common law, inns and alehouſes might be kept *ad libitum*; but if any diſorders were ſuffered in them, they were indictable as a common nuiſance.

The firſt reform which I find to have been made by parliament, was in the reign of Henry VII. [*p*], when two juſtices were empowered to ſuppreſs an alehouſe.

The ſtatute of Edward VI. [*q*] is the firſt which requires a precedent licence. By this act no man can keep an alehouſe, without being licenſed by the ſeſſions, or by two juſtices; but now, by a late ſtatute, all licences granted by juſtices out of their ſeſſions are void [*r*].

By the ſtatute of Charles I. [*s*], which alters the penalties of that of Edward VI. the puniſhment for keeping an alehouſe, or common ſelling ale, beer, cyder and perry, without a licence, is to pay twenty ſhillings to the uſe of the poor, to be levied by diſtreſs; which, if ſatisfaction be not made within three days, is to be ſold. And if there be no goods whereon to reſtrain, and the money be not paid within ſix days after conviction, the offender is to be delivered to the conſtable, or ſome inferior officer, to be whipped. For the ſecond offence, he is to be committed to the houſe of correction for a month; and for the third, he is to be committed to the ſaid houſe, till, by order of the juſtices, at their general ſeſſions, he be diſcharged.

The conviction is to be on the view of the juſtice, confeſſion of the party, or by the oath of two witneſſes.

And by this ſtatute, if the conſtable or officer to whom the party is committed to be whipt, &c. do

[*p*] 11 Hen. VII. c. xxviii. ſect. 11. [*q*] 5 Edw. iv. c. xxv. [*r*] 2 G. II. [*s*] 3 Car. I. cap. iv.

not execute his warrant, the juſtice ſhall commit him to priſon, there to remain till he ſhall procure ſome one to execute the ſaid warrant, or until he ſhall pay forty ſhillings to the uſe of the poor.

The juſtices, at the time of granting the licence, ſhall take a recognizance from the party, not to ſuffer any unlawful games, nor other diſorders, in his houſe; which is to be certified to the ſeſſions, and the juſtices there have a power to proceed for the forfeiture [*t*].

By the ſtatute of Jac. I. [*u*], alehouſe-keepers, who ſuffer townſmen to ſit tipling (unleſs in the caſes abovementioned [*w*], forfeit ten ſhillings to the poor; the diſtreſs to be ſold within ſix days; and if no diſtreſs can be had, the party is to be committed till the forfeiture is paid.

Vintners who keep inns or victualling-houſes, are within this act [*x*].

And by two ſeveral ſtatutes [*y*], alehouſe-keepers, convicted of this offence, are prohibited from keeping an alehouſe for the ſpace of three years.

Juſtices of peace likewiſe, for any diſorders committed in alehouſes contrary to the condition of the recognizance, may ſuppreſs ſuch houſes [*z*]; but then the proceeding muſt be on the recognizance, and the breach of the condition proved [*a*].

Now, on the conciſe view of theſe ſeveral laws, it appears, that the legiſlature have been abundantly careful on this head; and that the only blame lies on the remiſſneſs with which theſe wholeſome proviſions have been executed.

But though I will not undertake to defend the magiſtrates of former times, who have ſurely been guilty of ſome neglect of their duty; yet, on behalf of the preſent commiſſioners of the peace, I

[*t*] 5 E. VI. ubi ſup. [*u*] Cap. ix. ubi ſup. [*w*] Supra, p. 14. in the caſe of Tiplers. [*x*] 1 Car. I. cap. iv. [*y*] 7 Jac. I. cap. x. 21 Jac. I. cap. vii. [*z*] 5 E. VI. ubi ſup. [*a*] Salk. 45.

muſt

muſt obſerve, their caſe is very different. What phyſicians tell us of the animal functions, will hold true when applied to laws; both, by long diſuſe, loſe all their elaſticity and force. Froward habits grow on men, as they do on children, by long indulgence; nor will either ſubmit eaſily to correction in matters where they have been accuſtomed to act at their pleaſure. They are very different offices to execute a new or a well known law, and to revive one which is obſolete. In the caſe of a known law, cuſtom brings men to ſubmiſſion; and in all new proviſions, the ill-will, if any, is levelled at the legiſlature, who are much more able to ſupport it than a few, or a ſingle magiſtrate. If therefore it be thought proper to ſuppreſs this vice, the legiſlature muſt once more take the matter into their hands; and to this, perhaps, they will be the more inclined, when it comes to their knowledge, that a new kind of drunkenneſs, unknown to our anceſtors, is lately ſprung up amongſt us, and which, if not put a ſtop to, will infallibly deſtroy a great part of the inferiour people.

The drunkenneſs I here intend, is that acquired by the ſtrongeſt intoxicating liquors, and particularly by that poiſon called *Gin*; which I have great reaſon to think, is the principal ſuſtenance (if it may be ſo called) of more than an hundred thouſand people in this metropolis. Many of theſe wretches there are, who ſwallow pints of this poiſon within the twenty-four hours; the dreadful effects of which I have the misfortune every day to ſee, and to ſmell too. But I have no need to inſiſt on my own credit, or on that of my informers; the great revenue ariſing from the tax on this liquor (the conſumption of which is almoſt wholly confined to the loweſt order of people) will prove the quantity conſumed better than any other evidence.

Now, beſides the moral ill conſequences occaſioned by this drunkenneſs, with which, in this

treatiſe, I profeſs not to deal; how greatly muſt this be ſuppoſed to contribute to thoſe political miſchiefs which this eſſay propoſes to remedy? this will appear from conſidering, that however cheap this vile portion may be, the poorer ſort will not eaſily be able to ſupply themſelves with the quantities they deſire; for the intoxicating draught itſelf diſqualifies them from uſing any honeſt means to acquire it, at the ſame time that it removes all ſenſe of fear and ſhame, and emboldens them to commit every wicked and deſperate enterprize. Many inſtances of this I ſee daily; wretches are often brought before me, charged with theft and robbery, whom I am forced to confine before they are in a condition to be examined; and when they have afterwards become ſober, I have plainly perceived, from the ſtate of the caſe, that the *Gin* alone was the cauſe of the tranſgreſſion, and have been ſometimes ſorry that I was obliged to commit them to priſon.

But beyond all this, there is a political ill conſequence of this drunkenneſs, which, though it doth not ſtrictly fall within my preſent purpoſe, I ſhall be excuſed for mentioning, it being indeed the greateſt evil of all, and which muſt, I think, awaken our legiſlature to put a final period to ſo deſtructive a practice. And this is that dreadful conſequence which muſt attend the poiſonous quality of this pernicious liquor to the health, the ſtrength, and the very being of numbers of his majeſty's moſt uſeful ſubjects. I have not enough of phyſical knowledge to diſplay the ill effects which ſuch poiſonous liquors produce in the conſtitution; for theſe I ſhall refer the reader to *The phyſical account of the nature of all diſtilled ſpirituous liquors, and the effect they have on human bodies* [*b*]. And though,

[*b*] This was compoſed by a very learned divine, with the aſſiſtance of ſeveral phyſicians, and publiſhed in the year 1736. The title is, *Diſtilled Spirituous Liquors the Bane of the Nation.*

perhaps,

perhaps, the conſequence of this poiſon, as it operates ſlowly, may not ſo viſibly appear in the diminution of the ſtrength, health and lives of the preſent generation; yet let a man caſt his eyes but a moment towards our poſterity, and there the dreadful conſequences muſt ſtrike on the meaneſt capacity, and muſt alarm, I think, the moſt ſluggiſh degree of public ſpirit. What muſt become of the infant who is conceived in *Gin?* with the poiſonous diſtillations of which it is nouriſhed both in the womb and at the breaſt. Are theſe wretched infants (if ſuch can be ſuppoſed capable of arriving at the age of maturity) to become our future ſailors, and our future grenadiers? it is by the labour of ſuch as theſe, that all the emoluments of peace are to be procured us, and all the dangers of war averted from us? What could an Edward or an Henry, a Marlborough or a Cumberland, effect with an army of ſuch wretches? doth not this polluted ſource, inſtead of producing ſervants for the huſbandman, or artificer; inſtead of providing recruits for the ſea or the field, promiſe only to fill almshouſes and hoſpitals, and to infect the ſtreets with ſtench and diſeaſes?

In ſolemn truth, there is nothing of more ſerious conſideration, nor which more loudly calls for a remedy, than the evil now complained againſt. For what can be more worthy the care of the legiſlature, than to preſerve the morals, the innocence, the health, ſtrength and lives of a great part (I will repeat, the moſt uſeful part) of the people? So far am I, in my own opinion, from repreſenting this in too ſerious or too ſtrong a light, that I can find no words, or metaphor, adequate to my ideas on this ſubject. The firſt inventor of this diabolical liquor may be compared to the poiſoner of a fountain, whence a large city was to derive its waters; the higheſt crime, as it hath been thought, of which human nature is capable. A degree of villany, in-

deed, of which I cannot recollect any example; but ſurely if ſuch was ever practiſed, the governors of that city could not be thought blameleſs, did they not endeavour, to the utmoſt, to withhold the citizens from drinking the poiſonous draught; and if ſuch a general thirſt after it prevailed, as, we are told, poſſeſſed the people of Athens at the time of the plague [c], what could juſtify the not effectually cutting off all aqueducts, by which the poiſon was diſperſed among the people?

Nor will any thing leſs than abſolute deletion ſerve on the preſent occaſion. It is not making men pay 50*l.* or 500*l.* for a licence to poiſon; nor enlarging the quantity from two gallons to ten, which will extirpate ſo ſtubborn an evil. Here may, perhaps, be no little difficulty. To lay the axe to the ſtill-head, and prohibit all diſtillery in general, would deſtroy the chymiſt. If diſtilling this or that ſpirit was forbidden, we know how eaſily all partial prohibitions are evaded; nay, the chymiſt (was the matter confined to him) would ſoon probably become a common diſtiller, and his ſhop no better than a ginſhop; ſince what is more common than for men to adopt the morals of a thief at a fire, and to work their own private emolument out of a public miſchief. Suppoſe all ſpirituous liquors were, together with other poiſon, to be locked up in the chymiſts or apothecaries ſhops, thence never to be drawn, till ſome excellent phyſicians calls them forth for the cure of nervous diſtempers! or ſuppoſe the price was to be raiſed ſo high, by a ſevere impoſt, that gin would be placed entirely beyond the reach of the vulgar! or perhaps the wiſdom of the legiſlature may deviſe a better and more effectual way.

[c] Ἔδρασαν ἐς φρέατα ἀπαύστῳ τῇ δίψῃ ξυνεχόμενοι. They ran into the wells, being conſtantly poſſeſſed by an inexhauſted thirſt. Thucydid. p. 112. edit. Hu. ſoni.

But

But if the difficulty be really inſuperable, or if there be any political reaſon againſt the total demolition of this poiſon, ſo ſtrong as to countervail the preſervation of the morals, health and beings of ſuch numbers of his majeſty's ſubjects, let us, however, in ſome meaſure, palliate the evil, and leſſen its immediate ill conſequences, by a more effectual proviſion againſt drunkenneſs than any we have at preſent, in which the method of conviction is too tedious and dilatory. Some little care on this head is ſurely neceſſary; for though the increaſe of thieves, and the deſtruction of morality; though the loſs of our labourers, our ſailors, and our ſoldiers, ſhould not be ſufficient reaſons, there is one which ſeems to be unanſwerable, and that is, the loſs of our gin-drinkers; ſince, ſhould the drinking this poiſon be continued in its preſent height during the next twenty years, there will, by that time, be very few of the common people left to drink it.

SECT. III.

Of GAMING *among the vulgar; a third conſequence of their luxury.*

I COME now to the laſt great evil which ariſes from the luxury of the vulgar; and this is gaming; a ſchool in which moſt highwaymen of great eminence have been bred. This vice is the more dangerous, as it is deceitful, and, contrary to every other ſpecies of luxury, flatters its votaries with the hopes of increaſing their wealth; ſo that avarice itſelf is ſo far from ſecuring us againſt its temptations, that it often betrays the more thoughtleſs and giddy part of mankind into them; promiſing riches without bounds, and thoſe to be acquired by the moſt ſudden as well as eaſy and indeed pleaſant means.

And here I muſt again remind the reader, that I have only the inferior part of mankind under my

conſideration. I am not ſo ill-bred as to diſturb the company at a polite aſſembly; nor ſo ignorant of our conſtitution, as to imagine, that there is a ſufficient energy in the executive part to controul the œconomy of the great, who are beyond the reach of any, unleſs capital laws. Faſhion under whoſe guidance they are, and which created the evil, can alone cure it. With patience therefore muſt we wait, till this notable miſtreſs of the few ſhall, in her good time, accompliſh ſo deſirable a change; in fact, till great men become wiſer or better; till the prevalence of ſome laudable taſte ſhall teach them a worthier manner of employing their time; till they have ſenſe enough to be reaſoned, modeſty enough to be laughed, or conſcience enough to be frightened out of a ſilly, a ſhameful, and a ſinful profligacy, attended with horrid waſte of time, and the cruel deſtruction of the families of others, or of their own.

In the mean time we may, I think, reaſonably deſire of theſe great perſonages, that they would keep their favourite vice to themſelves, and not ſuffer others, whoſe birth or fortune gives them no title to be above the terror of the laws, or the cenſure of their betters, to ſhare with them in this privilege. Surely we may give great men the ſame advice, which Archer, in the play, gives to the officers of the army; *To kick out all——in red but their own.* What temptations can gameſters of faſhion have, to admit *inferior* ſharpers into their ſociety? common ſenſe, ſurely, will not ſuffer a man to riſque a fortune againſt one who hath none of his own to ſtake againſt it.

I am well appriſed that this is not much the caſe with perſons of the firſt figure; but to gentlemen (and eſpecially the younger ſort) of the ſecond degree, theſe fellows have found much too eaſy an acceſs. Particularly at the ſeveral public places (I might have ſaid gaming places) in this kingdom,

too

too little care is taken to prevent the promiſcuous union of company; and ſharpers of the loweſt kind have frequently there found admiſſion to their ſuperiors, upon no other pretence or merit than that of a laced coat, and with no other ſtock than that of aſſurance.

Some few of theſe fellows, by luckily falling in with an egregious bubble, ſome thoughtleſs young heir, or more commonly heireſs, have ſucceeded in a manner, which, if it may give ſome encouragement to others to imitate them, ſhould, at the ſame time, as ſtrongly admoniſh all gentlemen and ladies to be cautious with whom they mix in public places, and to avoid the ſharper as they would a peſt. But much the greater part of ſuch adventurers have met with a more probable and more deſerved fate; and having exhauſted their little fund in their attempts, have been reduced to a dilemma, in which it required more judgment and reſolution than are the property of many men, and more true ſenſe of honour than belongs to any debauched mind, to extricate themſelves by honeſt means. The only means, indeed, of this kind, are to quit their aſſumed ſtation, and to return to that calling, however mean and laborious, to which they were born and bred.

But beſides that the way to this is often obſtructed with almoſt inſuperable difficulties; and falſe ſhame, at its very entrance, daſhes them in the face, how eaſily are they diſſuaded from ſuch diſagreeable thoughts by the temptations with which fortune allures them, of a poſſibility, at leaſt, of ſtill ſupporting their falſe appearances, and of retrieving all their former hopes? how greedily, may we imagine, this enchanting alternative will be embraced by every bold mind, in ſuch circumſtances? for what but the danger of the undertaking can deter one, who hath nothing of a gentleman but his dreſs, to attain which he hath already diveſted himſelf of all

ſenſe

ſenſe of honeſty? how eaſy is the tranſition from fraud to force? from a gameſter to a rogue? perhaps, indeed, it is civil to ſuppoſe it any tranſition at all.

From this ſource, therefore, ſeveral of our moſt notable highwaymen have proceeded; and this hath likewiſe been the ſource of many other depredations on the honeſt part of mankind. So miſchievous have been this kind of ſharpers in ſociety, that they have fallen under the particular notice of the legiſlature; for a ſtatute in the reign of queen Anne, reciting, 'That divers lewd and diſſolute perſons 'live at great expences, having no viſible eſtate, 'profeſſion, or calling, to maintain themſelves, but 'ſupport thoſe expences by gaming only;' enacts, 'That any two juſtices of the peace may cauſe to be 'brought before them all perſons within their re'ſpective limits, whom they ſhall have juſt cauſe to 'ſuſpect to have no viſible eſtate, profeſſion, or cal'ling, to maintain themſelves by, but do, for the 'moſt part, ſupport themſelves by gaming; and if 'ſuch perſons ſhall not make the contrary appear to 'ſuch juſtices, they are to be bound to their good 'behaviour for a twelvemonth; and, in default of 'ſufficient ſecurity, to be committed till they can 'find ſuch ſecurity; which ſecurity (in caſe they 'give it) is to be forfeited on their playing or bet'ting at any one time for more than the value of '20*s.* [*d*].' As

[*d*] 9 Annæ, chap. xiv. ſect. 6, 7. It would be of great ſervice to the public, to extend this ſtatute to idle perſons and ſharpers in general; for many ſupport themſelves by frauds, by cheating practices, even worſe than gaming; and have the impudence to appear in the dreſs of gentlemen, and at public places, without having any pretenſions of birth or fortune, or without any honeſt or viſible means of livelihood whatever. Such a law would not be without a precedent; for ſuch is the excellent inſtitution mentioned by Herodotus, in his Euterpe.—'Amaſis (ſays that hiſtorian) eſta'bliſhed a law in Egypt, that every Egyptian ſhould annually de'clare before the governor of the province, by what means he 'maintained himſelf; and all thoſe who did not appear, or who 'could

As to gaming in the lower claſſes of life, ſo plainly tending to the ruin of tradeſmen, the deſtruction of youth, and to the multiplication of every kind of fraud and violence, the legiſlature hath provided very wholeſome laws [*e*].

By the 33d of Henry VIII. 'Every artificer, 'craftſman of any handycraft or occupation, huſ-'bandman, labourer, ſervant at huſbandry, journey-'man or ſervant of artificer, mariners, fiſhermen, 'watermen, or any ſerving men, are prohibited 'from playing at tables, dice, cards, &c. out of 'Chriſtmas, and in Chriſtmas are permitted to play 'only in their maſters houſes, or in his preſence, 'under the penalty of 20*s.* And all manner of 'perſons are prohibited from playing at any bowl 'or bowls, in any open place out of their garden or 'orchard, under the penalty of 6*s.* 8*d.*

'The conviction to be by action, information, 'bill, or otherwiſe, in any of the king's courts; one 'half of the penalty to the informer.

'Provided that ſervants may play at any times 'with their maſters, or by their licence; and all 'perſons, who have 100*l. per annum*, freehold, may 'give their ſervants, or others, reſorting to their 'houſes, a licence to play within the precinct of 'their houſes, gardens, or orchard.'

By this ſtatute likewiſe, 'No perſon whatever, by 'himſelf, factor, deputy, ſervant, or other perſon, 'ſhall, for gain, keep, &c. any common, houſe, al-

'could not prove that they had ſome lawful livelihood, were puniſh-'ed by death. This law Solon introduced into Athens, where it 'was long inviolably preſerved as a moſt juſt and equitable provi-'viſion.' Herod. edit. Hudſoni, p. 158. This puniſhment is ſurely too ſevere; but the law, under a milder penalty, is well worthy to be adopted.

[*e*] By a ſtatute made in the reign of Edward IV. now repealed, playing at ſeveral games therein mentioned, was puniſhed by two years impriſonment, and the forfeiture of 10*l.* and the maſter of the houſe was to be impriſoned for three years, and to forfeit 20*l.* A great ſum in thoſe days!

'ley,

'ley, or place of bowling, coayting, claſh-coyls, 'half-bowl, tennis, dicing-table, or carding, or any 'other manner of game, prohibited by any ſtatute 'heretofore made, or any unlawful game invented or 'made, or any other new unlawful game hereafter 'to be invented or made: the penalty is 40*s. per* 'day, for keeping the houſe, &c. and 6*s.* 8*d.* for 'every perſon haunting and playing at ſuch houſe. 'Theſe penalties to be recovered, &c. as above.

'And all leaſes of gaming-houſes, alleys, &c. 'are made void at the election of the leſſee.'

Farther, by the ſaid ſtatute, 'Power is given to all 'juſtices of peace, mayors, or other head-officers, 'in every city, &c. to enter ſuſpected houſes and 'places, and to commit the keepers of the ſaid houſes, 'and the perſons there haunting, reſorting, and play-'ing, to priſon; and to keep them in priſon, till the 'keepers have found ſureties to enter into a re-'cognizance to the king's uſe, no longer to keep 'ſuch houſe, &c. and the perſons there found to be 'bound by themſelves, or with ſureties, &c. at the 'diſcretion of the juſtice, &c. no more to haunt the 'ſaid places, or play at any of the ſaid games.'

And now, by the ſtatute of George II. this laſt clauſe is enforced, by giving the juſtice the ſame power on the information of two perſons, as he had before on view; and, by a more explicit power, to take ſureties or not of the party, at his diſcretion.

Laſtly, The ſtatute of Henry VIII. enjoins the juſtices, &c. to make due ſearch weekly, or once *per* month, at the fartheſt, under the penalty of forfeiting 40*s.* for every month, during their neglect.

Thus ſtands the law; by which it may appear, that the magiſtrate is armed with ſufficient authority to deſtroy all gaming among the inferior people; and that, without his neglect or connivance, no ſuch nuiſance can poſſibly exiſt.

And yet, perhaps, the fault may not ſo totally lie at his door; for the recognizance is a mere bugbear, unleſs

unleſs the party who breaks it, ſhould be ſued thereon; which, as it is attended with great expence, is never done; ſo that though many have forfeited it, not a ſingle example of an eſtreat hath been made within my remembrance.

Again, it were to be wiſhed, that the ſtatute of George II. had required no more than one witneſs to the information; for even one witneſs, as I have found by experience, is very difficult to be procured.

However, as the law now is, ſeeing that the general bent of the people oppoſes itſelf to this vice, it is certainly in a great meaſure within the magiſtrate's power to ſuppreſs it, and ſo to haraſs ſuch as propoſe to find their account in it, that theſe would ſoon be diſcouraged from the undertaking; nor can I conclude without obſerving, that this hath been lately executed with great vigour within the liberty of Weſtminſter.

There are, beſides, ſeveral other proviſions in our ſtatute books againſt this deſtructive vice. By the ſtatute of Queen Anne [*f*], whoever cheats at play, forfeits five times the ſum won by ſuch cheating, ſhall be deemed infamous, and ſuffer ſuch corporal puniſhment as in caſe of perjury. And whoever wins above 10*l.* at any one ſitting, ſhall likewiſe forfeit five times the ſum won. Going ſhares with the winner, and betting on his ſide, are, in both inſtances within the act.

By the ſame act, all ſecurities for money won at play, are made void; and if a mortgage be made on ſuch account, the mortgagee doth not only loſe all benefit of it, but the mortgage immediately enures to the uſe of the next heir [*g*].

By this law perſons who have loſt above 10*l.* and have actually paid it, may recover the ſame by action

[*f*] 9 Annæ, chap. xiv. by which the ſtatute of 16 C. II. is enlarged and made more ſevere. [*g*] Ibid. ſect. 1.

within three months; and if they do not ſue for it within that time, any other perſon may [*b*]. And the defendant ſhall be liable to anſwer a bill for diſcovering ſuch ſum loſt, upon oath.

By 18 George II. [*i*] whoever wins or loſes 10*l.* at play, or by betting at any one time, or 20*l.* within twenty-four hours, is liable to be indicted, and ſhall be fined five times the value of the money loſt.

By 12 George II. [*k*] the games of Pharaoh, the Ace of Hearts, Baſſet, and Hazard, are declared to be lotteries; and all perſons who ſet up, maintain, and keep them, forfeit 200*l.* and all who play at them, forfeit 50*l.* The conviction to be before one juſtice of peace, by the oath of one witneſs, or confeſſion of the party. And the juſtice neglecting his duty, forfeits 10*l.* *Note*, The proſecution againſt the keeper, &c. may be for a lottery, on the 8 George I, where the penalty is 500*l.*

The act of 18 George II. includes the game of Roly Poly, or other prohibited game at cards or dice, within the penalties of the abovementioned.

I have given this ſhort ſketch of theſe ſeveral acts, partly for the uſe and encouragement of informers, and partly to inſinuate to certain perſons with what decency they can openly offend againſt ſuch plain, ſuch ſolemn laws, the ſevereſt of which many of themſelves have, perhaps, been the makers of. How can they ſeriouſly anſwer, either to their honour or conſcience, giving the pernicious example of a vice, from which, as the legiſlature juſtly ſays in the preamble to the 10th of Charles II. 'Many miſ-
'chiefs and inconveniences do ariſe, and are daily
'found, in the encouraging of ſundry idle and diſ-
'orderly perſons in their diſhoneſt, lewd, and diſ-
'ſolute courſe of life; and to the circumventing,
'deceiving, couſening, and debauching of many of
'the younger ſort, both of the nobility and gentry

[*b*] 9 Annæ, chap. ix. ſect. 2. [*i*] Chap. xxxiv.
[*k*] Chap. xxviii.

'and

'and others, to the loſs of their precious time, and 'the utter ruin of their eſtates and fortunes, and 'withdrawing them from noble and laudable em-'ployments and exerciſes!' Will a nobleman, I aſk, confeſs that he can employ his time in no better amuſement; or will he frankly own that he plays with any other view than that of amuſement? laſtly, what can a man, who ſins in open defiance of the laws of his country, anſwer to the *vir bonus eſt quis?* can he ſay,

Qui conſulta patrum, qui leges juraque ſervat?

Or can he apply that celebrated line,

Oderunt peccare boni virtutis honore

to himſelf, who owes to his greatneſs, and not to his innocence, that he is not deterred from ſuch vices —*Formidine pœnæ?*

SECT. IV.

Of the laws that relate to the PROVISION *for the Poor.*

HAVING now run through the ſeveral immediate conſequences of a general luxury among the lower people, all which, as they tend to promote their diſtreſſes, may be reaſonably ſuppoſed to put many of them, of the bolder kind, upon unlawful and violent means of relieving the miſchief which ſuch vices have brought upon them; I come now to a ſecond cauſe of the evil, in the improper regulation of what is called the poor in this kingdom, ariſing, I think, partly from the abuſe of ſome laws, and partly from the total neglect of others; and (if I may preſume to ſay it) ſomewhat perhaps from a defect in the laws themſelves.

It muſt be matter of aſtoniſhment to any man to reflect, that in a country where the poor are, beyond all compariſon, more liberally provided for than in any other part of the habitable globe, there ſhould

be found more beggars, more diſtreſt and miſerable objects than are to be ſeen throughout all the ſtates of Europe.

And yet, undoubted as this fact is, I am far from agreeing with Mr. Shaw [*l*], who ſays, 'There are 'few, if any, nations or countries where the poor are 'more neglected, or are in a more ſcandalous, naſty 'condition than in England. Whether (ſays he) this 'is owing to that natural inbred cruelty, for which 'Engliſhmen are ſo much noted among foreigners, 'or to that medley of religions, which are ſo plen-'tifully ſown, and ſo carefully cheriſhed among us; 'who think it enough to take care of themſelves, 'and take a ſecret pride and pleaſure in the poverty 'and diſtreſſes of thoſe of another perſuaſion, &c.'

That the poor are in a very naſty and ſcandalous condition is, perhaps, too true; but ſure the general charge againſt the people of England, as well as the invidious aſperſion on particular bodies of them, is highly unjuſt and groundleſs. Nor do I know that any nation hath ventured to fix this character of cruelty on us. Indeed, our inhoſpitality to foreigners hath been ſometimes remarked; but that we are cruel to one another is not, I believe, the common, I am ſure it is not the true opinion. Can a general neglect of the poor be juſtly charged on a nation in which the poor are provided for by a tax, frequently equal to what is called the land-tax, and where there are ſuch numerous inſtances of private donations, ſuch numbers of hoſpitals, alms-houſes, and charitable proviſions of all kinds?

Nor can any ſuch neglect be charged on the legiſlature; under whoſe inſpection this branch of polity hath been almoſt continually, from the days of Queen Elizabeth to the preſent time. Inſomuch, that Mr. Shaw himſelf enumerates no leſs than thirteen acts of parliament relating to the indigent and helpleſs poor.

[*l*] Vol. II. p. 1.

If

If therefore there be ſtill any deficiency in this reſpect, it muſt, I think, ariſe from one of the three cauſes above-mentioned; that is, from ſome defect in the laws themſelves, or from the perverſion of theſe laws; or, laſtly, from the neglect in their execution.

I will conſider all theſe with ſome attention.

The 43d of Eliz. [*m*] enacts;

Firſt, That the churchwardens of every pariſh, and two ſubſtantial houſeholders, at leaſt, ſhall be yearly appointed to be overſeers of the poor.

Secondly, That theſe overſeers ſhall, with the conſent of two juſtices of the peace, put out apprentices the children of poor people. And all married or unmarried perſons, who have no means or trade to maintain themſelves, ſhall be put to work.

Thirdly, That they ſhall raiſe by a parochial tax a convenient ſtock of flax, hemp, wool, thread, iron, and other ware and ſtuff, to ſet the poor to work.

Fourthly, That they ſhall, from the ſame tax, provide towards the neceſſary relief of the lame, impotent, old, blind, and others, being poor and not able to work.

Fifthly, That they ſhall, out of the ſame tax, put the children of poor perſons apprentices.

That theſe proviſions may all be executed, that act veſted the overſeers with the following powers; and enforced the executing them by the following penalties:

I. The overſeers are appointed to meet once at leaſt every month in the church after divine ſervice; there, ſays the act, to conſider of ſome good courſe to be taken, and ſome meet order to be ſet down *in the premiſes*. And to do this they are enjoined by a penalty; for every one abſenting himſelf from ſuch meeting, without a juſt excuſe to be allowed by two juſtices of the peace, or being negligent in his office,

[*m*] Chap. iii.

or in the execution of the orders aforeſaid, forfeits 20 *s.*

And after the end of their year, and after other overſeers nominated, they are, within four days, to make and yield up to two juſtices of the peace, a true and perfect account of all ſums of money by them received or aſſeſſed, and of ſuch ſtores as ſhall be in their hands, or in the hands of the poor, to work, and of all other things concerning their office, &c. And if the churchwardens and overſeers refuſe to account, they are to be committed by two juſtices till they ſhall have made a true account.

II. The overſeers and churchwardens, both preſent and ſubſequent, are empowered by warrant from two juſtices to levy all the monies aſſeſſed, and all arrearages of thoſe who refuſe to pay, by diſtreſs and ſale of the refuſers goods; and the ſubſequent overſeers may, in the ſame manner, levy the money and ſtock in the hands of the precedent; and for want of diſtreſs the party is to be committed by two juſtices, without bail, till the ſame be paid.

III. They have a power to compel the poor to work; and ſuch as refuſe or neglect, the juſtice may commit to the houſe of correction or common gaol.

IV. The overſeers may compel children to be apprentices, and may bind them where they ſhall ſee convenient; till the man-child ſhall attain the age of twenty-four, or the woman-child the age of twenty-one, or till the time of her marriage; the indenture to be as effectual to all purpoſes as the covenant of one of full age.

V. They have a power to contract with the lord of the manor [*n*], and on any parcel of ground on the waſte, to erect, at the general charge of the pariſh, convenient houſes of dwelling for the impotent poor; and to place ſeveral inmates in the

[*n*] This muſt be done by conſent and order of ſeſſions.

ſame

ſame cottage, notwithſtanding the ſtatute [o] of cottages.

VI. They can compel the father and grandfather, mother and grandmother, and children of every poor, old, blind, and impotent perſon, or of any other perſon not being able to work (provided ſuch father, &c. be of ſufficient ability) at their own charges, to relieve and maintain ſuch poor perſon, in ſuch manner, and after ſuch rate, as ſhall be aſſeſſed by the ſeſſions, under the penalty of 20 *s.* for every month's omiſſion.

VII. If no overſeers be named, every juſtice within the diviſion forfeits 5 *l.*

So far this ſtatute of Elizabeth, by which the legiſlature may ſeem very fully to have provided, *Firſt*, For the abſolute relief of ſuch poor, as are by age or infirmity rendered unable to work; and, *Secondly*, For the employment of ſuch as are able.

'The former of theſe,' ſays Lord Hale in his diſcourſe on this ſubject, 'ſeems to be a charity of 'more immediate exigence; but the latter (*viz.* the 'employment of the poor) is a charity of greater 'extent, and of very great and important conſequence 'to the public wealth and peace of the kingdom, as 'alſo to the benefit and advantage of the poor.' And this, as Mr. Shaw obſerves, 'would pre-'vent the children of our poor being brought up 'in lazineſs and beggary, whereby beggary is en-'tailed from generation to generation: This is cer-'tainly the greateſt charity; for though he who 'gives to any in want, does well, yet he who em-'ploys and educates the poor, ſo as to render them 'uſeful to the public, does better; for that would 'be many hundred thouſand pounds *per ann.* bene-'fit to this kingdom.'

Now the former of theſe proviſions hath, perhaps, though in a very ſlovenly and inadequate

[o] Theſe cottages are never after to be applied to any other uſe.

manner, being partly carried into execution; but the latter, I am afraid I may too boldly aſſert, hath been utterly neglected and diſregarded. Surely this is a moſt ſcandalous perverſion of the deſign of the legiſlature, which through the whole ſtatute ſeems to have had the employment of the able poor chiefly under their conſideration; for to this purpoſe only almoſt every power in it is eſtabliſhed, and every clauſe very manifeſtly directed. To ſay the truth, as this law hath been perverted in the execution, it were, perhaps, to be wiſhed it had never been made. Not becauſe it is not our duty to relieve real objects of diſtreſs; but becauſe it is ſo much the duty of every man, and I may add, ſo much the inclination of moſt Engliſhmen, that it might have been ſafely left to private charity; or a public proviſion might ſurely have been made for it in a much cheaper and more effectual manner.

To prove the abuſe of this law, my Lord Hale appeals to all the populous pariſhes in England. (He might, I believe, have included ſome which are not over populous.) 'Indeed,' ſays he, 'there are rates 'made for the relief of the impotent poor; and, it 'may be, the ſame relief is alſo given in a narrow 'meaſure unto ſome others that have great families, 'and upon this they live miſerably, and at beſt from 'hand to mouth; and if they cannot get work to 'make out their livelihood, they and their children 'ſet up a trade of begging at beſt; but it is rare to 'ſee any proviſion of a ſtock in any pariſh for the 'relief of the poor; and the reaſons are princi-'pally theſe: 1. The generality of people that are 'able, are yet unwilling, to exceed the preſent ne-'ceſſary charge; they do chuſe to live for an hour 'rather than project for the future; and although 'poſſibly trebling their exhibition in one groſs ſum 'at the beginning of the year, to raiſe a ſtock, 'might in all probability render their future yearly 'payments, for ſeven years together, leſs by half, or

'two

'two thirds, than what muſt be without it; yet 'they had rather continue on their yearly payments, 'year after year, though it exhauſt them in time, 'and make the poor nothing the better at the year's 'end. 2. Becauſe thoſe places, where there are moſt 'poor, conſiſt for the moſt part of tradeſmen, whoſe 'eſtates lie principally in their ſtocks, which they 'will not endure to be ſearched into, to make them 'contributary to raiſe any conſiderable ſtock for the 'poor, nor indeed ſo much as to the ordinary con-'tributions; but they lay all the rates to the poor 'upon the rents of lands and houſes, which alone, 'without the help of the ſtocks, are not able to raiſe 'a ſtock for the poor, although it is very plain that 'ſtocks are as well by law rateable as lands, both to 'the relief and raiſing a ſtock for the poor. 3. Be-'cauſe the churchwardens and overſeers, to whom 'this power is given, are inhabitants of the ſame 'pariſh, and are either unwilling to charge them-'ſelves, or to diſpleaſe their neighbours in charging 'more than they needs muſt towards the poor; 'and although it were to be wiſhed and hoped that 'the juſtices of the peace would be forward to en-'force them if they might, though it may concern 'them alſo in point of preſent profit; yet if they 'would do any thing herein, they are not empowered 'to compel the churchwardens and overſeers to do 'it, who, moſt certainly, will never go about it to 'burden, as they think, themſelves, and diſpleaſe 'their neighbours, unleſs ſome compulſory power 'were not only lodged by law, but alſo executed by 'ſome that may have a power over them to enforce 'it; or to do it, if they do it either partially or too 'ſparingly. 4. Becauſe people do not conſider the 'inconvenience that will in time grow to themſelves 'by this neglect, and the benefit that would in a lit-'tle time accrue to them by putting it in practice, 'if they would have but a little patience.'

To theſe I will add a fifth reaſon; becauſe the churchwardens and overſeers are too apt to conſider their office as a matter of private emolument. To waſte part of the money raiſed for the uſe of the poor in feaſting and riot, and too often to pervert the power given them by the ſtatute to foreign, and ſometimes to the very worſt of purpoſes.

The above conſiderations bring my Lord Hale to complain of ſome defects in the law itſelf; 'In 'which,' ſays he, 'there is no power from the 'juſtices of the peace, nor any ſuperintendent power, 'to compel the raiſing of a ſtock where the church-'wardens and overſeers neglect it.

'The act chargeth every pariſh apart, where it 'may be they are liable to do little towards it; nei-'ther would it be ſo effectual as if three, four, five, 'or more contiguous pariſhes did contribute to-'wards the raiſing of a ſtock proportionably to their 'poor reſpectively.

'There is no power for hiring or erecting a com-'mon houſe, or place, for their common work-'houſe; which may be, in ſome reſpects, and upon 'ſome occaſions, uſeful and neceſſary.'

As to the firſt of theſe, I do not find any alteration hath been made, nor if there was, might it poſſibly produce any deſired effect. The conſequence, as it appears, would be only making churchwardens of the juſtices of peace, which many of them are already, not highly to the ſatisfaction of their pariſhes; too much power veſted in one man being too apt perhaps to beget envy.

The ſecond and third do pretty near amount to one and the ſame defect; and this, I think, is at preſent totally removed. Indeed, in my Lord Hale's own time, though probably after he had written this treatiſe, a workhouſe was erected in London under the powers given by the ſtatute made in the 13 and 14 of Charles II. [*p*], and I believe with very good ſucceſs.

[*p*] Chap. xii.

Since

Since that time other corporations have followed the example, as the city of Briſtol in the reign of King William [q], and that of Worceſter in the reign of Queen Anne [r], and in other places.

And now by a late ſtatute, made in the reign of King George I. [s], the power of erecting workhouſes is made general over the kingdom.

Now either this method, propoſed by Lord Hale, is inadequate to the purpoſe; or this act of parliament hath been groſsly perverted; for certain it is that the evil is not removed, if indeed it be leſſened, by the erection of workhouſes. Perhaps, indeed, one objection which my Lord Hale makes to the ſtatute of Eliz. may here recur, ſeeing that there is nothing compulſory, but all left to the will and direction of the inhabitants.

But in truth the method itſelf will never produce the deſired effect, as the excellent Sir Joſiah Child well obſerves [t],—'It may be objected,' ſays he, 'that this work (the proviſion for the poor) may as 'well be done in diſtinct pariſhes, if all pariſhes were 'obliged to build workhouſes, and employ their 'poor therein, as Dorcheſter and ſome others have 'done with good ſucceſs.' I anſwer, 'That ſuch 'attempts have been made in many places, to my 'knowledge, with very good intents and ſtrenuous 'endeavours; but all that I ever heard of proved 'vain and ineffectual.' For the truth of which, I believe, we may appeal to common experience.

And, perhaps, no leſs ineffectual would be the ſcheme propoſed by this worthy gentleman, though it ſeems to promiſe fairer than that of the learned chief juſtice; yet neither of them ſeem to ſtrike at the root of the evil. Before I deliver any ſentiments of my own, I ſhall briefly take a view of the many ſubſequent proviſions with which the legiſlature have

[q] 8 & 9 W. III. c. xxx.
[r] 2 Annæ, c. viii.
[s] 9 George I. c. i.
[t] Eſſay on Trade, c. ii.

from

from time to time enforced and ſtrengthened the foregoing ſtatute of Elizabeth.

The power of putting out children [*u*] apprentices is enforced by the third of [*w*] Charles I. which enacts, 'That all perſons to whom the overſeers 'ſhall bind children by virtue of the ſtatute of Eliz. 'may receive and keep them as apprentices.' But there yet wanted, as Lord Hale ſays, a *ſufficient compulſory for perſons to take them*; wherefore it is enacted, by 8 and 9 [*x*] Will. III. 'That all perſons 'to whom apprentices are appointed to be bound 'by the overſeers, with the conſent of the juſtices, 'ſhall receive them and execute the other part of 'the indenture, under the penalty of 10 *l.* for re-'fuſing, to be recovered before two juſtices, on the 'oath of one of the churchwardens or overſeers.'

The power of ſetting the poor to work is enlarged by [*y*] 3 Charles I. This act gives the churchwardens and overſeers of the poor a power, with the conſent of two juſtices, or of one, if no more juſtices ſhall be within their limits, to ſet up and occupy any trade for the ſetting the poor to work.

The power of relieving the impotent poor (*i. e.* of diſtributing the public money) the only one which hath much exerciſed the minds of the pariſh officers, the legiſlature ſeems to think rather wanted reſtraining than enlarging; accordingly, in the reign of King [*z*] William they made an act to limit the power of the officers in this reſpect. As the act contains the ſenſe of parliament of the horrid abuſe of the ſtatute of Elizabeth, I will tranſcribe part of a paragraph from it *verbatim*.

[*u*] See 7 Jac. I. c. iii. which directs the manner of putting out apprentices, in purſuance of any gifts made to corporations, &c. for that purpoſe.

[*w*] Chap. iv. ſect. 22. p. 8. the ſame clauſe is in 21 Jac. c. xxviii. par. 33.

[*x*] Chap. xxx. ſect. 6. [*y*] Chap. iv. ſect. 22. ubi ſupra.

[*z*] 3 & 4 W. and M. c. xi. ſect. 11.

'And

'And whereas many inconveniences do daily 'ariſe in cities, towns corporate, and pariſhes, where 'the inhabitants are very numerous, by reaſon of 'the unlimited power of the churchwardens and 'overſeers of the poor, who do frequently upon 'frivolous pretences (but chiefly for their own pri-'vate ends) give relief to what perſons and number 'they think fit, and ſuch perſons being entered into 'the collection bill, do become after that a great 'charge to the pariſh, notwithſtanding the occaſion 'or pretence of their collection oftentimes ceaſes, 'by which means the rates for the poor are daily in-'creaſed, contrary to the true intent of a ſtatute 'made in the 43d year of the reign of her Majeſty 'Queen Elizabeth, intituled, *An act for the relief of 'the poor*; for remedying of which, the ſtatute en-'acts, that, for the future, a book ſhall be provided 'and kept in every pariſh (at the charge of the ſame 'pariſh) wherein the names of all perſons receiving 'collection, &c. ſhall be regiſtered, with the day 'and year of their firſt receiving it. This book to 'be yearly, or oftener, viewed by the pariſhioners, 'and the names of the perſons who receive collec-'tion ſhall be called over, and the reaſon of the 'receiving it examined, and a new liſt made; and 'no other perſon is allowed to receive collection but 'by order of a juſtice of peace, &c. except in caſe 'of peſtilential diſeaſes or ſmall-pox [*a*].'

The 8th and 9th of the ſame King, reciting the fear of the legiſlature, *That the money raiſed only for the relief of ſuch as are as well impotent as poor, ſhould be miſapplied and conſumed by the idle, ſturdy, and diſorderly beggars*, 'Enacts, that every perſon, his wife, 'children, &c. who ſhall receive relief from the 'pariſh, ſhall wear a badge marked with the letter 'P, &c. in default of which, a juſtice of peace may 'order the relief of ſuch perſons to be abridged,

[*a*] The ſame ſtatute in another part charges the overſeers, &c. with applying the poor's money to their own uſe.

'ſuſpended,

'ſuſpended, or withdrawn, or may commit them for 'twenty-one days to the houſe of correction, there 'to be kept to hard labour. And every church-'warden or overſeer, who relieves any one without 'ſuch a badge, being convicted before one juſtice, 'forfeits 20 *s.*'

Whether the juſtices made an ill uſe of the power given them by the ſtatute of the 3d and 4th of King William, I will not determine; but the parliament thought proper afterwards to abridge it, for by the 9th of George I. [*b*] the juſtices are forbidden, 'To 'make any order for the relief of a poor perſon, till 'oath is firſt made of a reaſonable cauſe; and that 'application hath been made to the pariſhioners at 'the veſtry, or to two officers, and that relief hath 'been refuſed. Nor can the juſtice then give his 'order, till he hath ſummoned the overſeers to ſhew 'cauſe why relief ſhould not be given.'

By the ſame ſtatute, 'Thoſe perſons to whom 'the juſtices order relief, are to be regiſtered in the 'pariſh books, as long only as the cauſe of the relief 'continues. Nor ſhall any pariſh officer be allowed 'any money given to the unregiſtered poor, unleſs 'on the moſt emergent occaſion. The penalty for 'charging ſuch money to the pariſh account is 5 *l.* 'The conviction is to be before two juſtices.'

Laſtly, That the pariſh may in all poſſible caſes be relieved from the burden of the poor, whereas the ſtatute of Elizabeth obliges the father, mother, &c. and children, if able, to relieve their poor children and parents; ſo, by the 8th of George I. [*c*], it is provided, 'That where any wife or child ſhall 'be left by the huſband or parents a charge to any 'pariſh, the churchwardens or overſeers may, by 'the order of two juſtices, ſeize ſo much of the 'goods and chattles, and receive ſo much of the 'annual rents and profits of the lands and tene-'ments of ſuch huſband or parent, as the juſtices

[*b*] Chap. xxx. ſect. 2. [*c*] Chap. viii.

'ſhall

'ſhall order towards the diſcharge of the pariſh; 'and the ſeſſions may empower the churchwardens 'and overſeers, to diſpoſe thereof, for the provid-'ing for the wife and bringing up the children, '&c.'

Such is the law that relates immediately to the maintenance of the impotent poor; a law ſo very ample in its proviſion, ſo ſtrongly fortified with enforcing powers, and ſo cautiouſly limited with all proper reſtraints, that, at firſt ſight, it appears ſufficiently adequate to every purpoſe for which it was intended, but experience hath convinced us of the contrary.

And here I am well aware of the delicate dilemma, to which I may ſeem reduced; ſince how ſhall I preſume to ſuppoſe any defects in a law, which the legiſlature ſeems to have laboured with ſuch inceſſant diligence? but I am not abſolutely driven to this diſagreeable neceſſity, as the fault may ſo fairly be imputed to the non-execution of the law; and, indeed, to the ill-execution of the ſtatute of Elizabeth, my Lord Chief Juſtice Hale chiefly imputes the imperfect proviſion for the poor in his time.

Sir Joſiah Child, it is true, ſpeaks more boldly, and charges the defects on the laws themſelves: One general poſition, however, which he lays down, *That there never was a good law made, that was not well executed*, is ſurely very queſtionable. So therefore muſt be his opinion, if founded on that maxim; and this opinion, perhaps, he would have changed, had he lived to ſee the latter conſtitutions on this head.

But whatever defects there may be in the laws, or in the execution of them, I much doubt whether either of theſe great men hath found the means of curing them. And this I am the more forward to ſay, as the legiſlature, by a total neglect of *both* their ſchemes,

ſchemes, ſeem to give ſufficient countenance to my aſſertion.

In a matter then of ſo much difficulty, as well as ſo great importance, how ſhall I venture to deliver my own opinion? ſuch, indeed, is the difficulty and importance of this queſtion, that Sir Joſiah Child thinks, *If a whole ſeſſion of parliament were employed on this ſingle concern, it would be time ſpent as much to the glory of God, and good of this nation, as in any thing that noble and worthy patriots of their country can be engaged in.*

However, under the protection of the candid, and with deference to the learned reader, I will enter on this ſubject, in which, I think, I may with modeſty ſay, I have had ſome experience; and in which I can with truth declare, I have employed no little time. If any gentleman, who hath had more experience, hath more duly conſidered the matter, or whoſe ſuperior abilities enable him to form a better judgment, ſhall think proper to improve my endeavours, he hath my ready conſent. Provided the end be effected, I ſhall be contented with the honour of my ſhare (however inconſiderable) in the means. Nay, ſhould my labours be attended only with neglect and contempt, I think I have learned (for I am a pretty good hiſtorian) to bear ſuch miſfortunes without much repining.

By THE POOR, then, I underſtand ſuch perſons as have no eſtate of their own to ſupport them, without induſtry; nor any profeſſion or trade, by which, with induſtry, they may be capable of gaining a comfortable ſubſiſtence.

This claſs of the people may be conſidered under theſe three diviſions:

Firſt, Such poor as are unable to work.

2*dly*, Such as are able and willing to work.

3*dly*, Such as are able to work, but not willing.

As to the *Firſt* of theſe, they are but few. An utter incapacity to work muſt ariſe from ſome defect,

occaſioned either by nature or accident. Natural incapacities are greatly the moſt (perhaps the only) conſiderable ones; for as to accidental maims, how very rarely do they happen, and, I muſt add, how very nobly are they provided for, when they do happen! Again, as to natural incapacities, they are but few, unleſs thoſe two general circumſtances, one of which muſt, and the other may befal all men; I mean, the extremes of youth and age; for, beſides theſe, the number of perſons who really labour under an utter incapacity of work, will, on a juſt inſpection, be found ſo trifling, that two of the London hoſpitals might contain them all. The reader will be pleaſed to obſerve, I ſay of thoſe who *really labour*, *&c.* for he is much deceived, who computes the number of objects in the nation, from the great number which he daily ſees in the ſtreets of London. Among whom I myſelf have diſcovered ſome notorious cheats, and my good friend, Mr. Welch, the worthy high conſtable of Holborn diviſion, many more. Nothing, as I have been well informed, is more common among theſe wretches, than for the lame, when provoked, to uſe their crutches as weapons inſtead of ſupporters; and for the blind, if they ſhould hear the beadle at their heels, to outrun the dogs which guided them before. As to diſeaſes, to which human nature is univerſally liable, they ſometimes (though very rarely, for health is the happy portion of poverty) befal the poor; and at all ſuch times they are certainly objects of charity, and entitled, by the law of God, to relief from the rich.

Upon the whole, this firſt claſs of the poor is ſo truly inconſiderable in number, and to provide for them in the moſt ample and liberal manner would be ſo very eaſy to the public; to ſupport and cheriſh them, and to relieve their wants, is a duty ſo poſitively commanded by our Saviour, and is withal ſo agreeable and delightful in itſelf, affording

ing the moſt deſirable object to the ſtrong paſſion of pity; nay, and in the opinion of ſome, to pride and vanity alſo; that I am firmly perſuaded it might be ſafely left to voluntary charity, unenforced by any compulſive law. And if any man will profeſs ſo little knowledge of human nature, and ſo mean and unjuſt an opinion of the chriſtianity, I might ſay, the humanity, of his country, as to affect a contrary opinion, notwithſtanding all I have ſaid, let him anſwer the following inſtance, which may be called an argument *à poſteriori*, for the truth of my aſſertion. Such, I think, is the preſent bounty to beggars; for, at a time when every man knows the vaſt tax which is raiſed for the ſupport of the poor, and when all men of property muſt feel their contributions to this tax, mankind are ſo forward to relieve the appearance of diſtreſs in their fellow-creatures, that every beggar, who can but moderately well perſonate miſery, is ſure to find relief and encouragement; and this, though the giver muſt have great reaſon to doubt the reality of the diſtreſs, and when he can ſcarce be ignorant that his bounty is illegal [*d*], and that he is encouraging a nuiſance. What then muſt be the caſe, when there ſhould be no ſuch tax, nor any ſuch contribution; and when, by relieving a known and certain object of charity, every good man muſt be aſſured, that he is not only doing an act which the law allows, but which chriſtianity and humanity too exact of him?

However, if there be any perſon who is yet unwilling to truſt the poor to voluntary charity, or if it ſhould be objected, that there is no reaſon to lay the whole burden on the worthier part of mankind, and to excuſe the covetous rich; and that a tax is

[*d*] This was forbidden by many ſtatutes, and by the act of 27 Henry VIII. every perſon giving any money in alms, but to the common boxes and common gatherings in every pariſh, forfeits twelve times as much as he gives.

therefore

therefore neceſſary to force open the purſes of theſe latter; let there be a tax then, and a very inconſiderable one would effectually ſupply the purpoſe [*e*].

I come now to conſider the *ſecond* claſs. Theſe are in reaſon, though not in fact, equally objects of the regard of the compaſſionate man, and much more worthy the care of the politician; and yet, without his care, they will be in a much worſe condition than the others; for they have none of thoſe incitements of pity which fill the pockets of the artful beggar, and procure relief for the blind, the lame, and other viſible objects of compaſſion; ſuch therefore, without a law, and without an honeſt and ſenſible execution of that law, muſt languiſh under, and often periſh with want. A melancholy and dreadful reflexion! and the more ſo, as they are capable of being made not only happy in themſelves, but highly uſeful to the ſervice of the community.

To provide for theſe, ſeems, as I have ſaid, to have been the chief deſign of the ſtatute of Elizabeth, as well as of ſeveral laws enacted ſince; and that this deſign hath hitherto failed, may poſſibly have ariſen from one ſingle miſtake, but a miſtake which muſt be fatal, as it is an error in the firſt concoction. The miſtake I point at is, that the legiſlature have left the whole work to the overſeers. They have rather told them what they are to do (*viz.* to employ the induſtrious poor) than how they ſhall do it. It is true, the original act directs them, by a parochial tax, to raiſe a convenient ſtock of flax, hemp, wool, thread, iron, and other ware and ſtuff to ſet the poor to work. A direction ſo general and imperfect, that it can be no wonder, conſidering what ſort of men the overſeers of the poor have

[*e*] The reader is deſired to conſider the author here as ſpeaking only of the impotent poor, and as hoping that ſome effectual means may be found out of procuring work, and conſequently maintenance for the able and induſtrious.

been, that it ſhould never have been carried into execution.

To ſay the truth, this affair of finding an univerſal employment for the induſtrious poor, is of great difficulty, and requires talents not very bountifully ſcattered by nature among the whole human ſpecies. And yet difficult as it is, it is not, I hope, impracticable, ſeeing that it is of ſuch infinite concern to the good of the community. Hands for the work are already ſuppoſed, and ſurely trade and manufactures are not come to ſo low an ebb, that we ſhould not be able to find work for the hands. The method of adapting only ſeems to be wanting. And though this may not be eaſy to diſcover, it is a taſk ſurely not above the reach of the Britiſh parliament, when they ſhall think proper to apply themſelves to it.

Nor will it, I hope, be conſtrued preſumption in me to ſay, that I have myſelf thought of a plan for this purpoſe, which I am ready to produce, when I ſhall have any reaſon to ſee the leaſt glimpſe of hope, that my labour in drawing it out at length would not be abſolutely and certainly thrown away.

The laſt and much the moſt numerous claſs of poor, are thoſe who are able to work, and not willing. This likewiſe hath fallen under the eye of the legiſlature, and proviſions have been made concerning it; which, if in themſelves efficacious, have at leaſt failed of producing any good effect, from a total neglect in the execution.

By the 43 Eliz. the churchwardens and overſeers, or greater part of them, with the conſent of two juſtices, ſhall take order for the ſetting to work the children of all ſuch parents as they ſhall think not able to maintain them; as alſo, all ſuch married or unmarried perſons, as ſhall have no means to maintain themſelves, nor any ordinary trade or calling whereby to get their living.

Beſides this power of compelling the poor to work, the legiſlature hath likewiſe compelled them to become,

come, 1. Apprentices, and, 2. Servants. We have already ſeen the power of the overſeers, with the aſſiſtance of the juſtices, to put poor children apprentices; and likewiſe to oblige their maſters to receive them. And long before, a compulſion was enacted [*f*] on poor perſons to become apprentices; ſo that any houſeholder, having and uſing half a plough-land in tillage, may compel any poor perſon under twenty-one and unmarried, to ſerve as an apprentice in huſbandry, or in any other kind of art, myſtery, or ſcience (before expreſſed in the act [*g*]); and if ſuch perſon, being ſo required, refuſe to become an apprentice, one juſtice of peace may compel him, or commit him to priſon, there to remain till he will be bound.

2*dly*, The poor are obliged to become ſervants.

By the 5th of Eliz. [*h*] it is enacted, 'That every 'perſon being unmarried, and every other perſon 'under the age of thirty, who hath been brought up 'in any of the ſciences, &c. of clothiers, woollen 'cloth weavers, tuckers, fullers, clothworkers, ſhear-'men, dyers, hoſiers, tailors, ſhoemakers, tanners, 'pewterers, bakers, brewers, glovers, cutlers, ſmiths, 'farriers, curriers, ſaddlers, ſpurriers, turners, tap-'pers, hatmakers or feltmakers, butchers, cooks, 'or millers, or who hath exerciſed any of theſe 'trades by the ſpace of three years or more; and 'not having in lands, rents, &c. an eſtate of 40 *s.* 'clear yearly value, freehold, nor being worth in 'goods 10 *l.* and ſo allowed by two juſtices of the 'county, where he hath moſt commonly inhabited, 'or by the mayor, &c. nor being retained with 'any perſon in huſbandry, nor retained in any of the 'above ſciences, or in any other art or ſcience; nor 'lawfully retained in houſehold, or in any office, with 'any nobleman, gentleman, or others; nor having

[*f*] 5 Eliz. c. iv. ſect. 35. [*g*] *Viz.* Every trade then uſed.
[*h*] Chap. iv. ſect. 4.

'a convenient farm, or other holding in tillage, 'whereupon he may lawfully employ his labour, 'during the time that he ſhall continue unmarried, 'or under the age of thirty, upon requeſt made by 'any perſon uſing the art or myſtery, wherein the 'perſon ſo required hath been exerciſed as aforeſaid, 'ſhall be retained.

'And every perſon between the age of twelve and 'ſixty, not being lawfully retained in the ſeveral 'ſervices mentioned in the ſtatute [*i*], nor being a 'gentleman born, or a ſcholar in either univerſity, 'or in any ſchool, nor having an eſtate of freehold 'of 40*s. per annum* value, nor being worth in goods '10*l.* nor being heir to 10*l. per annum*, or 40*l.* 'in goods; nor being a neceſſary or convenient 'ſervant lawfully retained; nor having a convenient 'farm or holding, nor otherwiſe lawfully retained, 'ſhall be compelled to be retained to ſerve in huſ- 'bandry, by the year, with any perſon uſing huſ- 'bandry within the ſame ſhire.

'Every ſuch perſon refuſing to ſerve upon re- 'queſt, or covenanting to ſerve, and not ſerving; 'or departing from his ſervice before the end of his 'term, unleſs for ſome reaſonable cauſe to be al- 'lowed before a juſtice of the peace, mayor, &c. 'or departing at the end of his term without a 'quarter's warning given before two witneſſes, may 'be committed by two juſtices of the peace to priſon, 'there to remain without bail or mainprize, till he 'ſhall become bound to his maſter, &c. to ſerve, '&c. [*k*]

'Nor ſhall any maſter in any of the arts and 'ſciences aforeſaid, retain a ſervant for leſs than a 'year [*l*]; nor ſhall any maſter put away a ſervant 'retained by this act within his term, nor at the end 'of the term without a quarter's warning, under 'the penalty of 40*s.* [*m*].

[*i*] Chap. iv. ſect. 7.
[*k*] Ib. ſect. 5, 6. 9.
[*l*] Ib. ſect. 3.
[*m*] Ib. ſect. 5, 6, 8.

'Artificers,

'Artificers, &c. are compellable by a juſtice of 'the peace, or the conſtable or other head-officer of 'a townſhip, to ſerve in the time of hay or corn 'harveſt. The penalty of diſobedience is impriſon-'ment in the ſtocks by the ſpace of two days and one 'night [*n*].

'Women between the age of twelve and forty, 'may be obliged, by two juſtices, to enter into 'ſervice by the year, week, or day; or may be 'committed *quoſque* [*o*].'

The legiſlature having thus appointed what perſons ſhall ſerve, have gone farther, and have directed a method of aſcertaining how they ſhall ſerve; for which uſe principally is that excellent conſtitution of 5 Elizabeth [*p*], 'That the juſtices of the peace, 'with the ſheriff of the county, if he conveniently 'may, the mayor, &c. in towns corporate, ſhall 'yearly, within ſix weeks of Eaſter, aſſemble toge-'ther, and with the aſſiſtance of ſuch diſcreet per-'ſons as they ſhall think proper to call to them, 'and reſpecting the plenty or ſcarcity of the time, 'and other circumſtances, ſhall, within the limits of 'their commiſſion, rate and appoint the wages of 'artificers, labourers, &c. by the year, month, 'week, or day, with or without meat and drink.' Then the ſtatute enumerates ſeveral particulars, in the moſt explicit manner, and concludes with theſe general words: 'And for any other kind of reaſon-'able labour and ſervice.'

'Theſe rates are appointed to be engroſſed in 'parchment, and certified into chancery, before the '12th day of July; and before the firſt day of 'September, ſeveral printed proclamations, con-'taining the rates, and a command to all perſons to 'obſerve them, are to be ſent to the ſheriff and 'juſtices, and to the mayor, &c. Theſe proclama-'tions are to be entered of record with the clerk of

[*n*] Ib. ſect. 28. [*o*] Ib. ſect. 24. [*p*] Ib. ſect. 15.

'the peace, to be fixed up, in the market-towns, 'and to be publicly proclaimed in all the markets 'till Michaelmas [q].

'And if any perſon, after the ſaid proclamations 'ſhall be ſo ſent down and publiſhed, ſhall, by any 'ſecret ways or means, directly or indirectly retain 'or keep any ſervant, workman, or labourer, or 'ſhall give any greater wages, or other commodity, 'contrary to the true intent of the ſtatute, or con-'trary to the rates aſſeſſed, he ſhall forfeit 5 *l.* and 'be impriſoned by the ſpace of ten days [r].

'And every perſon who is retained, or takes any 'wages contrary to the ſtatute, ſhall be impriſoned 'twenty-one days [s]. And every ſuch retainer, 'promiſe, gift and payment, or writing and bond 'for that purpoſe, are made abſolutely void.

'Every juſtice of peace, or chief officer, who 'ſhall be abſent at the rating of wages, unleſs the 'juſtices ſhall allow the reaſonable cauſe of his ab-'ſence, forfeits 10 *l.* [t].'

That this ſtatute may, from time to time, be carefully and diligently put in execution, 'The juſtices 'are appointed to meet twice a year, to make a ſpe-'cial and diligent enquiry of the branches and arti-'cles of this ſtatute, and of the good execution of 'the ſame, and ſeverely to correct and puniſh any 'defaults; for which ſervice they are allowed 5 *s.* '*per* day [u].' No inconſiderable allowance at that time!

But all this care of the legiſlature proved, it ſeems, ineffectual; for forty years after the making this ſtatute, we find the parliament complaining, 'That 'the ſaid act had not, according to the true meaning 'thereof, been duly put in execution; and that the 'rates of wages for poor artificers, labourers, and 'other perſons, had not been rated and propor-

[q] Chap. iv. ſect. 16. [r] Ib. ſect. 18. [s] Ib. ſect. 19, 20.
[t] Ib. ſect. 17. [u] Ib. ſect. 37, 38.

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tioned according to the politic intention of the ſaid 'act [w].' A neglect which ſeems to have been occaſioned by ſome doubts raiſed in Weſtminſter-hall, concerning the perſons who were the ſubjects of this law. For the clearing therefore any ſuch doubt, this ſubſequent ſtatute gives the juſtices an expreſs power 'to rate the wages of any labourers, 'weavers, ſpinſters, and workmen or workwomen 'whatſoever, either working by the day, week, 'month, year, or taking any work at any perſon's 'hands whatſoever, to be done by the great, or 'otherwiſe [x].'

And to render the execution of this law the more eaſy, the ſtatute of James I. enacts, 1. 'That in all 'counties where general ſeſſions are kept in ſeveral 'diviſions, the rating wages at ſuch reſpective gene-'ral ſeſſions, ſhall be as effectual within the diviſion, 'as if they had been rated at the grand general 'ſeſſion [y].'

2. The method of certifying the rates in chancery appearing, I apprehend, too troubleſome and tedious, 'ſuch certificate is made no longer neceſſary, but 'the rates being aſſeſſed and engroſſed in parch-'ment, under the hands and ſeals of the juſtices, 'the ſheriff, or chief officer, of towns corporate, 'may immediately proclaim the ſame [z].'

And whereas wool is the great ſtaple commodity of this kingdom, and the woollen trade its principal manufacture, the parliament have given particular attention to the wages of artificers in this trade.

For, 1. By the ſtatute of James I. [a], 'No 'clothier, being a juſtice of peace in any precinct 'or liberty, ſhall be a rater of wages for any artizan 'depending upon the making of cloth.'

2. 'Clothiers not paying ſo much wages to their 'workmen or workwomen, as are rated by the 'juſtices, forfeit 10 *s.* for every offence [b].'

[w] Preamble to 1 Jac. c. vi. [x] Ib. ſect. 3. [y] Ib. ſect. 5.
[z] Ib. ſect. 6. [a] Ib. ſect. 7. [b] Ib. ſect. 7.

3. By a late ſtatute [*c*], 'All perſons anywiſe concerned in employing any labourers in the woollen manufactory, are required to pay the full wages or price agreed on, in money and not in goods, truck, or otherwiſe; nor ſhall they make any deduction from ſuch wages or price, on account of any goods ſold or delivered previous to ſuch agreement. And all ſuch wages are to be levied, on conviction, before two juſtices, by diſtreſs; and for want of diſtreſs, the party is to be committed for ſix months, or until full ſatisfaction is made to the party complaining. Beſides which the clothier forfeits the ſum of 100 *l.* [*d.*]'

4. By the ſame ſtatute, 'All contracts, byelaws, &c. made in unlawful clubs, by perſons brought up in, or exerciſing the art of, a wool-comber or weaver, for regulating the ſaid trade, ſettling the prices of goods, advancing wages, or leſſening the hours of work, are declared to be illegal and void; and any perſon concerned in the woollen manufactures, who ſhall knowingly be concerned in ſuch contract, byelaw, &c. or ſhall attempt to put it in execution, ſhall, upon conviction before two juſtices, ſuffer three months impriſonment [*e*].'

But long before this act, a general law was made [*f*], to puniſh all conſpiracies for raiſing wages, limiting hours of work, &c. among artificers, workmen, and labourers; and if ſuch conſpiracy was to extend to a general advance of wages all over the kingdom, any inſurrection of a number of perſons, in conſequence of it, would be an overt act of high treaſon.

From this curſory view it appears, I think, that no blame lies at the door of the legiſlature, which hath not only given the magiſtrate, but even private perſons, with his aſſiſtance, a power of compelling

[*c*] 12 Geo I. c. xxxiv. ſect. 3. [*d*] Ib. ſect. 4.
[*e*] Ib. ſect. 1. [*f*] 2 and 3 E. VI. c. xv.

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the poor to work; and, 2*dly*, hath allotted the fulleſt powers, and preſcribed the moſt effectual means for aſcertaining and limiting the price of their labour.

But ſo very faulty and remiſs hath been the execution of theſe laws, that an incredulous reader may almoſt doubt whether there are really any ſuch exiſting. Particularly as to that which relates to the rating the wages of labourers; a law which at firſt, it ſeems, was too careleſsly executed, and which hath ſince grown into utter neglect and diſuſe.

Hath this total diſuſe ariſen, in common with the neglect of other wholeſome proviſions, for want of due attention to the public good? or is the execution of this law attended with any extraordinary difficulty? or, laſtly, are we really grown, as Sir Joſiah Child ſays, wiſer than our forefathers, and have diſcovered any fault in the conſtitution itſelf; and that to retrench the price of labour by a law is an error in policy?

This laſt ſeems to me, I own, to be very ſtrange doctrine, and ſomewhat of a paradox in politics; however, as it is the ſentiment of a truly wiſe and great man, it deſerves a fair diſcuſſion. Such I will endeavour to give it; ſince no man is more inclined to reſpect the opinions of ſuch perſons, and as the revival of the law, which he oppoſes, is, I think, abſolutely neceſſary to the purpoſe I am contending for.

I will give the paſſage from Sir Joſiah at length. It is in anſwer to this poſition, *That the dearneſs of wages ſpoils the Engliſh trade.* 'Here,' ſays he, 'the 'author propounds the making a law to retrench the 'hire of poor mens labour (an honeſt charitable pro-'ject, and well becoming an uſurer!) the anſwer to 'this is eaſy. *Firſt*, I affirm and can prove, he is 'miſtaken in fact; for the Dutch, with whom we 'principally contend in trade, give generally more 'wages to all their manufacturers, by at leaſt two-

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'pence in the ſhilling, than the Engliſh. *Secondly*, 'Wherever wages are high, univerſally throughout 'the whole world, 'tis an infallible evidence of the 'riches of that country; and wherever wages for 'labour run low, it is a proof of the poverty of that 'place. *Thirdly*, It is multitudes of people, and 'good laws, ſuch as cauſe an increaſe of people, 'which principally enrich any country; and if we 'retrench by law the labour of our people, we drive 'them from us to other countries that give better 'rates; and ſo the Dutch have drained us of our 'ſeamen and woollen manufacturers, and we the 'French of their artificers and ſilk-manufacturers; 'and many more we ſhould, if our laws otherwiſe 'gave them fitting encouragement; of which more 'in due place. *Fourthly*, If any particular trades 'exact more here than in Holland, they are only 'ſuch as do it by virtue of incorporations, privileges, 'and charters, of which the cure is eaſy, by an act 'of naturalization, and without compulſory laws. 'It is true, our great grandfathers did exerciſe ſuch 'policy, of endeavouring to retrench the price of 'labour by a law (although they could never effect 'it); but that was before trade was introduced into 'this kingdom; we are ſince, with the reſt of the 'trading world, grown wiſer in this matter, and I 'hope ſhall ſo continue [*g*].'

To this I reply, 1. That the making ſuch a law is not only an honeſt, but a charitable project; as it propoſes, by retrenching the price of poor mens labour, to provide labour, and conſequently hire for all the poor who are capable of labour. In all manufactures whatever, the lower the price of labour is, the cheaper will be the price to the conſumer; and the cheaper this price is, the greater will be the conſumption, and conſequently the more hands employed. This is likewiſe a very charitable law to

[*g*] Preface to his Diſcourſe on Trade.

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the poor farmer, and never more neceſſary than at this day, when the rents of lands are rated to the higheſt degree. The great hopes which the farmer hath (indeed his common relief from ruin) is of an exportation of corn. This exportation cannot be by law, unleſs when the corn is under ſuch a particular price. How neceſſary then is it to him, that the price of labour ſhould be confined within moderate bounds, that the exportation of corn, which is of ſuch general advantage to the kingdom, ſhould turn, in any conſiderable manner, to his private profit? and what reaſon is there to imagine, that this power of limiting wages ſhould be executed in any diſhoneſt or uncharitable manner? Is it not a power entruſted to all the juſtices of the county, or diviſion, and to the ſheriff, with the aſſiſtance of grave, ſober, and ſubſtantial perſons, who muſt be ſufficient judges of the matter, and who are directed to have regard to the plenty and ſcarcity of the times? Is it to be ſuſpected, that many perſons of this kind ſhould unite in a cruel and flagitious act, by which they would be liable to the condemnation of their own conſciences, to the curſes of the poor, and to be reproached by the example of all their neighbouring counties? are not much groſſer exorbitancies to be feared on the other ſide, when the loweſt artificers, huſbandmen, and labourers, are made judges in their own cauſe; and when it is left to their own diſcretion, to exact what price they pleaſe for their labour of the poor farmer or clothier; of whom if they cannot exact an extravagant price, they will fly to that alternative which idleneſs often prefers, of begging or ſtealing? *Laſtly*, Such a reſtraint is very wholeſome to the poor labourers themſelves; of whom Sir Joſiah obſerves [*b*], 'That they live better in the deareſt 'countries for proviſions, than in the cheapeſt, and 'better in a dear year than in a cheap, eſpecially in

[*b*] Diſcourſe on Trade.

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'relation to the public good; for, in a cheap year, 'they will not work above two days in a week; 'their humour being ſuch that they will not provide 'for a hard time, but juſt work ſo much, and no 'more, as may maintain them in that mean condi-'tion to which they have been accuſtomed.' Is it not therefore, upon this conceſſion, demonſtrable, that the poor man himſelf will live much better (his family certainly will) by theſe means? again, many of the poor, and thoſe the more honeſt and induſtrious, will probably gain by ſuch a law; for, at the ſame time that the impudent and idle, if left to themſelves, will certainly exact on their maſters; the modeſt, the humble, and truly laborious, may often (and ſo I doubt not but the caſe is) be oppreſſed by them, and forced to accept a lower price for their labour, than the liberality of gentlemen would allow them.

2*dly*, The two aſſertions contained in the next paragraph both ſeem to me ſuſpicious. Firſt, That the Dutch and other nations have done all that in them lies, to draw from us our ſeamen, and ſome of our manufacturers, is certainly true; and this they would do at any price; but that the Dutch do in general give more wages to their manufacturers than the Engliſh, is, I believe, not the fact. Of the manufacturers of Holland, the only conſiderable article which we ourſelves take of them, except linen, are toys; and to this we are induced, not becauſe the Dutch are ſuperior to our workmen in genius and dexterity (points in which they are not greatly celebrated) but becauſe they work much cheaper. Nor is, 2*dly*, The immediate tranſition from trade to manufacture altogether ſo fair. The Dutch it is true, are principally our rivals in trade in general, and chiefly as carriers; but not ſo in manufacture, particularly in the woollen manufacture. Here our chief rivals are the French, amongſt whom the price of labour is known to be conſiderably

ably lower than with us. To this, among other cauſes (for I know there are others, and ſome very ſcandalous ones) they owe their ſucceſs over us in the Levant. It is, indeed, a truth which needs no comment nor proof, that where goods are of equal value, the man who ſells cheapeſt will have the moſt cuſtom; and it is as certainly true, that he who makes up his goods in the cheapeſt manner, can ſell them ſo.

3*dly*, Sir Joſiah aſſerts, 'That wherever wages are 'high univerſally throughout the world, 'tis an in-'fallible evidence of the riches of that country; and 'wherever wages for labour run low, it is a proof 'of the poverty of that place.'—If this be true, the conceſſion will do him no ſervice; for it will not prove, that to give high wages is the way to grow rich; ſince it is much more probable, that riches ſhould cauſe the advance of wages, than that high wages ſhould produce riches. This latter, I am ſure, would appear a high ſoleciſm in private life, and I believe it is no leſs ſo in public.

4*thly*, His next aſſertion, *That to retrench by law the labour of our people, is to drive them from us*, hath partly received an anſwer already. To give this argument any force, our wages muſt be reduced at leaſt below the ſtandard of other countries; which is, I think, very little to be apprehended; but, on the contrary, if the labourer ſhould carry his demands ever ſo little higher, as may be reaſonably expected, the conſumption of many manufactures will not only be confined to our own people, but to a very few of thoſe people.

Thus, I hope, I have given a full anſwer to this great man, whom I cannot diſmiſs, without obſerving a manifeſt miſtake of the queſtion, which runs through all his arguments; all that he advances concluding, indeed, only to the *quantum* of wages which ſhall be given for labour. He ſeems rather to argue againſt giving too little, than againſt regulating

what is to be given; ſo that his arguments are more proper for the conſideration of the juſtices at their meeting for ſettling the rates of wages, than for the conſideration of the legiſlature, in a debate concerning the expediency of the above law. To evince the expediency of which, I appeal to the concurrent ſenſe of parliament in ſo many different ages; for this is not only teſtified expreſsly in the above ſtatute of Elizabeth and James, but may be fairly implied from thoſe of Edward VI. and George I. above recited.

I have moreover, I think, demonſtrated, 1. The equity of this law; and that it is as much for the ſervice of the labourer as of his maſter. 2. The utility of it to trade: I ſhall only add the neceſſity of it, in order to execute the intention of the legiſlature, in compelling the idle to work; for is it not the ſame thing to have the liberty of working or not at your own pleaſure, and to have the abſolute nomination of the price at which you will work? the idleneſs of the common people in this town is, indeed, greatly to be attributed to this liberty; moſt of theſe, if they cannot exact an exorbitant price for their labour, will remain idle. The habit of exacting on their ſuperiors is grown univerſal, and the very porters expect to receive more for their work than the ſalaries of above half the officers of the army amount to.

I conclude then, that this law is neceſſary to be revived (perhaps with ſome enlargements) and that ſtill upon one account more; which is, to enable the magiſtrate clearly to diſtinguiſh the corrigible from the incorrigible in idleneſs; for when the price of labour is once eſtabliſhed, all thoſe poor who ſhall refuſe to labour at that price, even at the command of a magiſtrate, may properly be deemed incorrigibly idle.

For theſe the legiſlature have, by ſeveral acts of parliament, provided a puniſhment, by commitment

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to Bridewell either for more or leſs time; and a very ſevere puniſhment this is, if being confirmed in habits of idleneſs, and in every other vicious habit, may be eſteemed ſo.

Theſe houſes are commonly called houſes of correction, and the legiſlature intended them certainly for places of correction of idleneſs at leaſt; for in many acts, where perſons are ordered to be committed to Bridewell, it is added, *There to be kept to hard labour*; nay, in the ſtatute of Jac. I. [*i*] theſe houſes of correction are directed 'to be built with a convenient backſide adjoining, together with mills, turns, cards, and ſuch like neceſſary implements, to ſet rogues and other idle people on work.' Again, in the ſame ſtatute, authority is given to the maſter or governor, 'To ſet to work ſuch rogues, vagabonds, idle and diſorderly perſons, as ſhall be brought or ſent unto the ſaid houſe (being able), while they ſhall continue in the ſaid houſe and to puniſh them, by putting fetters on them and by whipping; nor are the ſaid rogues, &c. to have any other proviſion than what they ſhall earn by their labour.'

The erection of theſe houſes, as is uſual with new inſtitutions, did at firſt greatly anſwer the good purpoſes for which they were deſigned, inſomuch that my lord Coke obſerves, 'That upon the making of the ſtatute 39 Eliz. for the erection of houſes of correction, and a good ſpace after, whilſt juſtices of peace and other officers were diligent and induſtrious, there was not a rogue to be ſeen in any part of England.' And again he propheſies, that 'from the erection of theſe houſes we

[*i*] Chap. iv. Theſe houſes were firſt begun to be erected Ann. 13 Eliz. the priſon for idleneſs being, before that time, the ſtocks. In the 11th year of Henry VII. vagabonds, beggars, &c. are ordered to be ſet three days and three nights in the ſtocks.

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'ſhall have neither beggar nor idle perſon in the 'common wealth [*k*].'

But this great man was a much better lawyer than he was a prophet; for whatever theſe houſes were deſigned to be, or whatever they at firſt were, the fact is, that they are at preſent in general, no other than ſchools of vice, ſeminaries of idleneſs, and common-ſhores of naſtineſs and diſeaſe. As to the power of whipping, which the act of James I. veſts in the governor, that, I believe, is very ſeldom uſed, and perhaps when it is, not properly applied. And the juſtice in very few inſtances (in none of idleneſs) hath any power of ordering ſuch puniſhment [*l*].

And with regard to work, the intention of the law is, I apprehend, as totally fruſtrated. Inſomuch that they muſt be very lazy perſons, indeed, who can eſteem the labour impoſed in any of theſe houſes as a puniſhment. In ſome, I am told, there is not any proviſion made for work. In that of Middleſex in particular, the governor hath confeſſed to me, that he hath had no work to employ his priſoners, and hath urged as a reaſon, that having generally great numbers of moſt deſperate felons under his charge, who, notwithſtanding his utmoſt care, will ſometimes get acceſs to his other priſoners, he dares not truſt thoſe who are committed to hard labour with any heavy or ſharp inſtruments of work, leſt they ſhould be converted into weapons by the felons.

What good conſequence then can ariſe from ſending idle and diſorderly perſons to a place where they are neither to be corrected nor employed; and where with the converſation of many as bad, and ſometimes worſe than themſelves, they are ſure to be improved in the knowledge, and confirmed in the practice of iniquity? can it be conceived that

[*k*] 2 Inſt. 729. [*l*] By the laſt vagabond act, which repeals all the former, rogues and vagabonds are to be whipt, or ſent to the houſe of correction.

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ſuch perſons will not come out of theſe houſes much more idle and diſorderly than they went in? the truth of this I have often experienced in the behaviour of the wretches brought before me; the moſt impudent and flagitious of whom, have always been ſuch as have been before acquainted with the diſcipline of Bridewell; a commitment to which place, though it often cauſes great horror and lamentation in the novice, is uſually treated with ridicule and contempt by thoſe who have already been there.

For this reaſon, I believe, many of the worthieſt magiſtrates have, to the utmoſt of their power, declined a rigorous execution of the laws for the puniſhment of idleneſs, thinking that a ſevere reprimand might more probably work the converſion of ſuch perſons than the committing them to Bridewell. This I am ſure may, with great certainty, be concluded, that the milder method is leſs liable to render what is bad worſe, and to complete the deſtruction of the offender.

But this is a way of acting, however worthy be the motive, which is ſometimes more juſtifiable to a man's own conſcience, than it would be in the Court of King's Bench, which requires the magiſtrate to execute the laws entruſted to his care, and in the manner which thoſe laws preſcribe. And beſides the indecency of ſhewing a diſregard to the laws in being, nothing ſurely can be more improper than to ſuffer the idleneſs of the poor, the cauſe of ſo much evil to the ſociety, to go entirely unpuniſhed.

And yet ſhould the magiſtrate do his duty as he is required, will the intent and purpoſe of the legiſlature be anſwered? the parliament was, indeed, too wiſe to puniſh idleneſs barely by confinement. Labour is the true and proper puniſhment of idleneſs, for the ſame reaſon which the excellent Dr. Swift gives why death is the proper puniſhment of cowardice: Where then is the remedy? is it to enforce the

execution of the law as it now ſtands, and to reform the preſent conduct of the ſeveral Bridwells? this would, I believe, be as difficult a work as the cleanſing the Augean ſtables of old; and would require as extraordinary a degree of political, as that did of natural ſtrength to accompliſh it. In truth, the caſe here is the ſame as with the overſeers before, the truſt is too great for the perſons on whom it devolves: and though theſe houſes are, in ſome meaſure, under the inſpection of the juſtices of peace, yet this in the ſtatute is recommended in too general a manner to their care, to expect any good fruits from it. As 'to the true and faithful account which 'they are to yield to the juſtices, at the ſeſſions, of 'the perſons in their cuſtody,' this is at preſent little more than matter of form; nor can it be expected to be any other in the hurry of a public ſeſſions, and when the ſtench ariſing from the priſoners is ſo intolerable, that it is difficult to get any gentlemen to attend the court at that time. In the laſt vagrant act indeed two juſtices are appointed twice, or oftener, every year to examine into the ſtate and nature of houſes of correction, &c. yet, as it gives them no power but of reporting to the ſeſſions, I believe it hath not produced any good effect; for the buſineſs of the ſeſſions is ſo complicated and various, that it happens, as in all caſes where men have too much to do, that they do little or nothing effectually. Perhaps, indeed, if two or more juſtices of the peace were appointed to meet once every month at ſome convenient place, as near as poſſible to the Bridewell, there to ſummon the governor before them, to examine the accounts of his ſtock and implements for work, and to make ſuch orders (under what reſtrictions the parliament ſhall think proper) as to ſuch juſtices ſhall ſeem requiſite; this might afford a palliative at leaſt. In ſhort, the great cure for idleneſs is labour; and this is its only proper puniſhment; nor ſhould it ever be in the power

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of the idle perſon to commute this puniſhment for any other.

In the reign of [*m*] Edward VI. a moſt ſevere law, indeed, was made for the puniſhment of idleneſs.—'If any perſon (ſays the Statute) ſhall bring 'to two juſtices of peace any runagate ſervant, or 'any other, which liveth idly and loiteringly by the 'ſpace of three days, the ſaid juſtices ſhall cauſe the 'ſaid idle and loitering ſervant or vagabond to be 'marked with an hot iron on the breaſt with the let-'ter V, and adjudge him to be ſlave to the ſame 'perſon that brought and preſented him, to have to 'him, his executors and aſſigns for two years, 'who ſhall take the ſaid ſlave and give him bread, 'water, or ſmall drink, and refuſe meat, and cauſe 'him to work by beating, chaining or otherwiſe, 'in ſuch work and labour as he ſhall put him, be it 'never ſo vile. And if ſuch ſlave abſent himſelf 'from his maſter within the term, by the ſpace of 'fourteen days, he ſhall be adjudged by two juſtices 'of the peace to be marked on the forehead, or the 'ball of the cheek, with a hot iron, with the ſign 'of an S, and ſhall be adjudged to be ſlave to his 'ſaid maſter for ever; and, if the ſaid ſlave ſhall run 'away a ſecond time, he ſhall be adjudged a felon.'

This ſtatute lived no longer than two years, indeed it deſerved no longer a date; for it was cruel, unconſtitutional, and rather reſembling the cruel temper of a Draco, than the mild ſpirit of the Engliſh law. But, *eſt modus*; there is a difference between making men ſlaves, and felons, and compelling them to be ſubjects; in ſhort, between throwing the reins on the neck of idleneſs, and riding it with ſpurs of iron.

Thus have I endeavoured to give the reader a general idea of the laws which relate to this ſingle point of employing the poor; and, as well as I am able to diſcern, of their defects, and the reaſons of thoſe defects. I have likewiſe given ſome hints for

[*m*] 1 Ed. VI. 13 Rep.

the cure, and have preſumed to offer a plan, which, in my humble opinion, would effectually anſwer every purpoſe deſired.

But till this plan ſhall be produced; or (which is more to be expected) till ſome man of greater abilities, as well as of greater authority, ſhall offer ſome new regulation for this purpoſe; ſomething, at leaſt, ought to be done to ſtrengthen the laws already made, and to enforce their execution. The matter is of the higheſt concern; and imports us not only as we are good men and good Chriſtians; but as we are good Engliſhmen. Since not only preſerving the poor from the higheſt degrees of wretchedneſs, but the making them uſeful ſubjects, is the thing propoſed; *A work*, ſays Sir Joſiah Child, [n] *which would redound ſome hundreds of thouſands per ann to the public advantage.* Laſtly, it is of the utmoſt importance to that point which is the ſubject matter of this treatiſe, for which reaſon I have thought myſelf obliged to give it a full conſideration. 'The want 'of a due proviſion,' ſays lord [o] Hale, 'for educa-'tion and relief of the poor in a way of induſtry, 'is that which fills the gaols with malefactors, and 'fills the kingdom with idle and unprofitable per-'ſons that conſume the ſtock of the kingdom with-'out improving it, and that will daily increaſe, even 'to a deſolation in time. And this error in the firſt 'concoction is never remediable but by gibbets and 'whipping.'

In ſerious truth, if proper care ſhould be taken to provide for the preſent poor, and to prevent their increaſe by laying ſome effectual reſtraints on the extravagance of the lower ſort of people, the remaining part of this treatiſe would be rendered of little conſequence; ſince few perſons, I believe, have made their exit at Tyburn, who have not owed their fate to ſome of the cauſes before mentioned. But as I

[n] Page 88. [o] At the end of his diſcourſe touching the relief of the poor.

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SECT. V.

Of the puniſhment of RECEIVERS OF STOLEN GOODS.

NOW one great encouragement to theft of all kinds is the eaſe and ſafety with which ſtolen goods may be diſpoſed of. It is a very old and vulgar, but a very true ſaying, 'That if there were 'no receivers there would be no thieves.' Indeed could not the thief find a market for his goods, there would be an abſolute end of ſeveral kinds of theft; ſuch as ſhop-lifting, burglary, &c. the objects of which are generally goods and not money. Nay, robberies on the highway would ſo ſeldom anſwer the purpoſe of the adventurer, that very few would think it worth their while to riſque ſo much with ſuch ſmall expectations.

But at preſent, inſtead of meeting with any ſuch diſcouragement, the thief diſpoſes of his goods with almoſt as much ſafety as the honeſteſt tradeſman: for firſt, if he hath made a booty of any value, he is almoſt ſure of ſeeing it advertiſed within a day or two, directing him *to bring the goods to a certain place where he is to receive a reward* (ſometimes the full value of the booty) *and no queſtions aſked.* This method of recovering ſtolen goods by the owner, a very learned judge formerly declared to have been, in his opinion, a compoſition of felony. And ſurely if this be proved to be carried into execution, I think it muſt amount to a full conviction of that crime. But, indeed, ſuch advertiſements are in themſelves ſo very ſcandalous, and of ſuch pernicious conſequence,

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that if men are not aſhamed to own they prefer an old watch or a diamond ring to the good of the ſociety, it is pity ſome effectual law was not contrived to prevent their giving this public countenance to robbery for the future.

But if the perſon robbed ſhould prove either too honeſt, or too obſtinate, to take this method of recovering his goods, the thief is under no difficulty in turning them into money. Among the great number of brokers and pawn-brokers ſeveral are to be found, who are always ready to receive a gold watch at an eaſy rate, and where no queſtions are aſked, or at leaſt, where no anſwer is expected but ſuch as the thief can very readily make.

Beſides, the clandeſtine dealers this way, who ſatisfy their conſciences with telling a ragged fellow, or wench, that *they hope* they came honeſtly by ſilver, and gold, and diamonds; there are others who ſcorn ſuch pitiful ſubterfuges, who engage openly with the thieves, and who have warehouſes filled with ſtolen goods only. Among the Jews, who live in a certain place in the city, there have been, and perhaps ſtill are, ſome notable dealers this way, who, in an almoſt public manner, have carried on a trade for many years with Rotterdam, where they have their warehouſes and factors, and whither they export their goods with prodigious profit, and as prodigious impunity. And all this appeared very plainly laſt winter in the examination of one Cadoſa, a Jew, in the preſence of the late excellent duke of Richmond, and many other noblemen and magiſtrates.

What then ſhall we ſay? is not this miſchief worthy of ſome remedy, or is it not capable of it? the noble duke (one of the worthieſt of magiſtrates, as well as of the beſt of men) thought otherwiſe, as would have appeared, had his valuable life, for the good of mankind, been prolonged.

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Certain it is, that the law, as it now ſtands, is ineffectual to cure the evil. Let us ſee therefore, if poſſible, where the defect lies.

At the common law, any one might lawfully (ſays lord Hale) have received his own goods from the felon who ſtole them [*p*]. But, if he had received them upon agreement not to proſecute, or to proſecute faintly, this would have been theftbote puniſhable by impriſonment and ranſom.

But in neither of the foregoing caſes would the receiver of the goods have become an acceſſary to the felon. So if one man had bought another's goods of the thief, though he had known them to be ſtolen, if he had given the juſt value for them, he would not have become an acceſſary [*q*]. But if he had bought them at an undervalue, this, Sir Richard Hyde held, would have made him an acceſſary. My lord Hale differs from his opinion, and his reaſon to ſome readers may ſeem a pleaſant one; *For if there be any odds* (ſays he) *he that gives more, benefits the felon more than he that gives leſs than value.* However, this, his lordſhip thinks, may be a miſdemeanor puniſhable by fine and impriſonment; but that the bare receiving of goods knowing them to be ſtolen makes not an acceſſary.

So ſays the great lord Hale, and ſo indeed was the law; though the judges ſeem not to have been unanimous in their opinion. In the book of *Aſſizes* [*r*], Scrope is ſaid to have held otherwiſe; and though Shard there quaſhed an appeal of felony for receiving ſtolen goods only, yet I cannot help obſerving, that the reporter of the caſe hath left a note of aſtoniſhment at the judgment of the court. This, ſays he, was wonderful! and wonderful ſurely it is, if he who receives, relieves, comforts, or aſſiſts a felon, ſhall be an acceſſary, that he ſhall not be ſo, who know-

[*p*] Hiſt. P. C. vol. I. p. 546. 619. ib. ubi ſupra. [*q*] Hiſt. P. C. [*r*] 27 Aſſiz. 69.

ingly buys the goods of the felon; which is generally, I believe, the ſtrongeſt relief, comfort, and aſſiſtance, which can be given him, and without the hope and expectation of which, he would never have committed the theft or robbery.

It is unneceſſary, however, to enter further into this controverſy; ſince it is now expreſsly declared by ſtatute [s], 'That the receivers of ſtolen goods, 'knowing them to be ſtolen, ſhall be deemed ac-'ceſſaries after the fact.'

But this ſtatute, though it removed the former abſurdity of the law, was not ſufficient to remedy the evil; there yet remaining many difficulties in bringing theſe pernicious miſcreants to juſtice, conſiſtent with legal rules. For,

1. As the offence of the acceſſary is dependent on that of the principal, he could not be tried or outlawed, till after the conviction or attainder of the principal; ſo that however ſtrong evidence there might be againſt the receiver, he was ſtill ſafe, unleſs the thief could be apprehended.

2. If the thief on his trial ſhould be acquitted, as often happens through ſome defect of evidence in the moſt notorious caſes, the receiver, being only an acceſſary, though he hath confeſſed his crime, or though the moſt undeniable evidence could be brought againſt him, muſt be acquitted likewiſe.

3. In petit larceny there can be no ſuch acceſſary [t]: for though the ſtatute ſays, that a receiver of ſtolen goods, knowing, &c. ſhall be an acceſſary after the fact, that is legally underſtood to mean only in caſes where ſuch acceſſary may be by law; and that is confined to ſuch felonies as are to receive judgment of death, or to have the benefit of clergy. Now, for petit larceny, which is the ſtealing goods of leſs value than a ſhilling, the puniſhment at com-

[s] 3 and 4 W. and M. c. ix. Hale, Hiſt. vol. I. p. 530. 618.

[t] Cro. Eliz. 750.

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mon law is whipping; and this was properly enough conſidered as too trifling an offence to extend the guilt to criminals in a ſecond degree. But ſince juries have taken upon them to conſider the value of goods as immaterial, and to find upon their oaths, that what is proved to be worth ſeveral ſhillings, and ſometimes ſeveral pounds, is of the value of ten-pence, this is become a matter of more conſequence. For inſtance; if a pickpocket ſteal ſeveral handkerchiefs, or other things, to the value of twenty ſhillings, and the receiver of theſe, knowing them to be ſtolen, is diſcovered, and both are indicted, the one as principal, the other as acceſſary, as they muſt be; if the jury convict the principal, and find the goods to be of as high value as a ſhilling, he muſt receive judgment of death; whereas, by finding the goods (which they do upon their oath) to be of the value of ten-pence, the thief is ordinarily ſentenced to be whipt, and returns immediately to his trade of picking pockets, and the acceſſary is of courſe diſcharged, and of courſe returns to his trade of receiving the booty. Thus the jury are perjured, the public highly injured, and two excellent acts of parliament defeated, that two miſcreants may laugh at their proſecutors, and at the law.

The two former of theſe defects are indeed remedied by a later ſtatute [*u*], which enacts, 'That the 'buyers and receivers of ſtolen goods, knowing 'them to be ſtolen, may be proſecuted for a miſde-'meanor, and puniſhed by fine and impriſonment, 'though the principal felon be not before convicted 'of felony.'

This laſt ſtatute is again repeated in the 5th of queen Anne [*w*]; and there the power of the court to puniſh in the caſe of the miſdemeanor, is farther encreaſed to any other corporal puniſhment, which the court ſhall think fit to inflict, inſtead

[*u*] 3 and 4 W. and M. c. ix. [*w*] Chap. xxxi.

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of fine and impriſonment; and, in the caſe of the felony, the acceſſary is to receive judgment of death; but the benefit of clergy is not taken away. Laſtly, By the ſtatute of George II. [x] the receivers of ſtolen goods, knowing, &c. are to be tranſported for fourteen years. And by the ſame ſtatute, every perſon taking money or reward, directly or indirectly, under pretence or upon account of helping any to ſtolen goods, unleſs ſuch perſon apprehend and bring to his trial the felon, and give evidence againſt him, is made guilty of felony without benefit of clergy.

And thus ſtands the law at this day; which, notwithſtanding the repeated endeavours of the legiſlature, experience ſhews us, is incapable of removing this deplorable evil from the ſociety.

The principal defect ſeems, to me, to lie in the extreme difficulty of convicting the offender; for,

1. Where the thief can be taken, you are not at liberty to proſecute for the miſdemeanor.

2. The thief himſelf, who muſt be convicted before the acceſſary is to be tried, cannot be a witneſs.

3. Without ſuch evidence it is very difficult to convict of the knowledge, that the goods were ſtolen; which, in this caſe, can appear from circumſtances only. Such are principally, 1. Buying goods of value, of perſons very unlikely to be the lawful proprietors. 2*dly*, Buying them for much leſs than their real value. 3*dly*, Buying them, or ſelling them again, in a clandeſtine manner, concealing them, &c. None of theſe are commonly liable to be proved; and I have known a man acquitted, where moſt of theſe circumſtances have appeared againſt him.

What then is to be done, to extirpate this ſtubborn miſchief? to prove the pernicious conſequence of which, I need, I think, only appeal to the ſenſe

[x] Chap. xi.

of

of parliament, teſtified in ſo many repeated acts, and very ſtrongly expreſſed in their preambles.

Firſt, Might it not be proper to put an effectual ſtop to the preſent ſcandalous method of compounding felony, by public advertiſements in the newspapers? Might not the inſerting ſuch advertiſements be rendered highly criminal in the authors of them, and in the printers themſelves, unleſs they diſcover ſuch authors?

2*dly*, Is it impoſſible to find any means of regulating brokers and pawnbrokers? if ſo, what arguments are there againſt extirpating entirely a ſet of miſcreants, which, like other vermin, harbour only about the poor, and grow fat by ſucking their blood?

3*dly*, Why ſhould not the receiving ſtolen goods, knowing them to be ſtolen, be made an original offence? by which means the thief, who is often a paultry offender in compariſon of the receiver, and ſometimes his pupil, might, in little felonies, be made a witneſs againſt him; for thus the trial of the receiver would in no caſe depend on the trial or conviction of the thief.

4*thly*, Why may not the bare buying or taking to pawn ſtolen goods, above a certain value, be made evidence of receiving with knowledge, &c. unleſs the goods were bought in market overt (no broker's or pawnbroker's ſhop to be reputed ſuch market overt) or unleſs the defendant could prove, by a credible witneſs to the tranſaction, that he had good cauſe to regard the ſeller or pawner of the goods to be the real owner. If 20*s.* was the value limited, it would anſwer all the purpoſes contended for; and would in nowiſe interfere with the honeſt trade (if indeed it ever be ſo) between the pawnbroker and the poor.

If none of theſe methods be thought poſſible or proper, I hope better will be found out. Something ought to be done, to put an end to the preſent practice,

practice, of which I ſee daily the moſt pernicious conſequences; many of the younger thieves appearing plainly to be taught, encouraged, and employed by the receivers.

SECT. VI.

Of laws relating to VAGABONDS.

THE other great encouragement to robbery, beſide the certain means of finding a market for the booty, is the probability of eſcaping puniſhment.

Firſt, then, The robber hath great hopes of being undiſcovered; and this is one principal reaſon, why robberies are more frequent in this town, and in its neighbourhood, than in the remoter parts of the kingdom.

Whoever indeed conſiders the cities of London and Weſtminſter, with the late vaſt addition of their ſuburbs; the great irregularity of their buildings, the immenſe number of lanes, alleys, courts, and bye-places; muſt think, that, had they been intended for the very purpoſe of concealment, they could ſcarce have been better contrived. Upon ſuch a view the whole appears as a vaſt wood or foreſt, in which a thief may harbour with as great ſecurity, as wild beaſts do in the deſerts of Africa or Arabia; for, by *wandering* from one part to another, and often ſhifting his quarters, he may almoſt avoid the poſſibility of being diſcovered.

Here, according to the method I have hitherto purſued, I will conſider, what remedy our laws have applied to this evil, namely, the *wandering* of the poor, and whether, and wherein theſe remedies appear defective.

There is no part of our ancient conſtitution more admirable than that which was calculated to prevent the concealment of thieves and robbers. The original

ginal of this inſtitution is given to Alfred, at the end of his wars with the Danes, when the Engliſh were very much debauched by the example of thoſe barbarians, and betook themſelves to all manner of licentiouſneſs and rapine. Theſe evils were encouraged, as the hiſtorians ſay, by the vagabond ſtate of the offenders, who, having no ſettled place of abode, upon committing any offence, ſhifted their quarters, and went where it was difficult to diſcover them. To remedy this miſchief, therefore, Alfred having limited the ſhires or counties in a better manner than before, divided them into hundreds, and theſe again into tithings, decennaries, or ten families [*y*].

Over every one of theſe tithings or decennaries, there was a chief, called the tithingman or burgholder, who had a power to call a court, and to try ſmall offences; the greater being referred to that court, which was in like manner eſtabliſhed over every hundred.

Every one of theſe heads of families were pledges to each other for the behaviour of all their family; and were likewiſe reciprocally pledges for each other to the hundred.

If any perſon was ſuſpected of a crime, he was obliged to find ſecurity for his good behaviour out of the ſame hundred and tithing. This if he could not find, he had reaſon to apprehend being treated with great ſeverity; and if any accuſed perſon, either before or after his finding bail, had fled from

[*y*] 'By theſe ten families (ſays the annotator to Rapin) we 'are not to underſtand ten houſe-keepers, but ten lords of manors, 'with all their vaſſals, tenants, labourers, and ſlaves; who, though 'they did not all live under their lord's roof, were all counted part 'of his family. As there were no little freeholders in thoſe times, 'nor for long after, ten ſuch families muſt occupy a large ſpace of 'ground, and might well conſtitute a rural tithing.' But this rural tithing would be larger than the hundred itſelf; and the very name and office of a tithingman, continued in pariſhes to this day, ſhews that lords of manors could not be here meant.

juſtice,

juſtice, the whole tithing and hundred ſhould pay a fine to the king.

In caſe of the default of appearance in a decenner, his nine pledges had one and thirty days to bring the delinquent forth to juſtice. If this failed, then the chief of thoſe decenners, by the vote of that and the neighbour decennaries, was to purge himſelf both of the guilt of the fact, and of being parties to the flight of the delinquent. And if they could not do this, then they were, by their own oaths, to acquit themſelves, and to bind themſelves to bring the delinquent to juſtice as ſoon as they could; and, in the mean time, to pay the damage out of the eſtate of the delinquent; and, if that were not ſufficient, then out of their own eſtate [z].

Every ſubject in the kingdom was regiſtered in ſome tithing; only perſons of the firſt rank had the privilege (ſays Mr. Rapin [a]) that their ſingle family ſhould make a tithing, for which they were reſponſible. 'All archbiſhops, biſhops, earls, barons, 'and all (ſays Bracton) who have ſok and ſac, tol 'and team, and theſe kinds of liberties, ought 'to have under their FRIDHBURGH, all their knights, 'ſervants, eſquires; and, if any of them prove de-'linquent, the lord ſhall bring him to juſtice, or pay 'his fine [b].'

The maſter of the family was anſwerable for all who fed at his board, and were of his livery, and for all his ſervants of every kind, even for thoſe who ſerved him for their food only, without wages. Theſe were ſaid to be of his manupaſt; ſo were his gueſts; and if a man abode at any houſe but two nights, the maſter of that houſe was anſwerable for him [c].

In a word, ſays Bracton, every man, as well freemen as others, ought to belong to ſome frankpledge

[z] Bacon's Hiſtor. Diſc. p. 43. [a] Diſſertation on the Government of the Anglo-Saxons. [b] Bract. l. iii. De Corona, cap. x. [c] Bract. ubi ſup. Brit. 19. b.

(i. e.

(*i. e.* to ſome decenna) unleſs he be a traveller, or belong to the manupaſt of ſome other; or unleſs he gives ſome countervailing ſecurity to the public, as dignity, (*viz.* nobility) order, (knighthood, or of the clergy) or eſtate, (*viz.* either freehold in land, or perſonal effects, *res immobiles*) if he be a citizen.

By the laws of Edward the Confeſſor, every perſon, of the age of twelve years, ought to be ſworn in a view of frankpledge, *That he will neither become a thief himſelf, nor be any wiſe acceſſary to theft.*

This court, Briton [*d*] tells us, was to be holden twice a year, which was afterwards reduced to once a year by *Magna Charta*; and no man, ſays the Mirror, was, by an ancient ordinance, ſuffered to remain in the kingdom, who was not enrolled *in decenna*, and had freemen for his pledges [*e*].

Such was this excellent conſtitution, which even in Alfred's time, when it was in its infancy, wrought ſo admirable an effect, that Ingulphus ſays, a traveller might have openly left a ſum of money ſafely in the fields and highways, and have found it ſafe and untouched a month afterwards [*f*]. Nay, William of Malmſbury tells us, the king ordered bracelets of gold to be hung up in the croſs-ways, as a proof of the honeſty of his people, none ever offering to meddle with them [*g*].

But this conſtitution would have been deficient, if it had only provided for the incorporating the ſubjects, unleſs it had confined them to the places where they were thus incorporated.

And therefore by the laws of Alured, or Canute, it was rendered unlawful for any of the decenners to depart from their dwelling, without the conſent of their fellow-pledges; nor were they at liberty to leave the country, without the licence of the ſheriff or governor of the ſame [*h*].

[*d*] Brit. 36. b. [*e*] Mirr. chap. i. ſect. 17. and chap. v. ſect. 1. [*f*] Script. poſt Bedam, p. 870. [*g*] Ib. p. 44. [*h*] Bacon, p. 44.

And if a perſon, who fled from one tithing, was received in another, the tithing receiving him ſhould anſwer for his deed (*i. e.* by amercement) if he was there found [*i*].

'Before this order was eſtabliſhed,' ſays Rapin, 'the meaner ſort of people might ſhift their quarters, by reaſon of their obſcurity, which prevented them from being taken notice of. But it was impoſſible for them to change their habitation, after they were obliged to bring a teſtimonial from their tithing, to enable them to ſettle and be regiſtered in another [*k*].'

Whilſt this ancient conſtitution remained entire, 'ſuch peace,' ſays lord Coke, 'was preſerved within the realm, as no injuries, homicides, robberies, thefts, riots, tumults, or other offences, were committed; ſo as a man, with a white wand, might ſafely have ridden, before the conqueſt, with much money about him, without any weapon, through England [*l*].' Nay, even in the tumultuous times of William the Conqueror, the hiſtorians tell us, there was ſcarce a robber to be found in the kingdom.

This view of frankpledge remained long after the Conqueſt: for we find it twice repeated in one chapter of *Magna Charta* [*m*]; and there particularly it is ſaid, *Fiat autem viſus de frankpleg' ſic videlicet* QUOD PAX NOSTRA TENEATUR. Nay, Bracton, who wrote after that time, and Fleta after him, ſpeak of frankpledge as then ſubſiſting.

The ſtatute of Marlborough likewiſe, which was made the 52d of Henry III. mentions the ſame court; as doth *Briton*, who wrote ſtill later, in many places. And in the 17th of Edward II. an act was made, called, *The Statute for the view of Frankpledge* [*n*].

[*i*] Brit. ubi ſupra. [*k*] Rapin, ubi ſup. [*l*] 2 Inſtit. 73.
[*m*] Chap. xxxiii. [*n*] But this matter was before that transferred from the decennary court to the leets and ſheriff's tourn.

Nay,

Nay, in the reign of Henry IV. we find an amercement for not coming to a view of frankpledge; and there the whole Court of King's Bench were of opinion, that every man, as well maſters as ſervants, were obliged to repair to this court [o]; and though then poſſibly it was degenerated, and become little more than form.

But in proceſs of time, this inſtitution dwindled to nothing; ſo that lord Coke might truly ſay, *Quod vera inſtitutio illius curiæ evanuit et velut umbra ejuſdem adhuc remanet*; and a little after, ſpeaking of the frankpledge, the *Decennarii*, and the *Decenna*, he ſays, 'They are names continued only as ſhadows 'of antiquity [p]. 'Nay, this great man himſelf (if, after a moſt careful and painful peruſal of all he hath writ, as well here as in his 4th Inſtitute, and other places on the ſubject, I may be allowed to ſay ſo) ſeems to have no very clear idea concerning them; and might have fairly owned, of the original of the leet and frankpledge, what one of the ſages doth of an hundred, in the book of Henry VII. 'That a hun-'dred had exiſted above a hundred years; and 'therefore, as to the true definition of a hundred, 'and whether it was compoſed of a hundred towns, 'or a hundred lordſhips, and whether it had an-'ciently more or leſs juriſdiction, he frankly owned 'that he knew nothing of the matter [q].'

The ſtatute of Marlborough [r] had perhaps given a fatal blow to the true and ancient uſe of the view of frankpledge; of which, as lord Coke ſays [s], the ſheriffs had made an ill uſe; for, in the 3d year of the ſucceeding king [t], we find the legiſlature providing againſt notorious felons, and ſuch as be openly of evil fame, that they ſhall not be admit-

[o] Hill. 3 H. IV. Pl. 19. [p] 2 Inſt. 72, 73.
[q] 8 H. VII. 3 b. [r] Chap. xxiv. By which juſtices in eyre are forbidden to amerce townſhips, becauſe all of twelve years old were not ſworn. [s] 2 Inſtit. 147. [t] Weſtminſter, 1 chap. xv.

ted to bail; and, in the 13th, the ſtatute of Wincheſter entirely altered the law, and gave us a new conſtitution on this head.

1. By this act the whole hundred is made anſwerable in caſe of robberies.

2. In order to prevent the concealment of robbers in towns, it is enacted, 1. That the gates of all walled towns ſhall be ſhut from ſun-ſetting to ſun-riſing. 2. A watch is appointed, who are to arreſt all ſtrangers. 3. No perſon is to lodge in the ſuburbs, nor in any place out of the town, unleſs his hoſt will anſwer for him. 4. The bailiffs of towns ſhall make enquiry once within fifteen days at the fartheſt, of all perſons lodged in the ſuburbs, &c. and of thoſe who have received any ſuſpicious perſons.

3. To prevent the concealment of robbers without the towns, it is enacted, that the highways leading from one market-town to another, ſhall be enlarged, and no buſhes, woods, or dykes, in which felons may be concealed, ſhall be ſuffered therein.

4. Felons are to be purſued by hue and cry.

This ſtatute, ſays lord Coke, was made againſt a gang of rogues then called Roberdſmen, that took their denomination of one Robin Hood, who lived in Yorkſhire in the reign of Richard I. and who, with his companions, harbouring in woods and deſerts, committed a great number of robberies and other outrages on the ſubject. From this arch-thief a great number of idle and diſſolute fellows, who were called Drawlatches, Ribauds, and Roberdſmen, took their riſe, and infeſted this kingdom for above a century, notwithſtanding the many endeavours of the legiſlature from time to time to ſuppreſs them.

In all theſe laws, the principal aim viſibly was, to prevent idle perſons wandering from place to place, which, as we have before ſeen, was one great point of the decennary conſtitution.

Thus

Thus by a law made in the 34th year of Edward III. A labourer departing from his ſervice into another county was to be burned in the forehead with the letter F. And by the ſame ſtatute, if a labourer or ſervant do fly into a city or borough, the chief officer, on requeſt, was to deliver him up.

Again, in the 7th year of Richard II. the juſtices of peace are ordered to examine vagabonds; and, if they have no ſureties for their good behaviour, to commit them to priſon.

In the 11th year of Henry VII. it was enacted, that vagabonds and idle perſons ſhould be ſet on the ſtocks three days and three nights, and have no other ſuſtenance but bread and water, and then ſhall be put out of the town; and whoſoever gave ſuch idle perſons relief, forfeited 12 *d.*

By 22 Henry VIII. perſons calling themſelves Egyptians ſhall not come into the realm, under penalty of forfeiting their goods; and, if they do not depart within fifteen days after they are commanded, ſhall be impriſoned.

By the 1 and 2 Philip and Mary [*u*], Egyptians coming into the kingdom, and remaining here a month, are made guilty of felony without benefit of clergy.

And thoſe who bring them into the realm, forfeit 40 *l.*

By the 5 Eliz. the crime of felony without clergy is extended to all who are found in the company of Egyptians, or who ſhall counterfeit, transform, or diſguiſe themſelves as ſuch.

By 22 Henry VIII. A vagabond taken begging ſhall be whipped, and then ſworn to return to the place of his birth, or laſt abode for three years, there to put himſelf to labour.

By 27 Henry VIII. A valiant beggar or ſturdy vagabond, ſhall be whipped for the firſt offence,

[*u*] Chap. iv.

and ſent to the place of his birth, &c. for the ſecond, the upper part of the griſtle of his right ear cut off; and if after that he be taken wandering in idleneſs, &c. he ſhall be adjudged and executed as a felon.

I ſhall mention no more acts (for ſeveral were made) between this and the 39th Elizabeth, when the former acts concerning vagabonds were all repealed, and the ſeveral proviſions againſt them were reduced to one law.

This act, which contained many wholeſome proviſions, remained in force a long time, but at length was totally repealed by the 12th of Queen Anne; as this was again by the 13th George II. which laſt mentioned ſtatute ſtands now repealed by another made about ſix years ago [*w*].

I have taken this ſhort view of theſe repealed laws, in order to enforce two conſiderations. Firſt, That the removal of an evil, which the legiſlature have ſo often endeavoured to redreſs, is of great importance to the ſociety. 2*dly*, That an evil which ſo many ſubſequent laws have failed of removing, is of a very ſtubborn nature, and extremely difficult to be cured.

Here I hope to be forgiven, when I ſuggeſt, that the law hath probably failed in this inſtance, from want of ſufficient direction to a ſingle point. As on a former head, the diſeaſe ſeems to be no other than *idleneſs*, ſo here *wandering* is the cauſe of the miſchief, and that alone to which the remedy ſhould be applied. This, one would imagine, ſhould be the chief, if not ſole intent of all laws againſt vagabonds, which might, in a ſynonymous phraſe, be called laws againſt wanderers. But as the word itſelf hath obtained by vulgar uſe a more complex ſignification, ſo have the laws on this head had a more general view than to extirpate this miſchief; and by that means, perhaps, have failed of producing ſuch an effect.

[*w*] 17 George II. c. v.

I will

I will therefore confine myſelf, as I have hitherto done on this head, to the ſingle point of preventing the poor from wandering, one principal cauſe of the encreaſe of robbers; as it is the chief means of preſerving them from the purſuit of juſtice. It being impoſſible for any thief to carry on his trade long with impunity among his neighbours, and where not only his perſon, but his way of life, muſt be well known.

Now to obviate this evil, the law, as it now ſtands, hath provided in a twofold manner. 1. By way of prevention; and, 2. By way of remedy.

As to the firſt, the ſtatute of *Elizabeth* declares [*x*], That no perſon retained in huſbandry, or in any art or ſcience in the act mentioned [*y*], after the time of his retainer is expired, ſhall depart out of any city, pariſh, &c. nor out of the county, &c. to ſerve in any other, unleſs he have a teſtimonial under the ſeal of the city or town corporate, or of the conſtable or other head officer, and two other honeſt houſeholders of the city, town, or pariſh, where he laſt ſerved, declaring his lawful departure, and the name of the ſhire and place where he ſerved laſt. This certificate is to be delivered to the ſervant, and regiſtered by the parſon for 2 *d.* and the form of it is given in the act.

And no perſon is to be retained in any other ſervice, without ſhewing ſuch teſtimonial to the chief officer of the town corporate, and in every other place to the conſtable, curate, &c. on pain of impriſonment, till he procure a teſtimonial; and, if he cannot procure ſuch teſtimonial within twenty-one days, he ſhall be whipped and treated like a vagabond; ſo ſhall he be if found with a forged teſtimonial. And thoſe who receive him without ſhewing ſuch teſtimonial as aforeſaid, forfeit 5 *l.*

[*x*] 5 Eliz. c. iv. ſect. 10. in force, though not in uſe.
[*y*] *i. e.* in almoſt every trade.

As to the 2d, the law hath been extremely liberal in its proviſions. Theſe are of two ſorts; 1. Simply compulſory; and, 2. Compulſory with puniſhment. Under the former head may be ranged the ſeveral acts of parliament relating to the ſettlement, or rather removal of the poor.

As theſe ſtatutes, though very imperfectly executed, are pretty generally known (the nation having paid ſome millions to Weſtminſter-hall for the knowledge of them) I ſhall mention them very ſlightly in this place.

The ſtatute of Elizabeth, together with the wiſe execution of it, having made the poor an intolerable burden to the public, diſputes began to ariſe between pariſhes to whoſe lot it fell to provide for certain individuals; for the laws for confining the poor to their own homes, being totally diſregarded, theſe uſed to ramble wherever whim or conveniency invited them. The overſeers of one pariſh were perhaps more liberal of the parochial fund than in another; or, ſometimes probably the overſeer of the pariſh A was a friend or relation of a poor perſon of the pariſh of B, who did not chooſe to work. From ſome ſuch reaſon, the poor of one pariſh began to bring a charge on another.

To remedy ſuch inconveniencies, immediately after the reſtoration [*z*], a ſtatute was made, by which if any poor man, likely to be chargeable, came to inhabit in a foreign pariſh, unleſs in a tenement of 10 *l.* a year, the overſeers might complain to one juſtice within forty days, and then two juſtices were to remove the poor perſon to the place of his laſt legal ſettlement.

By a ſecond act [*a*], the forty days are to be reckoned after notice given in writing to the churchwarden or overſeer by the poor perſon, containing the place of his abode, number of his family, &c.

[*z*] 13 and 14 Car. II. c. xii. [*a*] 3 and 4 W. and M. c. xi. See 1 Jac. II. c. xvii.

But

But by the ſame ſtatute, the executing a public annual office during a year, or being charged with, and paying to the public taxes, &c. or (if unmarried and not having a child) being lawfully hired into any pariſh, and ſerving for one year, or being bound apprentice by indenture, and inhabiting, &c. are all made good ſettlements without notice.

By a third ſtatute [*b*], perſons bringing a certificate ſigned by the overſeers, &c. and allowed by two juſtices, cannot be removed till they become chargeable.

By a fourth [*c*], no ſuch certificate perſon ſhall gain a ſettlement by any other act, than by *bona fide*, taking a leaſe of a tenement of 10 *l. per annum*, or by executing an annual office.

By a fifth [*d*], no apprentice or hired ſervant of certificate perſon ſhall, by ſuch ſervice or apprenticeſhip, gain any ſettlement.

By a ſixth [*e*], no perſon by any purchaſe, of which the conſideration doth not *bona fide* amount to 30 *l.* ſhall gain any ſettlement longer than while he dwells on ſuch purchaſe.

So much for theſe laws of removal, concerning which there are ſeveral other acts of parliament and law caſes innumerable.

And yet the law itſelf is, as I have ſaid, very imperfectly executed at this day, and that for ſeveral reaſons.

1. It is attended with great trouble; for as the act of Ch. II. *very wiſely* requires two juſtices, and the Court of King's Bench requires them both to be preſent together (though they ſeldom are ſo) the order of removal is ſometimes difficult to be obtained, and more difficult to be executed; for the pariſh to which the party is to be removed (perhaps with a family) is often in a diſtant county; nay, ſometimes

[*b*] 8 and 9 W. III. c. xxx.
[*c*] 9 and 10 W. III. c. xi.
[*d*] 12 Anne, c. xviii.
[*e*] Geo. I. c. vii.

they are to be carried from one end of the kingdom to another.

2. It is often attended with great expence, as well for the reaſon aforeſaid, as becauſe the pariſh removing is liable to an appeal from the pariſh to which the poor is removed. This appeal is ſometimes brought by a wealthy and litigious pariſh againſt a poor one, without any colour of right whatever.

3. The removal is often ineffectual; for as the appeal is almoſt certain to be brought, if an attorney lives in the neighbourhood; ſo is it almoſt as ſure to ſucceed, if a juſtice lives in the pariſh. And as for relief in the King's Bench, if the juſtices of peace will allow you to go thither (for that they will not always do) the delay, as well as the coſt, is ſuch, that the remedy is often worſe than the diſeaſe.

For theſe reaſons, it can be no wonder that pariſhes are not very forward to put this law in execution. Indeed, in all caſes of removal, the good of the pariſh, and not of the public, is conſulted; nay, ſometimes the good of an individual only; and therefore the poor man, who is capable of getting his livelihood by his dexterity at any handicraft, and likely to do it by his induſtry, is ſure to be removed with his family; eſpecially if the overſeer, or any of his relations, ſhould be of the ſame occupation; but the idle poor, who threaten to rival no man in his buſineſs, are never taken any notice of, till they become actually chargeable; and if, by begging or robbing, they avoid this, as it is no man's intereſt, ſo no man thinks it his duty to apprehend them.

It cannot therefore be expected, that any good of the kind I am contending for, ſhould be effected by this branch of the law; let us therefore, in the ſecond place, take a view of that which is expreſsly levelled at vagrants, and calculated, as it appears, for the very purpoſe of ſuppreſſing wanderers.

To ſurvey this branch will be eaſy, as all the laws concerning vagrants are now reduced into one act of parliament; and it is the eaſier ſtill, as this act is very clearly penned, and (which is not always the caſe) reduced to a regular and intelligible method.

By this act then three degrees of offences are conſtituted:

Firſt, Perſons become idle and diſorderly within the act, by, 1. Threatening to run away and to leave their wives or children to the pariſh. 2. Unlawfully returning to the place from whence they have been legally removed by the order of two juſtices, without bringing a certificate, &c. 3. Living idle without employment, and refuſing to work for uſual and common wages. 4. By begging in their own pariſhes.

Secondly, Perſons by, 1. Going about as patent-gatherers, or gatherers of alms under pretence of loſs by fire, or other caſualty; or, 2. Going about as collectors for priſons, gaols, or hoſpitals. 3. Being fencers and bearwards. 4. Or common players of interludes, &c. 5. Or minſtrels, jugglers. 6. Pretending to be gypſies, or wandering in ſuch habit. 7. Pretending to phyſiognomy, or like crafty ſcience, &c. 8. Uſing any ſubtle craft to deceive and impoſe on any of his majeſty's ſubjects. 9. Playing or ſitting at unlawful games. 10. Running away, and leaving wives or children, whereby they become chargeable to any pariſh. 11. Wandering abroad as petty chapmen or pedlars, not authoriſed by law. 12. Wandering abroad and lodging in alehouſes, barns, outhouſes, or in the open air, not giving a good account of themſelves. 13. Wandering abroad and begging, pretending to be ſoldiers, mariners, ſeafaring men, or pretending to go to work at harveſt. 14. Wandering abroad and begging, are to be deemed rogues and vagabonds.

Thirdly, 1. End-gatherers offending againſt the 13 George I. entituled, *An act for the better regulation of the*

the woollen manufactures, &c. being convicted of ſuch offence; 2. Perſons apprehended as rogues and vagabonds eſcaping; or, 3. refuſing to go before a juſtice; or, 4. refuſing to be examined on oath; or, 5. refuſing to be conveyed by a paſs; or, 6. on examination giving a falſe account of themſelves after warning of the puniſhment. 7. Rogues and vagabonds eſcaping out of the houſe of correction, &c. or, 8. thoſe who having been puniſhed as rogues and vagabonds, ſhall offend again as ſuch, are made incorrigible rogues.

Now as to the *firſt* of theſe three diviſions, it were to be wiſhed, that perſons who are found in alehouſes, nighthouſes, &c. after a certain hour at night, had been included; for many ſuch, though of very ſuſpicious characters, taken up at privy ſearches, fall not under any of the above deſcriptions. Some of theſe I have known diſcharged, againſt whom capital complaints have appeared, when it hath been too late. Why might not the juſtice be entruſted with a power of detaining any ſuſpicious perſon, who could produce no known houſekeeper, or one of credit, to his character, for three days, within which time he might, by means of an advertiſement, be viewed by numbers who have been lately robbed? ſome ſuch have been, I know, confined upon an old ſtatute as perſons of evil fame, with great emolument to the public.

But I come to the *ſecond* head, namely, of vagabonds; and here I muſt obſerve, that *wandering* is of itſelf made no offence; ſo that unleſs ſuch wanderer be either a petty chapman, or a beggar or lodger in alehouſes, &c. he is not within the act of parliament.

Now, however uſeful this excellent law may be in the country, it will by no means ſerve the purpoſe in this town; for though moſt of the rogues who infeſt the public roads and ſtreets, indeed almoſt all the thieves in general, are vagabonds in the true ſenſe

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of the word, being wanderers from their lawful place of abode, very few of them will be proved vagabonds within the words of this act of parliament. Theſe vagabonds do, indeed, get their livelihood by thieving, and not as petty beggars or petty chapmen; and have their lodging not in alehouſes, &c. but in private houſes, where many of them reſort together, and unite in gangs, paying each 2*d. per* night for their beds.

The following account I have had from Mr. Welch, the high conſtable of Holborn; and none who know that gentleman, will want any confirmation of the truth of it.

'That in the pariſh of St. Giles's there are great 'numbers of houſes ſet apart for the reception of 'idle perſons and vagabonds, who have their lodg-'ings there for two-pence a night; that in the above 'pariſh, and in St. George, Bloomſbury, one wo-'man alone occupies ſeven of theſe houſes, all pro-'perly accommodated with miſerable beds from 'the cellar to the garret, for ſuch two-penny lodgers; 'that in theſe beds, ſeveral of which are in the ſame 'room, men and women, often ſtrangers to each 'other, lie promiſcuouſly; the price of a double bed 'being no more than three pence, as an encourage-'ment to them to lie together; that as theſe places 'are thus adapted to whoredom, ſo are they no leſs 'provided for drunkenneſs, gin being ſold in them 'all at a penny a quartern; ſo that the ſmalleſt ſum 'of money ſerves for intoxication; that in the exe-'cution of ſearch-warrants, Mr. Welch rarely finds 'leſs than twenty of theſe houſes open for the receipt 'of all comers at the lateſt hours; that in one of 'theſe houſes, and that not a large one, he hath 'numbered fifty-eight perſons of both ſexes, the 'ſtench of whom was ſo intolerable, that it com-'pelled him in a very ſhort time to quit the place.'

Nay, I can add, what I myſelf once ſaw in the pariſh of Shoreditch, where two little houſes were emptied of

of near ſeventy men and women; amongſt whom was one of the prettieſt girls I had ever ſeen, who had been carried off by an Iriſhman, to conſummate her marriage on her wedding-night, in a room where ſeveral others were in bed at the ſame time.

If one conſiders the deſtruction of all morality, decency and modeſty; the ſwearing, whoredom, and drunkenneſs, which is eternally carrying on in theſe houſes, on the one hand, and the exceſſive poverty and miſery of moſt of the inhabitants on the other, it ſeems doubtful whether they are more the objects of deteſtation, or compaſſion; for ſuch is the poverty of theſe wretches, that, upon ſearching all the above number, the money found upon all of them (except the bride, who, as I afterwards heard, had robbed her miſtreſs) did not amount to one ſhilling; and I have been credibly informed, that a ſingle loaf hath ſupplied a whole family with their proviſions for a week. Laſtly, if any of theſe miſerable creatures fall ſick (and it is almoſt a miracle, that ſtench, vermin, and want ſhould ever ſuffer them to be well) they are turned out in the ſtreets by their mercileſs hoſt or hoſteſs, where, unleſs ſome pariſh officer of extraordinary charity relieves them, they are ſure miſerably to periſh, with the addition of hunger and cold to their diſeaſe.

This picture, which is taken from the life, will appear ſtrange to many; for the evil here deſcribed, is, I am confident, very little known, eſpecially to thoſe of the better ſort. Indeed this is the only excuſe, and I believe the only reaſon, that it hath been ſo long tolerated; for when we conſider the number of theſe wretches, which, in the outſkirts of the town, amounts to a great many thouſands [*f*], it is a nuiſance which will appear to be big with every moral and political miſchief. Of theſe the

[*f*] Moſt of theſe are Iriſh, againſt the importation of whom a ſevere law was made in the reign of Hen. VI. and many of the repealed vagrant acts contained a clauſe for the ſame purpoſe.

exceſſive

exceſſive miſery of the wretches themſelves, oppreſſed with want, and ſunk in every ſpecies of debauchery, and the loſs of ſo many lives to the public, are obvious and immediate conſequences. There are ſome more remote, which, however, need not be mentioned to the diſcerning.

Among other miſchiefs attending this wretched nuiſance, the great increaſe of thieves muſt neceſſarily be one. The wonder in fact is, that we have not a thouſand more robbers than we have; indeed, that all theſe wretches are not thieves, muſt give us either a very high idea of their honeſty, or a very mean one of their capacity and courage.

Where then is the redreſs? is it not *to hinder the poor from wandering*, and this by compelling the pariſh and peace officers to apprehend ſuch wanderers or vagabonds, and by empowering the magiſtrate effectually to puniſh and ſend them to their habitations? thus if we cannot diſcover, or will not encourage any cure for idleneſs, we ſhall at leaſt compel the poor to ſtarve or beg at home; for there it will be impoſſible for them to ſteal or rob, without being preſently hanged or tranſported out of the way.

SECT. VII.

Of apprehending the perſons of felons.

I COME now to a third encouragement which the thief flatters himſelf with, viz. in his hopes of eſcaping from being apprehended.

Nor is this hope without foundation; how long have we known highwaymen reign in this kingdom after they have been publicly known for ſuch? have not ſome of theſe committed robberies in open daylight, in the ſight of many people, and have afterward rode ſolemnly and triumphantly through the neighbouring towns without any danger or moleſtation? this happens to every rogue who is be-

come eminent for his audaciouſneſs, and is thought to be deſperate; and is, in a more particular manner, the caſe of great and numerous gangs, many of which have, for a long time, committed the moſt open outrages in defiance of the law. Officers of juſtice have owned to me, that they have paſſed by ſuch with warrants in their pockets againſt them without daring to apprehend them; and, indeed, they could not be blamed for not expoſing themſelves to ſure deſtruction; for it is a melancholy truth, that, at this very day, a rogue no ſooner gives the alarm, within certain purlieus, than twenty or thirty armed villains are found ready to come to his aſſiſtance.

On this head the law may ſeem not to have been very defective in its cautions; *Firſt*, by veſting not only the officers of juſtice, but every private man, with authority for ſecuring theſe miſcreants, of which authority it may be of ſervice to the officers, as well as to the public in general, to be more particularly informed.

Firſt, By [*g*] Weſtminſter I. Perſons of evil fame are to be impriſoned without bail. By the ſtatute of Wincheſter [*h*], ſuſpicious night-walkers are to be arreſted and detained by the watch. A ſtatute made in [*i*] 5 Ed. III. reciting that many manſlaughters, felonies, and robberies had been done in times paſt, enacts, that if any perſon have an evil ſuſpicion of ſuch offenders, they ſhall be incontinently arreſted by the conſtable, and ſhall be delivered to the bailiff of the franchiſe, or to the ſheriff, to be kept in priſon till the coming of the juſtices. The 34 [*k*] Edw. III. gives power to the juſtices of peace, *inter alia*, to enquire of wanderers, and ſuch as will not labour, and to arreſt and impriſon ſuſpicious perſons, and to take ſureties of the good

[*g*] Weſtm. I. chap. xv.
[*h*] Winton. chap. iv.
[*i*] 5 Edw. III. chap. xiv.
[*k*] 34 Edw. III. c. i.

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Secondly, By the common law every perſon who hath committed a felony may be arreſted and ſecured by any private man preſent at the ſaid fact, though he hath no general nor particular authority, *i. e.* though he be no officer of juſtice, nor have any writ or warrant for ſo doing; and ſuch private man may either deliver the felon to the conſtable, ſecure him in a gaol, or carry him before a magiſtrate [*l*]. And if he refuſes to yield, thoſe who arreſt may juſtify beating [*m*] him; or in caſe of abſolute neceſſity killing him [*n*].

Nor is this arreſt merely allowed; it is enjoined by law, and the omiſſion, without ſome good excuſe, is a miſdemeanor puniſhable by amercement or fine and impriſonment [*o*].

Again, Every private man may arreſt another on ſuſpicion of felony, though he was not preſent at the fact [*p*]. But then if the party arreſted ſhould prove innocent, two circumſtances are neceſſary to juſtify the arreſt. 1*ſt*, A felony muſt be actually committed; and 2*dly*, there muſt be a reaſonable cauſe of ſuſpicion [*q*]; and common fame hath been adjudged to be ſuch cauſe [*r*].

But in this latter caſe my lord Hale adviſes the private perſon, if poſſible, to have recourſe to the magiſtrate and obtain his warrant, and the aſſiſtance of the [*s*] conſtable; for this arreſt is not required by law, nor is the party puniſhable for neglecting it;

[*l*] Hale's hiſt. P. C. vol. I. 587, vol. II. 77. [*m*] Pult. 10. a. [*n*] Hale's hiſt. vol. I. 588. [*o*] Hale, vol. I. 588. vol. II. 76, 77. [*p*] Lamb. l. ii. c. 3. Dalt. 403. Hale's hiſt. vol. I. 583. 3 Hen. VII. c. i. [*q*] Hale's hiſt. vol. II. 80. [*r*] Dalt. 407. 5 H. VII. 4, 5. [*s*] Hale's hiſt. vol. II. 76.

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and ſhould the perſon arreſted, or endeavoured to be arreſted, prove innocent, the party arreſting him, &c. will, in a great meaſure, be anſwerable for the ill conſequence; which if it be the death of the innocent perſon occaſioned by force or reſiſtance, this will, at leaſt, be manſlaughter; and if the other ſhould be killed in the attempt, this likewiſe will amount to manſlaughter only [*t*].

Again, any private perſon may juſtify arreſting a felon purſued by hue and cry. This, as the word imports, is a public alarm raiſed all over the country, in which the conſtable is firſt to ſearch his own vill or diviſion, and then to raiſe all the neighbouring vills about who are to purſue the felon with horſe and [*u*] foot. And this hue and cry may either be after a perſon certain, or on a robbery committed where the perſon is not known; and in the latter caſe, thoſe who purſue it may take ſuch perſons as they have probable cauſe to ſuſpect [*w*] vagrants, &c.

This method of purſuit lies at the common law, and is mentioned by Bracton [*x*]; and it is enforced by many ſtatutes, as by [*y*] Weſtm. 1. 'All are 'to be ready at the ſummons of the ſheriff, and at 'the cry of the county, to arreſt felons as well within 'franchiſes as without.' By 4 Edw. I. 'Hue and 'cry is ordered to be levied for all murders, 'burglaries, men ſlain, or in peril to be ſlain, and 'all are to follow it.' And laſtly, the ſtatute of Winton enacts as we have ſeen before.

And this purſuit may be raiſed, 1. By a private perſon. 2. By the country without an officer. 3. By an officer without a warrant. 4. By the warrant of a magiſtrate. And this laſt, if it can be obtained, is the ſafeſt way; for then all who aſſiſt are enabled by the ſtatutes 7 and 21 Jac. to plead the general iſſue [*z*].

[*t*] Hale's hiſt. vol. II. 82—3—4. [*u*] Hale's hiſt. vol. II. 101. [*w*] Hale's hiſt. vol. II. 103. [*x*] Lib. iii. c. 1. [*y*] Cap. ix. [*z*] Hale's hiſt. vol. I. 465. vol. II. 99, 100.

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The common law ſo ſtrictly enjoined this purſuit, that if any defect in raiſing it lay in the lord of the franchiſe, the franchiſe ſhould be ſeized into the king's hands; and, if the neglect lay in the bailiff, he ſhould have a heavy fine, and a year's impriſonment, or ſuffer two years impriſonment without a fine [*a*]. And now by a very late [*b*] ſtatute, 'If 'any conſtable, headborough, &c. of the hundred 'where any robberies ſhall happen, ſhall refuſe or '*neglect* to make hue and cry after the felons with 'the utmoſt expedition, as ſoon as he ſhall receive 'notice thereof, he ſhall, for every ſuch refuſal and 'neglect, forfeit 5 *l.* half to the king and half to the 'informer.'

Now hue and cry is of three different kinds: 1. Againſt a perſon certain by name. 2. Againſt a perſon certain by deſcription. 3. On a robbery, burglary, &c. where the perſon is neither known, nor capable of being deſcribed.

When a hue and cry is raiſed, every private man is not only juſtified in purſuing; but may be obliged, by command of the conſtable, to purſue the felon, and is puniſhable, if he diſobey, by fine and impriſonment [*c*]. And in this caſe, whether a felony was committed or not, or whether the perſon arreſted (provided he be the perſon named or deſcribed by the hue and cry) be guilty or innocent, or of evil or good fame, the arreſt is lawful and juſtifiable, and he who raiſed the hue and cry is alone to anſwer for the juſtice of it [*d*].

In this purſuit, likewiſe, the conſtable may ſearch ſuſpected houſes, if the doors be open; but breaking the door will not be juſtifiable, unleſs the felon be actually in the houſe; nor even then unleſs admittance hath been firſt demanded and denied [*e*]. And

[*a*] Fleta, l. i. c. 24. ad Init. [*b*] 8 Geo. II. c. 16. [*c*] Hale's hiſt. vol. I. 588. vol. II. 104. [*d*] 29 Ed. III. 39, 35 Hen. IV. Pl. 24. Hale's hiſt. vol. II. 101—2. [*e*] Ib. 102, 103.

what the conſtable may do himſelf will be juſtifiable by any other in his aſſiſtance, at leaſt, by his command [*f*]. Indeed a private perſon may juſtify the arreſt of an offender by the command of a peace officer; for he is bound to be aiding and aſſiſting to ſuch officer, is puniſhable for his refuſal, and is conſequently under the protection of the law [*g*].

Laſtly, a private perſon may arreſt a felon by virtue of a warrant directed to him: for though he is not bound to execute ſuch warrant, yet if he doth, it is good and juſtifiable [*h*].

Thirdly, Officers of public juſtice may juſtify the arreſt of a felon by virtue of their office, without any warrant. Whatever therefore a private perſon may do as above, will certainly be juſtifiable in them.

And as the arreſting felons, &c. is more particularly their duty, and their fine will be heavier for the neglect, ſo will their protection by the law be the greater; for if, in arreſting thoſe that are *probably ſuſpected*, the conſtable ſhould be killed, it is murder; on the other hand, if perſons purſued by theſe officers for felony, or *juſtifiable ſuſpicion* thereof, ſhall reſiſt or fly from them; or being apprehended, ſhall reſcue themſelves, reſiſt, or fly; ſo that they cannot *otherwiſe* be apprehended or re-apprehended, and are *of neceſſity* ſlain, it is no felony in the officers, or in their aſſiſtants, though poſſibly the parties killed are innocent; for, by reſiſting the king's authority in his officers, they draw their own blood on themſelves [*i*].

Again, to take a felon or ſuſpected felon, the conſtable without any warrant may break open the door. But to juſtify this, he muſt ſhew; 1. That the felon, &c. was in the houſe. 2. That his entry

[*f*] Hale's hiſt. vol. II. 104. [*g*] Pult. 6. 15. Hale's hiſt. vol. II. 86. [*h*] Dalt. 408. Hale's hiſt. vol. II. 86.

[*i*] Dalt. 409. 13 Edw. IV. 4, & 9. 5 to 92. Hale's hiſt. vol. II. 86. 90, 91.

was

was denied. 3. That it was denied after demand and notice that he was conſtable [*k*].

Laſtly, A felon may be apprehended by virtue of a warrant iſſuing from a magiſtrate lawfully authorized; in the execution of which the officer hath the ſame power, and will, at leaſt, have the ſame protection by law as in the arreſt *virtute officii*. And this warrant, if it be ſpecially directed to him, the conſtable may execute in any part within the juriſdiction of the magiſtrate; but he is only obliged to execute it within the diviſion for which he is conſtable, &c.

In the execution of a warrant for felony, the officer may break open the doors of the felon or of any perſon where he is concealed; and the breaking the doors of the felon is lawful at all events, but in breaking thoſe of a ſtranger the officer acts at his peril; for he will be a treſpaſſer if the felon ſhould not be there [*l*].

Such are the powers which the law gives for the apprehending felons (for as to the particular power of ſheriffs and coroners, and the proceſs of ſuperior courts, they may well be paſſed by in this place). Again, theſe powers we ſee are enforced with penalties; ſo that not only every officer of juſtice, but every private perſon is obliged to arreſt a known felon, and may be puniſhed for the omiſſion.

Nor doth the law ſtop here. The apprehending ſuch felons is not only authorized and enjoined, but even encouraged, with impunity to perſons guilty themſelves of felony, and with regard to others.

By 3 and 4 of [*m*] William and Mary, Perſons guilty of robbery in the highway, fields, &c. who, being out of priſon, ſhall diſcover any two offenders to be convicted of ſuch robbery, are entitled to his

[*k*] Ib. vol. I. 581. vol. II. 110. 582. vol. II. 117. 5 Co. 91. b.

[*l*] Hale's hiſt. vol. I.

[*m*] Chap. viii.

majeſty's pardon of ſuch robberies, &c. as they ſhall have then committed.

By 10 and 11 of [*n*] William III. this is extended to burglary, and ſuch felonies as are mentioned in the act.

By the ſame act all perſons who ſhall apprehend a felon for privately ſtealing goods to the value of 5 *s.* out of ſhop, warehouſe, coach-houſe, or ſtable, by night or by day (provided the felon be convicted thereof) ſhall be entitled to a certificate which may be aſſigned once, diſcharging ſuch apprehender or his aſſignee from all parochial offices in the pariſh or ward where ſuch felony was committed. This certificate is to be enrolled by the clerk of the peace, and cannot be aſſigned after it hath been uſed.

If any man be killed by ſuch houſebreaker, &c. in the attempt to apprehend him, his executors or adminiſtrators ſhall be entitled to ſuch certificate.

By the 3 and 4 of [*o*] W. and M. whoever ſhall apprehend and proſecute to conviction any robber on the highway, ſhall receive of the ſheriff 40 *l.* within a month after the conviction for every offender; and in caſe of the death or removal of the ſheriff, the money to be paid by the ſucceeding ſheriff within a month after the demand and certificate brought. The ſheriff on default forfeits double the ſum, to be recovered of him by the party, his executors, &c.

And if the perſon be killed in this attempt by any ſuch robber, the executors of ſuch perſon, &c. are entitled to the reward, under the like penalty.

Again, By the ſame act, the horſe, furniture, arms, money or other goods, taken with ſuch highwaymen, are given to the apprehender who ſhall proſecute to conviction, notwithſtanding the right or title of his majeſty, any body politic or lord of Franchiſe, or of thoſe who lent or let the ſame to hire

[*n*] Chap. xxiii. [*o*] Chap. viii. *ubi ſupra.*

to

to ſuch robber, with a ſaving only of the right of ſuch perſons from whom ſuch horſes, &c. were felonioufly taken.

By a ſtatute of queen Anne, the 40*l.* reward is extended to burglary and houſebreaking.

But though the law ſeems to have been ſufficiently provident on this head; there is ſtill great difficulty in carrying its purpoſe into execution, ariſing from the following cauſes:

Firſt, With regard to private perſons, there is no country, I believe, in the world, where that vulgar maxim ſo generally prevails, that what is the buſineſs of every man is the buſineſs of no man; and for this plain reaſon, that there is no country in which leſs honour is gained by ſerving the public. He therefore who commits no crime againſt the public, is very well ſatisfied with his own virtue; far from thinking himſelf obliged to undergo any labour, expend any money, or encounter any danger on ſuch account.

2*dly*, The people are not entirely without excuſe from their ignorance of the law; for ſo far is the power of apprehending felons, which I have above ſet forth, from being univerſally known, that many of the peace officers themſelves do not know that they have any ſuch power, and often, from ignorance, refuſe to arreſt a known felon till they are authorized by a warrant from a juſtice of peace. Much leſs then can the compulſory part to the private perſons carry any terror of a penalty of which the generality of mankind are totally ignorant; and of inflicting which they ſee no example.

Thirdly, So far are men from being animated with the hopes of public praiſe to apprehend a felon, that they are even diſcouraged by the fear of ſhame. The perſon of the informer is in fact more odious than that of the felon himſelf; and the thiefcatcher is in danger of worſe treatment from the populace than the thief.

Laſtly, As to the reward, I am afraid that the intention of the legiſlature is very little anſwered. For not to mention that the proſecutor's title to it is too often defeated by the fooliſh lenity of juries, who, by acquitting the priſoner of the burglary and finding him guilty of the ſimple felony only, or by finding the goods to be leſs than the value of 5 *s.* both often directly contrary to evidence, take the caſe entirely out of the act of parliament; and ſometimes even when the felon is properly convicted, I have been told that the money does not come ſo eaſily and fully to the pockets of thoſe who are entitled to it as it ought.

With regard to the firſt and fourth of theſe objections, I chuſe to be ſilent; to preſcribe any cure for the former, I muſt enter into diſquiſitions very foreign to my preſent purpoſe; and for the cure of the latter, when I conſider in whoſe power it is to remedy it, a bare hint will, I doubt not, ſuffice.

The ſecond objection, namely, the excuſe of ignorance, I have here endeavoured to remove by ſetting forth the law at large.

The third therefore only remains, and to that I ſhall ſpeak more fully, as the opinion on which it is founded is of the moſt pernicious conſequence to the ſociety; for what avail the beſt of laws, if it be a matter of infamy to contribute towards their execution? the force of this opinion may be ſeen in the following inſtance: We have a law by which every perſon who drives more than ſix horſes in a waggon forfeits as many horſes as are found to exceed that number. This law is broken every day, and generally with impunity; for though many men yearly venture and loſe their lives by ſtealing horſes, yet there are very few who dare ſeize a horſe, where the law allows and encourages it, when by ſuch ſeizure he is to acquire the name of an informer; ſo much worſe is this appellation in the opinion of the vulgar than

than that of thief; and ſo much more prevalent is the fear of popular ſhame than of death.

This abſurd opinion ſeems to have firſt ariſen from the ſtatute of 18 [*p*] Eliz. entitled, *An Act to redreſs diſorders in common informers.* By this ſtatute it appears, that very wicked uſes had been made of penal ſtatutes by theſe informers, who my lord Coke calls [*q*] *turbidum hominum genus*; and ſays, 'That they converted many penal laws which were 'obſolete, and in time grown impoſſible or incon-'venient to be performed, into ſnares to vex and 'intangle the ſubject.'

By the ſtatute itſelf it appears, that it was uſual at that time among theſe perſons to extort money of ignorant and fearful people by the terror of ſome penal law; for the breach of which the informer either inſtituted a proceſs, or pretended to inſtitute a proceſs, and then brought the timorous party to a compoſition.

This offence therefore was by this act made a high miſdemeanor, and puniſhed with the pillory.

Now who that knows any thing of the nature or hiſtory of mankind, doth not eaſily perceive here a ſufficient foundation for that odium to all informers which hath ſince become ſo general; for what is more common than from the abuſe of any thing to argue againſt the uſe of it, or to extend obloquy from particulars to univerſals?

For this the common aptitude of men to ſcandal will ſufficiently account; but there is ſtill another and ſtronger motive in this caſe, and that is the intereſt of all thoſe who have broken or who intend to break the laws. Thus the general cry being once raiſed againſt proſecutors on penal laws, the thieves themſelves have had the art and impudence to join it, and have put their proſecutors on the footing of all others; nay, I muſt queſtion whether, in

[*p*] Chap. v. [*q*] 3 Inſt. c. lxxxvii.

the acceptation of the vulgar, a thiefcatcher be not a more odious and contemptible name than even that of informer.

Nothing, I am ſenſible, is more vain than to encounter popular opinion with reaſon; nor more liable to ridicule than to oppoſe general contempt, and yet I will venture to ſay, that if to do good to ſociety be laudable, ſo is the office of a thiefcatcher; and if to do this good at the extreme hazard of your life be honourable, then is this office honourable. True, it may be ſaid; but he doth this with a view to a reward. And doth not the ſoldier and the ſailor venture his life with the ſame view? for who, as a great man lately ſaid, ſerves the public for nothing?

I know what is to be my fate in this place, or what would happen to one who ſhould endeavour to prove that the hangman was a great and an honourable employment. And yet I have read in Tournefort, of an Iſland in the Archipelago, where the hangman is the firſt and higheſt officer in the ſtate. Nay, in this kingdom the ſheriff himſelf (who was one of the moſt conſiderable perſons in his county) is in law the hangman, and Mr. Ketch is only his deputy.

If to bring thieves to juſtice be a ſcandalous office, what becomes of all thoſe who are concerned in this buſineſs, ſome of whom are rightly thought to be among the moſt honourable officers in government? if on the contrary this be, as it ſurely is, very truly honourable, why ſhould the poſt of danger in this warfare alone be excluded from all ſhare of honour?

To conclude a matter, in which, though ſerious, I will not be too tedious; what was the great Pompey in the piratic war [r]? what were Hercules, Theſeus,

[r] Cicero in his Oration *pro Lege Manilia* calls this, if I remember rightly, *Bellum Turpe*; but ſpeaks of the extirpation of theſe robbers as of the greateſt of all Pompey's exploits.

and

and the other heroes of old, *Deorum in templa recepti*—Were they not the moſt eminent of thief-catchers?

SECT. VII.

Of the difficulties which attend proſecutions.

I NOW come to a fourth encouragement which greatly holds up the ſpirits of robbers, and which they often find to afford no deceitful conſolation; and this is drawn from the remiſſneſs of proſecutors, who are often,

1. Fearful, and to be intimidated by the threats of the gang; or,

2. Delicate, and cannot appear in a public court; or,

3. Indolent, and will not give themſelves the trouble of a proſecution; or,

4. Avaricious, and will not undergo the expence of it; nay, perhaps, find their account in compounding the matter; or,

5. Tender-hearted, and cannot take away the life of a man; or,

Laſtly, Neceſſitous, and cannot really afford the coſt, however ſmall, together with the loſs of time which attends it.

The firſt and ſecond of theſe are too abſurd, and the third and fourth too infamous to be reaſoned with. But the two laſt deſerve more particular notice, as the fifth is an error ſpringing originally out of a good principle in the mind, and the ſixth is a fault in the conſtitution very eaſily to be remedied.

With regard to the former of theſe, it is certain, that a tender-hearted and compaſſionate diſpoſition, which inclines men to pity and feel the misfortunes of others, and which is, even for its own ſake, incapable of involving any man in ruin and miſery, is of all tempers of mind the moſt amiable; and though

though it ſeldom receives much honour, is worthy of the higheſt. The natural energies of this temper are indeed the very virtues principally inculcated in our excellent religion; and thoſe, who, becauſe they are natural, have denied them the name of virtues, ſeem not, I think, to be aware of the direct and impious tendency of a doctrine that denies all merit to a mind which is naturally, I may ſay, neceſſarily, good.

Indeed, the paſſion of love or benevolence whence this admirable diſpoſition ariſes, ſeems to be the only human paſſion that is in itſelf ſimply and abſolutely good; and in Plato's commonwealth or (which is more) in a ſociety acting up to the rules of *Chriſtianity*, no danger could ariſe from the higheſt exceſs of this virtue; nay, the more liberally it was indulged, and the more extenſively it was expanded, the more would it contribute to the honour of the individual, and to the happineſs of the whole.

But as it hath pleaſed God to permit human ſocieties to be conſtituted in a different manner, and knaves to form a part (a very conſiderable one, I am afraid) of every community, who are ever lying in wait to deſtroy and enſnare the honeſt part of mankind, and to betray them by means of their own goodneſs, it becomes the good-natured and tender-hearted man to be watchful over his own temper; to reſtrain the impetuoſity of his benevolence, carefully to ſelect the objects of this paſſion, and not by too unbounded and indiſcriminate an indulgence to give the reins to a courſer, which will infallibly carry him into the ambuſcade of the enemy.

Our Saviour himſelf inculcates this prudence among his diſciples, telling them, that he *ſent them forth like ſheep among wolves: be ye therefore*, ſays he, *wiſe as ſerpents, but innocent as doves.*

For want of this wiſdom, a benevolent and tender-hearted temper very often betrays men into errors not only hurtful to themſelves, but highly prejudicial

to

to the ſociety. Hence men of invincible courage, and incorruptible integrity, have ſometimes falſified their truſt; and thoſe, whom no other temptation could ſway, have paid too little regard to the ſanction of an oath, from this inducement alone. Hence likewiſe the miſchief which I here endeavour to obviate, hath often ariſen; and notorious robbers have lived to perpetrate future acts of violence, through the ill-judging tenderneſs and compaſſion of thoſe who could and ought to have proſecuted them.

To ſuch a perſon I would ſuggeſt theſe conſiderations:

Firſt, As he is a good man, he ſhould conſider, that the principal duty which every man owes, is to his country, for the ſafety and good of which all laws are eſtabliſhed; and therefore his country requires of him to contribute all that in him lies to the due execution of thoſe laws. Robbery is an offence not only againſt the party robbed, but againſt the public, who are therefore entitled to proſecution; and he who prevents or ſtifles ſuch the proſecution, is no longer an innocent man, but guilty of a high offence againſt the public good.

Secondly, As he is a good-natured man, he will behold all injuries done by one man to another with indignation. What Cicero ſays of a pirate, is as true of a robber, that he is *hoſtis humani generis*; and if ſo, I am ſure every good-natured man muſt be an enemy to him. To deſire to ſave theſe wolves in ſociety, may ariſe from benevolence; but it muſt be the benevolence of a child or a fool, who, from want of ſufficient reaſon, miſtakes the true objects of his paſſion, as a child doth when a bugbear appears to him to be the object of fear. Such tenderheartedneſs is indeed barbarity, and reſembles the meek ſpirit of him who would not aſſiſt in blowing up his neighbour's houſe, to ſave a whole city from the flames. 'It is true,' ſaid a late learned chief juſtice

juſtice [s], in a trial for treaſon, 'here is the life of a 'man in the caſe, but then you (ſpeaking to the jury) 'muſt conſider likewiſe the miſery and deſolation, 'the blood and confuſion, that muſt have happened, 'had this taken effect; and put one againſt the 'other, I believe that conſideration which is on behalf 'of the king will be much the ſtronger.' Here likewiſe is the life of a man concerned; but of what man? why, of one who being too lazy to get his bread by labour, or too voluptuous to content himſelf with the produce of that labour, declares war againſt the properties, and often againſt the perſons of his fellow ſubjects; who deprives his countrymen of the pleaſure of travelling with ſafety, and of the liberty of carrying their money or their ordinary conveniencies with them; by whom the innocent are put in terror, affronted and alarmed with threats and execrations, endangered with loaded piſtols, beat with bludgeons, and hacked with cutlaſſes, of which the loſs of health, of limbs, and often of life, is the conſequence; and all this without any reſpect to age, or dignity, or ſex. Let the good-natured man, who hath any underſtanding, place this picture before his eyes, and then ſee what figure in it will be the object of his compaſſion.

I come now to the laſt difficulty which obſtructs the proſecution of offenders; namely, the extreme poverty of the proſecutor. This I have known to be ſo abſolutely the caſe, that the poor wretch who hath been bound to proſecute, was under more concern than the priſoner himſelf. It is true that the neceſſary coſt on theſe occaſions is extremely ſmall; two ſhillings, which are appointed by act of parliament for drawing the indictment, being, I think, the whole which the law requires; but when the expence of attendance, generally with ſeveral witneſſes, ſometimes during ſeveral days together, and often at a great diſtance from the proſecutor's home; I ſay, when

[s] Lord chief juſtice Pratt.

theſe

theſe articles are ſummed up, and the loſs of time added to the account, the whole amounts to an expence which a very poor perſon, already plundered by the thief, muſt look on with ſuch horror (if he ſhould not be abſolutely incapable of the expence) that he muſt be a miracle of public ſpirit, if he doth not rather chooſe to conceal the felony, and ſit down ſatisfied with his preſent loſs; but what ſhall we ſay, when (as is very common in this town) he may not only receive his own again, but be farther rewarded, if he will agree to compound it?

Now, how very inconſiderable would be the whole coſt of this ſuit either to the county or the nation; if the public, to whom the juſtice of peace gives his whole labour on this head *gratis*, was to defray the coſt of ſuch trials (by a kind of *forma pauperis* admiſſion) the ſum would be ſo trivial, that nothing would be felt but the good conſequences ariſing from ſuch a regulation;

I ſhall conclude this head with the words of my lord Hale: 'It is,' ſays he, 'a great defect in the 'law, to give courts of juſtice no power to allow 'witneſſes againſt criminals their charges; whereby,' ſays he, 'many poor perſons grow weary of their 'attendance, or bear their own charges therein, to 'their great hindrance and loſs.'

SECT. IX.

Of the TRIAL *and* CONVICTION *of* FELONS.

BUT if, notwithſtanding all the rubs which we have ſeen to lie in the way, the indictment is found, and the thief brought to his trial, ſtill he hath ſufficient hopes of eſcaping, either from the caution of the proſecutor's evidence, or from the hardineſs of his own.

In ſtreet robberies the difficulty of convicting a criminal is extremely great. The method of diſcovering

covering theſe is generally by means of one of the gang, who being taken up, perhaps for ſome other offence, and thinking himſelf in danger of puniſhment, chooſes to make his peace at the expence of his companions.

But when, by means of his information, you are made acquainted with the whole gang, and have, with great trouble, and often with great danger, apprehended them, how are you to bring them to juſtice? for though the evidence of the accomplice be ever ſo poſitive and explicit, nay, even ſo connected and probable, ſtill, unleſs it be corroborated by ſome other evidence, it is not ſufficient.

Now how is this corroborating evidence to be obtained in this caſe? ſtreet-robberies are generally commited in the dark, the perſons on whom they are committed are often in chairs and coaches, and if on foot, the attack is uſually begun by knocking the party down, and for the time depriving him of his ſenſes. But if the thief ſhould be leſs barbarous, he is ſeldom ſo incautious as to omit taking every method to prevent his being known, by flapping the party's hat over his face, and by every other method which he can invent to avoid diſcovery.

But indeed any ſuch methods are hardly neceſſary; for when we conſider the circumſtance of darkneſs, mentioned before, the extreme hurry of the action, and the terror and conſternation in which moſt perſons are in at ſuch a time, how ſhall we imagine it poſſible, that they ſhould afterwards be able, with any (the leaſt) degree of certainty, to ſwear to the identity of the thief, whoſe countenance is, perhaps, not a little altered by his ſubſequent ſituation, and who takes care, as much as poſſible he can, by every alteration of dreſs, and otherwiſe, to diſguiſe himſelf?

And if the evidence of the accomplice be ſo unlikely to be confirmed by the oath of the proſecutor,

cutor, what other means of confirmation can be found? for as to his character, if he himſelf doth not call witneſſes to ſupport it (which in this inſtance is not incumbent on him to do) you are not at liberty to impeach it. The greateſt and moſt known villain in England, ſtanding at the bar equally *rectus in curia* with the man of higheſt eſtimation, if they ſhould be both accuſed of the ſame crime.

Unleſs therefore the robbers ſhould be ſo unfortunate as to be apprehended in the fact (a circumſtance which their numbers, arms, &c. renders ordinarily impoſſible) no ſuch corroboration can poſſibly be had; but the evidence of the accomplice ſtanding alone and unſupported, the villain, contrary to the opinion, and almoſt direct knowledge of all preſent, is triumphantly acquitted, laughs at the court, ſcorns the law, vows revenge againſt his proſecutors, and returns to his trade with a great increaſe of confidence, and commonly of cruelty.

In a matter therefore of ſo much concern to the public, I ſhall be forgiven, if I venture to offer my ſentiments.

The words of my lord Hale are theſe: 'Though 'a *particeps criminis* be admiſſible as a witneſs in 'law, yet the credibility of his teſtimony is to be 'left to the jury; and truly it would be hard to 'take away the life of any perſon upon ſuch a wit-'neſs that ſwears to ſave his own, and yet confeſſeth 'himſelf guilty of ſo great a crime, unleſs there be 'alſo very conſiderable circumſtances, which may 'give the greater credit to what he ſwears [*t*].'

Here I muſt obſerve, that this great man ſeems rather to complain of the hardſhip of the law, in taking away the life of a criminal on the teſtimony of an accomplice, than to deny that the law was ſo. This indeed he could not well do; for not only the caſe

[*t*] Hale's hiſt. vol. I. 305.

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of an approver, as he himſelf ſeems to acknowledge, but many later reſolutions would have contradicted that opinion.

2*dly*, He allows that the credibility of his teſtimony is to be left to the jury; and ſo is the credibility of all other teſtimonies. They are abſolute judges of the fact; and God forbid that they ſhould in all caſes be tied down by poſitive evidence againſt a priſoner, though it was not delivered by an accomplice.

But ſurely, if the evidence of an accomplice be not ſufficient to put the priſoner on his defence, but the jury are directed to acquit him, though he can produce no evidence on his behalf, either to prove an *alibi*, or to his character, the credibility of ſuch teſtimony cannot well be ſaid to be left to a jury. This is virtually to reject the competency of the witneſs; for to ſay the law allows him to be ſworn, and yet gives no weight to his evidence is, I apprehend, a mere play of works, and conveys no idea.

In the third place, this great man aſſerts the hardſhip of ſuch conviction—Now if the evidence of a ſuppoſed accomplice ſhould convict a man of fair and honeſt character; it would, I confeſs, be hard; and it is a hardſhip of which, I believe, no experience can produce any inſtance. But if, on the other hand, the teſtimony of an accomplice with every circumſtance of probability attending it againſt a vagabond of the vileſt character, and who can produce no ſingle perſon to his reputation, is to be abſolutely rejected, becauſe there is no poſitive proof to ſupport it; this I think, is in the higheſt degree hard (I think I have proved how hard) to the ſociety.

I ſhall not enter here into a diſquiſition concerning the nature of evidence in general; this being much too large a field; nor ſhall I examine the utility of thoſe rules which our law preſcribes on this head. Some of theſe rules might perhaps be open-

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ed a little wider than they are, without either miſchief or inconvenience; and I am the bolder in the aſſertion, as I know a very learned judge who concurs with this opinion. There is no branch of the law more bulky, more full of confuſion and contradiction, I had almoſt ſaid of abſurdity, than the law of evidence as it now ſtands.

One rule of this law is, that no man intereſted ſhall be ſworn as a witneſs. By this is meant pecuniary intereſt; but are mankind governed by no other paſſion than avarice? is not revenge the ſweeteſt morſel, as a divine calls it, which the devil ever dropped into the mouth of a ſinner? are not pride, hatred, and the other paſſions, as powerful tyrants in the mind of man; and is not the intereſt which theſe paſſions propoſe to themſelves by the enjoyment of their object, as prevalent a motive to evil as the hope of any pecuniary intereſt whatever?

But to keep more cloſely to the point—Why ſhall not any credit be given to the evidence of an accomplice?—My lord Hale tells us, that he hath been guilty of a great crime: and yet if he had been convicted and burnt in the hand, all the authorities tell us, that his credit had been reſtored; a more miraculous power of fire than any which the *royal ſociety* can produce. The ſame happens, if he be pardoned.

Again, ſays lord Hale, he ſwears to ſave his own life. This is not altogether ſo; for when once a felon hath impeached his companions, and is admitted an evidence againſt them, whatever be the fate of his evidence, the impeacher always goes free. To this, it is true, he hath no poſitive title, no more hath he, if a ſingle felon be convicted on his oath. But the practice is as I mention, and do not remember any inſtance to the contrary.

But what inducement has the accomplice to perjure himſelf, or what reaſon can be aſſigned why

he ſhould be ſuſpected of it? that he himſelf was one of the robbers appears to a demonſtration; that he had accomplices in the robbery is as certain. Why then ſhould he be induced to impeach A and B, who are innocent, and not C and D, who are guilty? muſt he not think that he hath a better chance of convicting the guilty than the innocent? is he not liable if he gives a falſe information, to be detected in it? one of his companions may be diſcovered and give a true information, what will then become of him and his evidence? and why ſhould he do this? from a motive of friendſhip? do the worſt of men carry this paſſion ſo much higher than is common with the beſt? but he muſt not only run the riſque of his life but of his ſoul too. The very mention of this latter riſque may appear ridiculous, when it is conſidered of what ſort of perſons I am talking. But even theſe perſons can ſcarce be thought ſo very void of underſtanding as to loſe their ſouls for nothing, and to commit the horrid ſins of perjury and murder without any temptation, or proſpect of intereſt, nay, even againſt their intereſt. Such characters are not to be found in hiſtory, nor do they exiſt any where but in diſtempered brains, and are always rejected as monſters, when they are produced in works of fiction: for ſurely we ſpoil the verſe rather than the ſenſe by ſaying, *nemo* gratis *fuit turpiſſimus.* Under ſuch circumſtances, and under the caution of a good judge, and the tenderneſs of an Engliſh jury, it will be the higheſt improbability that any man ſhould be wrongfully convicted; and utterly impoſſible to convict an honeſt man: for I intend no more than that ſuch evidence ſhall put the priſoner on his defence, and oblige him either to controvert the fact by proving an *alibi*, or by ſome other circumſtance; or to produce ſome reputable perſon to his character. And this brings me to conſider the ſecond fortreſs of the criminal in the hardineſs of his own evidence.

The uſual defence of a thief, eſpecially at the Old Baily, is an *alibi* [*u*]: to prove this by perjury is a common act of Newgate friendſhip; and there ſeldom is any difficulty in procuring ſuch witneſſes. I remember a felon within this twelvemonth to have been proved to be in Ireland at the time when the robbery was ſworn to have been done in London, and acquitted; but he was ſcarce gone from the bar, when the witneſs was himſelf arreſted for a robbery committed in London at that very time when he ſwore both he and his friend were in Dublin; for which robbery, I think, he was tried and executed. This kind of defence was in a great meaſure defeated by the late baron Thompſon, when he was recorder of London, whoſe memory deſerves great honour for the ſervices he did the public in that poſt. Theſe witneſſes ſhould always be examined with the utmoſt care and ſtrictneſs, by which means the truth (eſpecially if there be more witneſſes than one to the pretended fact) will generally be found out. And as to character, though I allow it to have great weight, if oppoſed to the ſingle evidence of an accomplice, it ſhould ſurely have but little where there is good and ſtrong proof of the fact; and none at all, unleſs it comes from the mouths of perſons, who have themſelves ſome reputation and credit.

SECT. X.

Of the encouragement given to robbers by frequent pardons.

I COME now to the ſixth encouragement to felons, from the hopes of a pardon, at leaſt with the condition of tranſportation.

This I am aware, is too tender a ſubject to ſpeak to. To pardon all crimes where the proſecution is in his name, is an undoubted prerogative of the

[*u*] i. e. *That he was at another place at the time.*

king. I may add, it is his moſt amiable prerogative, and that which, as Livy obſerves [*w*], renders kingly government moſt dear to the people: for in a republic there is no ſuch power. I may add farther, that it ſeems to our excellent ſovereign to be the moſt favourite part of his prerogative, as it is the only one which hath been carried to its utmoſt extent in the preſent reign.

Here therefore I beg to direct myſelf only to thoſe perſons who are within the reach of his majeſty's ſacred ear. Such perſons will, I hope, weigh well what I have ſaid already on the ſubject of falſe compaſſion, all which is applicable on the preſent occaſion: and ſince our king (as was with leſs truth ſaid of another [*x*]) *is of all men the trueſt image of his maker in mercy*, I hope too much good-nature will tranſport no nobleman ſo far as it once did a clergyman in Scotland, who in the fervour of his benevolence prayed to God that he would graciouſly be pleaſed to pardon the poor devil.

To ſpeak out fairly and honeſtly [*y*], though mercy may appear more amiable in a magiſtrate, ſeverity is a more wholeſome virtue; nay, ſeverity to an individual may, perhaps, be in the end the greateſt mercy, not only to the public in general, for the reaſon given above; but to many individuals for the reaſons to be preſently aſſigned.

To conſider a human being in the dread of a ſudden and violent death; to conſider that his life or death depend on your will; to reject the arguments which a good mind will officiouſly advance to itſelf; that violent temptations, neceſſity, youth, inadvertency have hurried him to the commiſſion of a crime which hath been attended with no inhumanity; to reſiſt the importunities, cries, and tears

[*w*] Dec. 1. l. ii. cap. 3. Eſſe Gratiæ Locum eſſe Beneficii; et iraſci et ignoſcere poſſe (*Regem ſcilicet*) inter amicum atque inimicum Diſcrimen noſſe, Legem rem ſurdam inexorabilem eſſe, &c.

[*x*] By Dryden of Charles II. [*y*] Diſc. l. iii. c. 3.

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of a tender wife, and affectionate children, who, though innocent, are to be reduced to misery and ruin by a strict adherence to justice. These altogether form an object which whoever can look upon without emotion, must have a very bad mind; and whoever by the force of reason can conquer that emotion must have a very strong one.

And what can reason suggest on this occasion? first, that by saving this individual, I shall bring many others into the same dreadful situation. That the passions of the man are to give way to the principles of the magistrate. Those may lament the criminal, but these must condemn him. It was nobly said by Bias to one who admired at his shedding tears whilst he past sentence of death, 'Nature exacts my tenderness, but the law my rigour.' The elder Brutus [z], is a worthy pattern of this maxim; an example, says Machiavel, most worthy of being transmitted to posterity. And Dionysius Halicarnasseus [a] calls it a *great and wonderful action, of which the* Romans *were proud in the most extraordinary degree.* Whoever derives it therefore from the want of humane and paternal affections is unjust; no instances of his inhumanity are recorded. 'But the severity,' says Machiavel, 'was not only 'profitable but necessary;' and why? because a single pardon granted *ex mera gratia & favore*, is a link broken in the chain of justice, and takes away the concatenation and strength of the whole. The danger and certainty of destruction are very different objects, and strike the mind with different degrees of force. It is of the very nature of hope to be sanguine, and it will derive more encouragement

[z] He put his two sons to death for conspiring with Tarquin. Neither Livy nor Dionysius give any character of cruelty to Brutus: indeed the latter tells us, *that he was superior to all those passions which disturb human reason.* Τῶν ἐπιταραττόντων τὸς λογισμὸς παθῶν κρείττων. [a] Page 272. Edit. Hudson.

from one pardon, than diffidence from twenty executions.

It is finely obſerved by Thucydides [*b*], 'That 'though civil ſocieties have allotted the puniſhment 'of death to many crimes, and to ſome of the infe-'rior ſort, yet hope inſpires men to face the dan-'ger; and no man ever came to a dreadful end, 'who had not a lively expectation of ſurviving his 'wicked machinations.'——Nothing certainly can more contribute to the raiſing this hope than repeated examples of ill-grounded clemency: for as Seneca ſays, *ex clementia omnes idem ſperant* [*c*].

Now what is the principal end of all puniſhment? is it not, as lord [*d*] Hale expreſſes it, 'To deter 'men from the breach of laws, ſo that they may not 'offend, and ſo not ſuffer at all? and is not the in-'flicting of puniſhment more for example, and to 'prevent evil, than to puniſh?' and therefore, ſays he, preſently afterwards, 'Death itſelf is neceſſary 'to be annexed to laws in many caſes by the pru-'dence of lawgivers, though poſſibly beyond the 'ſingle merit of the offence ſimply conſidered.' No man indeed of common humanity or common ſenſe can think the life of a man and a few ſhillings to be of an equal conſideration, or that the law in puniſhing theft with death proceeds (as perhaps a private perſon ſometimes may) with any view to vengeance. The terror of the example is the only thing propoſed, and one man is ſacrificed to the preſervation of thouſands.

If therefore the terror of this example is removed (as it certainly is by frequent pardons) the deſign of the law is rendered totally ineffectual; the lives of the perſons executed are thrown away, and ſacrificed rather to the vengeance than to the good of the public, who receives no other advantage than by get-

[*b*] P. 174. Edit. Hudſ n. [ ] De Clementia, lib. i. c. 1.
[*d*] Hale's hiſt. vol. I. p. 13.

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ting rid of a thief, whoſe place will immediately be ſupplied by another. Here then we may cry out with the [e] poet:

——— *Sævior Enſe*
Parcendi Rabies ———

This I am confident may be aſſerted, that pardons have brought many more men to the gallows than they have ſaved from it. So true is that ſentiment of Machiavel, that examples of juſtice are more merciful than the unbounded exerciſe of pity [f].

SECT. XI.

Of the manner of execution.

BUT if every hope which I have mentioned fails the thief: if he ſhould be diſcovered, apprehended, proſecuted, convicted, and refuſed a pardon; what is his ſituation then? ſurely moſt gloomy and dreadful, without any hope, and without any comfort. This is, perhaps, the caſe with the leſs practiſed, leſs ſpirited, and leſs dangerous rogues; but with thoſe of a different conſtitution it is far otherwiſe. No hero ſees death as the alternative which may attend his undertaking with leſs terror, nor meets it in the field with more imaginary glory. Pride, which is commonly the uppermoſt paſſion in both, is in both treated with equal ſatisfaction. The day appointed by law for the thief's ſhame is the day of glory in his own opinion. His proceſſion to Tyburn, and his laſt moments there, are all triumphant; attended with the compaſſion of the meek and tender-hearted, and with the applauſe, admiration, and envy of all the bold and hardened. His behaviour in his preſent condition, not the crimes, how atrocious ſoever, which brought him to it, are the ſubject of contemplation. And if he hath ſenſe enough to temper his boldneſs

[e] Chaudian. [f] In his Prince.

with any degree of decency, his death is ſpoke of by many with honour, by moſt with pity, and by all with approbation.

How far ſuch an example is from being an object of terror, eſpecially to thoſe for whoſe uſe it is principally intended, I leave to the conſideration of every rational man; whether ſuch examples as I have deſcribed are proper to be exhibited, muſt be ſubmitted to our ſuperiors.

The great cauſe of this evil is the frequency of executions: the knowledge of human nature will prove this from reaſon; and the different effects which executions produce in the minds of the ſpectators in the country where they are rare, and in London where they are common, will convince us by experience. The thief who is hanged to-day hath learnt his intrepidity from the example of his hanged predeceſſors, as others are now taught to deſpiſe death, and to bear it hereafter with boldneſs from what they ſee to-day.

One way of preventing the frequency of executions is by removing the evil I am complaining of: for this effect in time becomes a cauſe; and greatly increaſes that very evil from which it firſt aroſe. The deſign of thoſe who firſt appointed executions to be public, was to add the puniſhment of ſhame to that of death; in order to make the example an object of greater terror. But experience hath ſhewn us that the event is directly contrary to this intention. Indeed, a competent knowledge of human nature might have foreſeen the conſequence. To unite the ideas of death and ſhame is not ſo eaſy as may be imagined. All ideas of the latter being abſorbed by the former. To prove this, I will appeal to any man who hath ſeen an execution, or a proceſſion to an execution; let him tell me, when he hath beheld a poor wretch, bound in a cart, juſt on the verge of eternity, all pale and trembling with his approaching fate,

fate, whether the idea of ſhame hath ever intruded on his mind? much leſs will the bold daring rogue, who glories in his preſent condition, inſpire the beholder with any ſuch ſenſation.

The difficulty here will be eaſily explained, if we have recourſe to the poets; (for the good poet and the good politician do not differ ſo much as ſome who know nothing of either art affirm; nor would Homer or Milton have made the worſt legiſlators of their times:) the great buſineſs is to raiſe terror, and the poet will tell you, that admiration or pity, or both, are very apt to attend whatever is the object of terror in the human mind. This is very uſeful to the poet, but very hurtful on the preſent occaſion to the politician, whoſe art is to be here employed to raiſe an object of terror, and, at the ſame time, as much as poſſible, to ſtrip it of all pity and all admiration.

To effect this, it ſeems that the execution ſhould be as ſoon as poſſible after the commiſſion and conviction of the crime; for if this be of an atrocious kind, the reſentment of mankind being warm, would purſue the criminal to his laſt end, and all pity for the offender would be loſt in deteſtation of the offence. Whereas, when executions are delayed ſo long as they ſometimes are, the puniſhment and not the crime is conſidered; and no good mind can avoid compaſſionating a ſet of wretches, who are put to death we know not why, unleſs, as it almoſt appears, to make a holiday for, and to entertain, the mob.

Secondly, It ſhould be in ſome degree private. And here the poets will again aſſiſt us. Foreigners have found fault with the cruelty of the Engliſh drama, in repreſenting frequent murders upon the ſtage. In fact, this is not only cruel, but highly injudicious: a murder behind the ſcenes, if the poet knows how to manage it, will affect the audience with greater terror than if it was acted before their eyes.

eyes. Of this we have an inſtance in the murder of the king in Macbeth, at which, when Garrick acts the part, it is ſcarce an hyperbole to ſay, I have ſeen the hair of the audience ſtand an end. Terror hath, I believe, been carried higher by this ſingle inſtance, than by all the blood which hath been ſpilt on the ſtage.—To the poets I may add the prieſts, whoſe politics have never been doubted. Thoſe of Egypt in particular, where the ſacred myſteries were firſt deviſed, well knew the uſe of hiding from the eyes of the vulgar, what they intended ſhould inſpire them with the greateſt awe and dread. The mind of man is ſo much more capable of magnifying than his eye, that I queſtion whether every object is not leſſened by being looked upon; and this more eſpecially when the paſſions are concerned: for theſe are ever apt to fancy much more ſatisfaction in thoſe objects which they affect, and much more of miſchief in thoſe which they abhor, than are really to be found in either.

If executions therefore were ſo contrived, that few could be preſent at them, they would be much more ſhocking and terrible to the croud without doors than at preſent, as well as much more dreadful to the criminals themſelves, who would thus die in the preſence only of their enemies; and where the boldeſt of them would find no cordial to keep up his ſpirits, nor any breath to flatter his ambition.

3dly, The execution ſhould be in the higheſt degree ſolemn. It is not the eſſence of the thing itſelf, but the dreſs and apparatus of it, which make an impreſſion on the mind, eſpecially on the minds of the multitude to whom beauty in rags is never a deſirable, nor deformity in embroidery a diſagreeable, object.

Montagne, who, of all men, except only Ariſtotle, ſeems beſt to have underſtood human nature, enquiring into the cauſes why death appears more terrible to the better ſort of people than to the meaner,

meaner, expreſſes himſelf thus: 'I do verily be-
'lieve, that it is thoſe terrible ceremonies and pre-
'parations wherewith we ſet it out, that more ter-
'rify us than the thing itſelf; a new and contrary
'way of living, the cries of mothers, wives and
'children, the viſits of aſtoniſhed and afflicted
'friends, the attendance of pale and blubbered ſer-
'vants, a dark room ſet round with burning tapers,
'our beds environed with phyſicians and divines,
'in fine, nothing but ghaſtlineſs and horror round
'about us, render it ſo formidable, that a man al-
'moſt fancies himſelf dead and buried already [g].'

'If the image of death, ſays the ſame author, was
'to appear thus dreadful to an army, they would be
'an army of whining milkſops; and where is the
'difference but in the apparatus? thus in the field
'(I may add, at the gallows) what is encountered
'with gaiety and unconcern, in a ſick bed becomes
'the moſt dreadful of all objects.'

In Holland, the executions (which are very rare) are incredibly ſolemn. They are performed in the area before the ſtadthouſe, and attended by all the magiſtrates. The effect of this ſolemnity is inconceivable to thoſe who have not obſerved it in others, or felt it in themſelves; and to this perhaps more than to any other cauſe, the rareneſs of executions in that country is owing.

Now the following method, which I ſhall venture to preſcribe, as it would include all the three particulars of celerity, privacy, and ſolemnity, ſo would it, I think, effectually remove all the evils complained of, and which at preſent attend the manner of inflicting capital puniſhment.

Suppoſe then, that the court at the Old Baily was, at the end of the trials, to be adjourned during four days; that, againſt the adjournment day, a gallows was erected in the area before the court; that the criminals were all brought down on that

[g] Montagne, Eſſay 19.

day

day to receive ſentence; and that this was executed the very moment after it was pronounced, in the ſight and preſence of the judges.

Nothing can, I think, be imagined (not even torture, which I am an enemy to the very thought of admitting) more terrible than ſuch an execution; and I leave it to any man to reſolve himſelf upon reflection, whether ſuch a day at the Old Baily, or a holiday at Tyburn, would make the ſtrongeſt impreſſion on the minds of every one.

Thus I have, as well as I am able, finiſhed the taſk which I propoſed; have endeavoured to trace the evil from the very fountain-head, and to ſhew whence it originally ſprings, as well as all the ſupplies it receives, till it becomes a torrent, which at preſent threatens to bear down all before it.

And here I muſt again obſerve, that if the former part of this treatiſe ſhould raiſe any attention in the legiſlature, ſo as effectually to put a ſtop to the luxury of the lower people, to force the poor to induſtry, and to provide for them when induſtrious, the latter part of my labour would be of very little uſe; and indeed all the pains which can be taken in this latter part, and all the remedies which can be deviſed, without applying a cure to the former, will be only of the palliative kind, which may patch up the diſeaſe, and leſſen the bad effects, but never can totally remove it.

Nor, in plain truth, will the utmoſt ſeverity to offenders be juſtifiable, unleſs we take every poſſible method of preventing the offence. *Nemo ad ſupplicia exigenda provenit, niſi qui remedia conſumpſit*, ſays Seneca [*b*], where he repreſents the governors of kingdoms in the amiable light of parents. The ſubject, as well as the child, ſhould be left without excuſe before he is puniſhed: for, in that caſe alone, the rod becomes the hand either of the parent or the magiſtrate.

[*b*] De Clementia, lib. ii. Fragm.

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All temptations therefore are to be carefully removed out of the way; much leſs is the plea of neceſſity to be left in the mouth of any. This plea of neceſſity is never admitted in our law; but the reaſon of that is, ſays lord Hale, becauſe it is ſo difficult to diſcover the truth. Indeed that it is not always certainly falſe, is a ſufficient ſcandal to our polity; for what can be more ſhocking than to ſee an induſtrious poor creature, who is able and willing to labour, forced by mere want into diſhoneſty, and that in a nation of ſuch trade and opulence.

Upon the whole, ſomething ſhould be, nay, muſt be done, or much worſe conſequences than have hitherto happened, are very ſoon to be apprehended. Nay, as the matter now ſtands, not only care for the public ſafety, but common humanity, exacts our concern on this occaſion; for that many cart-loads of our fellow-creatures are once in ſix weeks carried to ſlaughter, is a dreadful conſideration; and this is greatly heightened by reflecting, that, with proper care and proper regulations, much the greater part of theſe wretches might have been made not only happy in themſelves, but very uſeful members of the ſociety, which they now ſo greatly diſhonour in the ſight of all Chriſtendom.

FINIS.

